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Vertue.

Horsfield.

*Richard Coeur de Lion.*



*James E. Wood*

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Vol. 1

HISTORY OF THE LIFE

OF

RICHARD CŒUR-DE-LION,  
1  
KING OF ENGLAND.

By G. P. R. JAMES, Esq.

AUTHOR OF "THE LIFE OF LOUIS XIV.," "HISTORY OF CHARLEMAGNE,"  
"LIFE OF EDWARD THE BLACK PRINCE," &c.

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## INTRODUCTION.

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WHOEVER has given the slightest attention to the history of the human mind, must have remarked, that at certain points it changes the path which it has previously been pursuing, assumes a new course suited to the circumstances that for the time surround it, labours therein until operating upon everything within its sphere it has produced a complete alteration in all around it; and then again takes another direction, in which it once more proceeds till in that also it has effected certain results: all its operations tending to one great end; the enlargement of its own powers and scope of action, though often impeded by physical obstacles, often thrown back by great moral convulsions.

Such changes in the direction of the human mind mark the true philosophical periods of history; and though some may present more striking and entertaining incidents than others, yet each is important to the eye of the historian as steps taken in the general progress of society. Of these periods one of the most important, as well as one of the most interesting, is that which comprises the rise and fall of the feudal system. It is one of the many military periods which the world has seen; but is distinguished from all others, both by a peculiar organisation of society, and by an institution totally without parallel in other ages, so that the name of the feudal period, and that of the chivalrous period, are perhaps equally appropriate. As an epoch of marvellous incidents and great enterprises, it affords unfailing matter for entertaining research; but its importance as a subject of study is derived from the extraordinary advance which society made during its existence towards the establishment of institutions, and the acknowledgment of truths, that might seem absolutely incompatible with the very means that brought them forth.



That a well contrived and organised system of oppression should have begot rational liberty as its child and successor ; that bloody wars and fierce contentions should have had for a result the softening of manners and the refinement of society ; and that wanton aggression and brutal outrage should have produced definitions of right and limitations of power, are at present well-known facts, but are still as extraordinary as they are important ; and in tracing how these great things were brought about, we may well derive many an important lesson, many an exhortation, and many a warning, even while we seem to be reading nothing but an account of battles and sieges, great military enterprises, and acts of magnificent daring.

No portion, perhaps, of the feudal or chivalrous period affords a more distinct picture of its characteristic peculiarities than that comprised in the life of Richard I., King of England. He was himself a type of the age to which he belonged, and his good and bad qualities very faithfully represented the faults and excellences of feudalism and chivalry. But before we proceed to narrate the events comprised within the limits of his life, we must take a brief view of the state of society at the time, especially in England, even though it may be necessary to repeat or abridge what others have before said upon the same subject ; for we must not take it for granted that the reader is already acquainted with anything materially affecting that which we have to narrate.

Nevertheless, it will not be necessary to trace minutely the origin of the feudal system, or to show by what steps it gradually assumed a complete and homogeneous form. Suffice it to say, that it was, in its commencement, a certain constitutional organisation, adopted by a great society of military adventurers, for the purposes of general defence and mutual support in conquered countries ; and its chief distinguishing feature or characteristic, was the general distribution of the territory amongst the soldiery, in unequal portions, but upon one general principle and condition,—namely, that of military service upon the part of the holder of each estate to the leader from whom he obtained it. This general holding of the great bulk of the territory by such tenure, seems to me the *sine qua non* of the feudal system ; and from it, indeed, that system derives its name. In countries where it did not exist as the general rule, there might be some feudal institu-

tions—there might be some customs and laws resembling those of feudalism; but the feudal system was not established.\*

Of course this system was not framed at once; but was gradually produced by the necessities of the northern invaders of the Roman empire, when placed in a new situation by the effects of their own conquests. They brought the rude materials of their government from their native wilds, but fashioned them according to the circumstances in which they were placed in the lands they acquired. Though the great body of the invaders was composed of different nations, yet a similarity of customs prevailed amongst them; and though the districts that the various tribes conquered were far apart, yet everywhere they met the vestiges of Roman institutions. The similarity of circumstances in these points produced a similarity of necessities; and the general adoption of an uniform system was the result.

It must not indeed be understood that perfect uniformity was established throughout Europe, for such was not the case. In some places, more of the Roman forms and institutions were retained; in others the northern notions predominated; but the differences, though important to the countries into which the Roman empire became subdivided, were not important as to the system itself. The forms of the feudal system in various parts of Europe were only varieties of the same plant, the seeds of which had been brought from the north, and cultivated in Roman soil.

The unequal distribution of corporeal and mental qualities, has always impressed the mind of man in a social state with a conviction that it is necessary some should lead and some should follow; and the only difference in this point between the most purely democratical and the most purely monarchical forms of society, consists in the method of selecting the

\* Independent of the custom of giving a heriot upon the death of a great man, which some persons have looked upon as a feudal relief—though I can by no means do so, inasmuch as the heriot was levied upon the personal property of the dead man, not upon the real property of the heir, who very possibly might receive no part of the personal goods from which the heriot was taken—but independent of this questionable case, the Anglo-Saxons had several feudal institutions. We must indeed put aside the oath of fealty, which has too often been confounded with that of homage in a most unphilosophical manner; but still the benefice or *loen* was held by military service to a chief, and though not hereditary, was of the nature of a fief, being thus of feudal tenure. Nevertheless the general possession of the land was not held by that tenure till after the conquest, and the feudal system cannot properly be said to have existed amongst the Anglo-Saxons.



leaders. What was the method adopted by the northern invaders of Rome while in their native wilds, matters little ; nor is it of much consequence at what period a regular subordination of chiefs was established, from the great leader of a mighty host to the patriarch who was followed to the field by his five or six sons. As they were all essentially warlike nations, and all from a very early period were engaged in active enterprise, it is probable that military qualities were the original titles to command, and that they soon adopted a general gradation of leaders.

The first expeditions of the northern nations were purely predatory. When spoil was taken, it was in almost all cases equitably divided ;\* but when territory was acquired as well as movable plunder, a complication of interests took place ; and we find, especially in the earlier periods of feudalism, an infinite number of discrepancies in the allotment of conquered territories, which are difficult to account for. The exceptions, indeed, do not prove that some regular system of distribution did not prevail ; because the course of the invaders was subjected to a thousand accidents, by which they were obliged of necessity to guide their proceedings. Sometimes their conquests were not altogether successful ; sometimes they encountered a tribe as bold and hardy as themselves, and were obliged to enter into compromises which left their opponents in possession of large tracts, with laws, manners and customs, in various points discordant with the growing system which had been brought from the north. At all events, we know that discrepancies did exist ; and there is proof of allodial or free-land—that is to say, land held by no feudal tenure, but in what may be called pure possession—having existed in various parts of Europe down to a very late period.

It would occupy too much space to inquire into the origin of the different tenures which we find in the earlier ages of feudalism, or to investigate why certain estates appear from the first to have been hereditary, while others were resumable at the will of the sovereign.† All—not without exception, as we shall see hereafter, but as a general rule—very soon

\* The reader need not be reminded of the story of Clovis and Vasi.

† I agree entirely with Dr. Lingard, that the theory of fiefs being originally beneficiary grants of land, resumable at pleasure, but gradually improved into estates of inheritance, is, perhaps, erroneous, though specious. They may have been so, but I have many doubts upon the subject ; though I must remark that the regard had, through the whole system of feudal law, to the lord's ultimate right in the land in case of escheat, would seem to favour this theory.



became hereditary through the greater part of Europe; and the grand distinction that remained was between allodial, or free-lands, and lands feudal, or held upon the condition of military service. The natural progress of feudal institutions, however, and the superior protection enjoyed by the feudal vassal, had converted almost all allodial lands on the continent into feudal lands before the invasion of England by William, called the Conqueror;\* so that by that time the feudal system had not only reached its highest degree of perfection in most of the European monarchies, but had become the general law of policy, beyond the limits of which men's minds could conceive no beneficial institutions.

It was with such notions that the Norman warriors were filled when they invaded this island, and overthrew the Saxon monarchy. In England, however, they found a very different state of things existing, and an organisation opposed in a thousand particulars to that which had been gradually produced in continental territories. Feudalism, in short, as a system, did not exist; for the circumstances of England were different from those of any other country conquered by the invaders of the Roman empire, and the necessities which had produced that organisation amongst other nations had not been felt by the Saxons. They had adopted, indeed, various feudal institutions; but the great principle of the feudal system—that is to say, the general tenure of land upon the condition of military service, due not to the country but to a leader, was not recognised by the Saxons. It was, indeed, one of their fundamental laws, that all lands were subject to three duties: the building and upholding castles, the building and upholding bridges, and the military defence of the realm. But the military obligation implied by the last clause, is clearly shown to have been merely the expugnation of foreign invasion, and not service due to a particular chief as a return for lands held of him, which was the characteristic of feudal service.† Putting this law out of the question, then, the

\* As far as the middle of the twelfth century there still existed several allodial lands in Languedoc, and there are documents in existence by which these lands were from time to time transferred to feudal lords, and received back again as fiefs.

† So totally distinct was the natural duty of what may be termed *realm-defence* from the feudal and conventional duty of military service, that the two are, if anything, opposed to one another. They may indeed be absolutely considered as opposed in their origin, for the feudal service was the service of the invader, the realm defence the duty of the invaded. The latter was purely territorial, the former personal; the latter was an extension of the right of defending individual

lands of the Saxons were held by various tenures, some of which were quite repugnant to the feudal system, and some similar to feudal holdings of an early period. It is not necessary to enumerate the names given to these various tenures, or to mark fine distinctions; the grand difference was between the lands held free of any other military duty but the great national one of realm defence, and those which were burdened with distinct military service of a feudal character. The Thaneland, which has been held to be synonymous with boeland, or charterland, and of which consisted the great bulk of the estates of the Saxon nobles, is clearly shown to have been allodial, and was hereditary; while the sort of estate called *beneficium* was granted upon terms of military service due to a particular leader, and may therefore be considered as feudal; though by this time feudal lands on the continent of Europe had become generally hereditary, while the benefice was granted only for a certain period—sometimes for more than one life, indeed, but sometimes merely for a period of years, and sometimes resumable at will. In the difference between the thaneland and the benefice lay the great distinction in the tenures of the Saxon nobles. The one holding was of allodial or free hereditary lands, the other was of estates, not hereditary, and held by military service to a chief; but there is every reason to believe that the same person often held estates of both kinds.\* There was, however, land held by the commons, which was called *Folkland*, and which resembled the benefice in not being absolutely hereditary, but which was free from feudal service. These lands were occupied by the yeomanry of England, the great strength and security of the nation. Besides the nobles and the free tenants of the *Folkland*, was another class, namely, that of most wretched and depressed slaves, who in many respects were in a more abject state of bondage than the continental villeins.

The estates of the Church were generally—universally, I believe, under the Saxon dynasty—held by what is called

property, produced by the necessities of society; the former was the application of military subordination in the distribution of conquered territory.

\* On the continent this was certainly the case, till the feudal system was fully established. The various capitularies of the Carlovingian monarchs display in many instances both the distinction between the two tenures, and the fact of persons holding by both. One of the most to the point is, perhaps, the following:—"Qui beneficium domni Imperatoris aut *Æcclesiarum dei* habet, nihil exinde ducat in suam hereditatem ut ipsum beneficium destruat."—*Karoli Magni Capitul. ad. ann. 803; Mon. German Histor. tom. 3, p. 122.*



Franc-almoign, which tenure implied no feudal service of any kind, but which in return for grants from nobles and princes, required merely the prayers of the priesthood in behalf of the givers and their families.

Such was briefly the state of landed property in England at the period of the Norman conquest; and such were the institutions of the people by whom William I., and his victorious army, all impressed with the doctrines of feudalism, found themselves environed after the battle of Hastings. The claims which that monarch had put forth to justify his invasion, and to facilitate his progress, now of course affected—if they cannot be absolutely said to have embarrassed—his conduct in dealing with the kingdom which he had acquired. His own prejudices, and the prejudices of those who accompanied him, required him to introduce the feudal system; and the necessity of rewarding and attaching those on whose support he could alone rely, rendered it imperative that he should divide a large portion of the conquered territory amongst his followers. But he had put forward the claims of an heir to the throne of England, and not those of a conqueror; and that fact may have tended both to soften the authority of victory, and produce some of those curious contradictions which have been remarked in his conduct. In a synod, held under William's own immediate eye, those men to whose swords he owed the crown, were ordered to do penance for every blow they had struck in the very battle which had placed him on the throne, and he bade them mourn for the act, while he rewarded them largely for its success.

At the same time, his dealings with the Saxons were at first milder than perhaps they themselves expected. No general partition of the territories took place; means were employed to secure the persons and the property of the Saxons from the licentiousness of their Norman invaders; and few excesses were committed after that which signalled William's coronation, till the period of his departure for his continental dominions. Then, however, oppression on the one hand, and open resistance or covert treachery on the other, spread over the whole land. William had conveyed with him to Normandy many of the Saxon chiefs; so that the conquered people, wanting experienced leaders, obtained but little success in their various desultory insurrections, and afforded a very plausible pretext for the general pillage



of their property, and the subversion of their laws and customs. On his return to England, William displayed towards the refractory Saxons the most barbarous severity. That severity only urged them on to the pertinacious resistance of despair, which again was constantly followed by defeat and punishment.

In the course of a few years scarcely one noble Saxon of any great power or wealth could be found who had not appeared in arms against the invader whom he had sworn to receive as his king, and who had not been overthrown in war, and stripped of his possessions. A part of the territories thus acquired, William retained as demesne of the crown; but the rest was distributed amongst his Norman followers; and of course the recognised principle of feudalism was the rule of partition. Allodial lands were done away; each great leader received his fief from the king in chief, upon the condition of military service; and each again enfeoffed his vassals in smaller portions of the forfeited estates; and this was continued still farther, till the system of subinfeudation was complete. The king was held to be the possessor of the whole, and only to grant it upon the ascertained conditions of the feudal system; nor was this principle by any means an impotent one, for the ultimate rights of the king were always to be kept in view by the vassal in dealing with his fief; as his own contingent rights were always to be considered by his vavasors, and theirs by their sub-vassals through all the grades of subinfeudation. In fact, the permanence of the king's right formed the basis of feudal law; for on it were founded all those rules and regulations regarding wards and successions which compose the great bulk of a very voluminous code.

Thus the feudal system was established in England before the death of William the Conqueror, perhaps in as perfect a form as in any part of the world; for I cannot consider some of the customs, and even tenures which he received from the Saxons, as offering any anomaly. The state was now organised in the following grades: barons holding of the crown in chief; vavasors holding under them; and valvasini holding under the vavasor, generally possessing one or more knight's fees. These were all military tenants, and took the field when called upon by their sovereign, with a number of armed men proportioned to their land. Below these came the yeomanry, holding by what is called *free soccage*, and

owing no military duty except the general one of realm-defence; and last, appeared the villeins or slaves, who in some respects were in a better situation under the Norman than under the Saxon yoke; while the important fact that the Norman law tended strongly to their general enfranchisement, is proved by the rapid extinction of villeinage in England after the conquest.

It may be as well to notice that besides the tenures here mentioned, there were one or two others, amongst which were great and petty sargeantry. Great sargeantry was the tenure by which certain noblemen held lands of the king in chief, on the condition of certain services to be rendered to him in person. Petty or petit sargeantry was, in fact, a soccage tenure, whereby the holder of certain lands recognised his dependance upon the king as his territorial lord, by offering yearly some small implement of war. It was distinguished, I imagine, from every other kind of soccage, by being paid immediately to the king; and by the nature of the due, which was always of a military character, though the tenant was not bound thereby to military service. The tenure of Franc-almoign had been generally superseded under the Conqueror by knight service, the clergy not being required to take the field in person, but to furnish the number of soldiers allotted to their territorial possessions. That Franc-almoign, however, was not universally or permanently done away, we find from the text of Sir Thomas Lyttleton, who writes of it as a tenure actually existing in his own day; and we also discover that it was revived as an abusive means of depriving lords of their right.

Besides the military service which has been mentioned, the feudal tenant owed to his lord what was called suit—that is to say, attendance upon his court on certain occasions, as an adviser or counsellor; and a regular subordination of courts existed under the feudal system, as well as a subordination of military grades. In these courts, whether they were the king's court, the county, the hundred, or the manorial courts, justice was supposed to be administered; and William, though he changed the forms of the Saxon constitution, rendering the feudal organisation, perhaps, more perfect in England, as a system, than it was in any other country, retained the laws and many of the customs of the people he had conquered, and in several remarkable instances maintained different bodies of his new subjects in possession of their former privileges, even



when those privileges were contrary to his general system.\* One of his most remarkable operations, and one which may be said to have given a degree of perfection to feudalism which was unknown in continental countries, was the division of the whole territory into knight's fees; that is to say, into portions judged sufficient to furnish, each, one horseman completely armed to a feudal army. The quantity of land so charged, it would appear, varied in extent; probably on account of the nature and quality of the soil in different parts of the kingdom. Unfortunately, we have lost the data on which the calculation was first made; but in the latter part of William's reign, a general survey of the whole kingdom was undertaken and completed by commissioners empowered to empanel juries in the various hundreds, and to investigate the nature, quality, extent, and division of the soil. Every statistical fact of interest came under their investigation; and from the information thus acquired, was compiled the famous Domesday Book, the most extraordinary and interesting of our national records. What were the real views with which this survey was ordered, I cannot tell; but one of the results was, to enable the sovereign to ascertain at once the number of men which each barony was bound to furnish; and I find no clear proof of such a statistical proceeding having taken place in any other part of Europe before the invasion of England.

Such may be received as a very brief and imperfect sketch of the constitution of this kingdom towards the end of William's reign; but even while advancing towards perfection, the germs of decay were sown in the feudal system, and before the accession of Richard I., they had made considerable progress. The two great deviations from the true feudal constitution, which, more than any of all the many causes that were ultimately brought into operation against feudalism, contributed to overthrow that wonderful system, owed their admission to the jealousy and ambition of kings. Those two deviations were the institution of communes, or free corporations, and the compounding of military service for money.

Notwithstanding all that the learned Savigni has done, and the light which he has thrown upon the Roman law during the middle ages, it may be doubted whether in any one single

\* In the system itself there was no anomaly, or as few anomalies as can exist in any human scheme; but William excepted certain classes of his subjects from the operation of some parts of that system, in consideration of their previous state. I say this to guard against misconstruction.



instance the old Roman municipal forms descended direct to feudal times in the government of any provincial city. Nevertheless there is much reason to believe that the pre-existence of such municipal forms in particular towns had a great effect in producing the communes of the middle ages, and offered the type, if not the foundation, of those institutions. These communes first began to start into life, I think, in the beginning of the eleventh century ; and I believe the town of Laon has the honour of being the first. Horrible oppression, frequent warfare, and the claims and exactions of contending barons, rendered it absolutely necessary that monarchs should either afford effectual protection to the laborious and increasing inhabitants of cities and towns, or should justify them in defending themselves. The latter alternative, as the most certain, was the one most desired by the citizens ; and kings saw therein the seeds of a force, which they clearly perceived might counterbalance, in some degree, the overgrown power of their ambitious baronage, though they did not look forward to the time when that force might become dangerous to their own authority. The crown therefore encouraged the erections of communes, gave charters to towns and cities, daily enlarged their privileges and immunities, employed the troops raised by the citizens in its own wars, and created a militia, which rendered it less dependant upon the great vassals for military support.

We find that, at first, the outcry raised against the communes was immense ; the feudal proprietors clamoured loudly in regard to the new institution, and in some instances endeavoured to crush it with the strong hand ; while all their scribes wrote against it as an unheard-of and monstrous invention. But still a commune rose here and a commune rose there ; in most cases the neighbouring barons formed but a small force, unable to contend with the monarch ; the rest of the vassals of the crown did not interest themselves much in matters at a distance from their own estates ; and the struggle was completed, the victory gained, and the institution established by prudence and resolution, before the great body of feudal lords knew how fatal it might become to their power and influence. How far back such institutions may be traced in this country, I do not know ; but they certainly existed in England long before the accession of Richard I.\*

\* Lord Lyttleton shows that communes existed in England in the reign of Henry I. I myself believe that we might go still farther back.

The second of those deviations from the feudal principle to which I have alluded, is the commutation of military service for the pecuniary aid, called scutage or escuage. This custom was gradually, but very easily, introduced; and there was no outcry against it as against the communes. Though the military spirit of the nobility might not wax faint, yet each man, especially in times of civil commotion, and in an unsettled state of society, might have quite enough to do on his own lands, in repelling turbulent or grasping neighbours, in repressing refractory vassals, and in strengthening himself in possession of lately-acquired estates, without following his sovereign to a war in which he had no interest, where he could gain little and might lose all. Every baron, indeed, was himself bound to personal service, but he was not bound to divide his lands amongst military followers according to the exact number of knights' fees that it contained. On the contrary, only a small part was generally so divided; but still he was obliged, when called upon, to produce the number of armed men required by the extent of his fief, and consequently some of these were always hired. He was expected to serve for forty days beyond the realm; but if he continued with the army after that term, it was at the king's charge; and in order to engage him to prolong his services, the monarch was obliged to hold out various inducements, which were almost always either pecuniary or territorial rewards. Thus the custom of serving for pay was very general, even at an early period of the feudal history; and nothing was wanting to make a breach in this point of the feudal constitution but the establishment of a right, on the part of those who were bound by tenure to personal service, of substituting hired representatives.

Women had always been permitted to perform the feudal duties repugnant to the delicacy of their sex by deputy. When William rendered the lands of the clergy feudal, he permitted the holders to enjoy the like immunity from a personal performance of acts inconsistent with their sacred office. In carrying on foreign wars, sovereigns found many inconveniences arise from the constitution of feudal armies, from the limitation of the time of service, and from their utter dependance upon their barons' good-will for any farther aid. The nobles, on the other hand, often murmured at being called, for even forty days, from their own affairs, to contentions in which they had no interest. The conveni-



ence of both parties might be consulted by the expedient of commuting military service for a sum of money; and, perhaps, the sovereign saw in that arrangement the means of selecting such of his barons to follow him as his political views might require, while he left behind him those whose presence might be burdensome or useless. He might also look forward to the time when a mercenary army would become a new counterpoise to the growing power of the barons.

Lord Lyttleton, in his history of Henry II., informs us that the first distinct example of this innovation took place in the reign of that monarch, who, during a war with the Welsh, permitted not only the spiritual barons of the realm, but their military tenants, to compound for their due service in the field, by payment of a pecuniary fine. He then proceeds to show, that in Henry's famous expedition against Toulouse, the permission was extended "to all inferior tenants in chief, and to almost all the sub-vassals who held by knight service. It was afterwards taken in like manner, not only for wars beyond the sea, but against Wales or Scotland: neither was it denied to the greater vassals of the crown (as it had been at first), unless by their summons they were expressly commanded to follow the king in person, or held some office by grand sargeantry, which required their attendance."

Thus was the whole constitution of a feudal army altered, and the greatest possible innovation effected in the system itself. Monarchs, as we shall see hereafter, soon learned to depend as much or more upon mercenary aid than upon the support of their feudal followers; and the great military tie was severed which bound the sovereign and his barons together. This change, however, greatly increased the revenues of the sovereign; and having here mentioned one of the sources which supplied money to carry on the various great enterprises of which I shall have to speak hereafter, I may as well notice some other branches of revenue in feudal times, that I may not have to interrupt the course of the narrative for the purpose of explanation hereafter.

The permanent sources of revenue varied very much in different reigns, some monarchs claiming what other sovereigns renounced; but we find that the rents of the crown lands, which at first were paid in kind, were put upon another footing by Henry I.; and after some shameful exac-



tions committed by his officers, were equitably settled on a pecuniary estimation. During a long period, a considerable revenue was derived from the shameful custom of selling the hands of heiresses and the ward of minors to the best bidders. Sometimes it would seem that an heiress ventured to select a husband for herself; but she had no chance of uniting her fate to his unless the price he could give was equal to that offered by another competitor, or that she herself purchased out of her inheritance the right of choice. Wealthy widows were also a subject of traffic with our Norman kings; and the ward of heirs, which conveyed the proceeds of their estates to the guardians during their minority, was another great source of revenue. The pretence upon which these exactions were founded was, that the lord might not lose the advantages of his vassal's service either by the minority or sex of the heir. The claim thus established was magnified and extended by the ingenuity of feudal lawyers; but the real object was the profit accruing to the sovereign and to his barons.

Henry I., in his memorable charter, promised a reform of many abuses which had taken place in consequence of the law regarding the marriages of daughters; but we find the absolute sale of the hand of heiresses going on at a much later period. The dues called reliefs formed another constant income. These were paid by the vassal to his lord on taking possession of his fief; and the relief, which actually means "the taking up" of a knight's fee, was fixed by William the Conqueror at one hundred shillings, a very considerable sum at the period of which we speak. The relief of a barony was supposed to be fixed by the number of knights' fees it contained, but was left vague, and was often oppressive.

Besides these sources of revenue, there were aids, some of which were appointed on certain defined occasions, as when the monarch made his eldest son a knight, or on the marriage of his eldest daughter, or on his falling into captivity. But aids or benevolences were called for on many other occasions, and would have been even more oppressive than they proved, had not the barons and clergy claimed the right of fixing the amount, and the manner of levying the tax. Customs and dues on bridges, fairs, imports and exports, also increased the royal finances, as did also various fines upon the granting or renewing of privileges to towns,

guilds, and even individuals. Talliage, and various taxes upon certain classes of the people, and danegeld and other dues levied upon land, might be enumerated; but it would occupy too much time to enter into all the particulars of the royal revenue, some of which offer very obscure and difficult points. We must not fail to add, however, that the sale of public justice upon a large and small scale, and the pecuniary amercements which the Norman law assigned to almost all offences, contributed greatly to the wealth of the sovereign.

These sources of income, and several others which are here omitted, placed vast riches at the disposal of any monarch of England who managed his expenses reasonably; and at the period of the birth of Richard I. the sovereign might thence derive immense power. The ease with which mercenary troops of tried courage and skill were to be procured, the custom of employing them on various occasions without offence, the right established by kings of summoning such nobles as they pleased to accompany them in their warfare, and to permit others to compound for personal service by the payment of scutage, the differences and divisions which always existed between the barons themselves, and the gradual tendency of the times to carry every cause into the king's court, had all contributed to counteract the dangerous power which the Norman leaders had acquired after the conquest. At the same time the growth of large towns, the immunities daily conceded to citizens, the increase of commerce, and the gradual enfranchisement of the servile population, was one of the chief causes of the augmentation of the royal authority, when considered in opposition to that of the nobles.

It may be needful here to say a few words in regard to the state of the towns and their inhabitants, who have been looked upon by some writers as little better than serfs or villeins. Such, however, was not at all the case in England, and I cannot discover that it ever was the case. That the people of cities were talliable, does not at all prove that their state approached that of villeinage. All the demesne land of the crown was talliable; and the citizens of the boroughs held apparently as much in free soccage as any other tenants of the crown. No other land I believe was talliable, but land that either was actually, or once had been demesne; for though many towns were talliated by inferior lords, yet I suspect an investigation into the tenures would



show that they had been demesne of the crown, and were granted with the right of talliage\* to the lords who held them. The great and increasing prosperity of the towns likewise shows that no very oppressive jurisdiction was exercised over them; and that the freedom of the citizens themselves was well secured, we may infer from the fact that a lord lost all power over a serf who could prove that he had remained a year and a day unmolested in a free borough, so as to be received into a guild or corporation.

England, at that time, contained many cities of much importance. Winchester, Exeter, York, were all large and splendid towns; but London had attained that pre-eminence which it has never since lost. It was indeed, even then, a vast and magnificent capital; for although we cannot depend upon the statements which have come down to us regarding the amount of its population, yet the number of churches within the city and its suburbs reached one hundred and twenty-six, which, with thirteen conventual churches, made one hundred and thirty-nine. Its limits too in the reign of Richard I. are very clearly defined, so that we can judge of its extent; for there is no reason to believe that the position of the seven gates of the city has since been altered; and between those gates ran the walls of the town, defended by a number of towers, besides three forts or castles, supposed to be extremely strong, according to the military art of that day. These were Baynard's and Montfichet castles, and that which is now called the Tower of London.

The old Palace of Westminster, the site of which is still marked by the magnificent Hall of Rufus, was then at the distance of about two miles from the nearest gate of the city; but even in the reign of Henry II., we find that a suburb extended from the capital to the royal abode, along that bank of the river which is still called the Strand. It was filled with the houses of citizens and noblemen, and possessed gardens stretching down to the river. The city of London was then, as now, the greatest commercial town in Europe. Its merchandise went forth to all quarters of the earth; and from the most remote, as well as from neighbouring countries, it received supplies of every article of luxury

\* Lord Lyttleton says: "Upon the whole, the condition of the citizens and burgesses holding of the crown in those days was never worse, and often better by divers privileges and favours granted to them, than that of all its other tenants in ancient demesne, who held by free soccage; and the same may be affirmed of those who belonged to private lords."



and necessity which the earth produced, or the ingenuity of man had at that time invented.

We find that here, merchants, from the far east as well as from the north, congregated every year with a certainty of disposing of their most precious commodities; and the habits of the citizens were of course luxurious and ostentatious in proportion. Though the greater part of the houses were then built of wood, yet others, and those of the chief traders and merchants, were of stone. The architecture of the city we find highly praised by contemporaries; and as we know what splendid buildings could be raised in those days, we have no reason to suppose that the edifices, whether of wood or of more durable materials, would have failed to excite our admiration also as specimens of a peculiar style. It is not, indeed, within the scope of the present work to give a minute account of the architecture of that age. Suffice it to say, that the period immediately preceding the reign of Richard I. was distinguished by a peculiar style, now known by the name of Norman architecture.\* This style, distinguished by the general though not constant use of the round arch, by the broad plain buttress, terminating under the cornice tablet, and the heavy low tower, ended with the reign of Henry II., and under his children a new style began.

The interior of the houses, under the Normans, were generally hung with tapestry or cloth; but in the reign of Richard, or shortly after, the rooms were sometimes painted with scenes from histories or fictions. The ceilings also were often richly painted, and gilt with many beautiful forms and devices; but these in all probability were copied from

\* Perhaps the name of Saxon might be better applied to this style, in England at least, as, historically speaking, there is every reason to believe that no fundamental change was made in the architecture which existed in England under the Anglo-Saxons by the Norman conquerors, unless it were the introduction of the pointed arch, which, as Mr. Rickman observes, is to be found in the oldest Norman buildings. The work might be much more refined and delicate, the ornaments might become more elaborate, and several ornaments peculiarly Norman certainly were introduced. Indeed, a refined system of architecture took place of a very rude one; but still the round arch—and certainly the arch must always be admitted as one of the grand characteristics of a style—was employed in this country under the Saxons. In the two buildings which Mr. Rickman admits to be probably of Saxon construction, the round arch is used both for doors and windows; and in speaking of that very style called Norman, he says, "This style seems to have commenced before the conquest." Innumerable churches in Italy offer, in parts indisputably of a date before 1000, details which are entirely of the style now called Norman; and it appears to me, as it does to Mr. Hope, that the epithet as now applied is a complete misnomer.

oriental models, as, were it not for some beautiful illuminations, we should have no reason to attribute to our ancestors, in those days, any great skill in the use of the pencil. Nevertheless, luxury had brought forth many of the ornamental arts. The Saxons themselves had been so famous for fine embroidery, and some other kinds of decoration in gold and silver, that as a recommendation to anything supposed to be superexcellent, it was said to be of "English work." Their garments also were so sumptuous as to create great surprise in the minds of the Normans, when they beheld some of the English, who had followed the Conqueror back to his native duchy, clothed in attire far more splendid than their own. It would appear that the Norman monarchs and their followers did not fail to imitate the inhabitants of their new land in the love of gorgeous apparel; for we find continual mention of rich silks, fine linen, clothes of resplendent colours, gold, pearls, and gilding, in their caps, dalmatiques, tunics, sword belts, and baldrics; while it is recorded of William Rufus, that he refused to put on hose which only cost three shillings, at that time an enormous sum, because he thought them too cheap for the legs of a king. Then, as now, fashions in dress were continually varying: but in the time of William II. the close coats were exchanged for looser apparel, long cloaks were universal, and the hair was not only worn of an excessive length, but was curled in studied ringlets by all the male attendants of the court. Very often false ringlets were added; and about the same period Fulk of Anjou introduced long points to the shoes, which were often so extravagant in extent as to be fastened to the knees of the wearer, and were stuffed with various materials to make them retain the peculiar form which the fashion of the day might give them. Now the toe represented a snake, now it was curled round like the horn of a ram.

Excess of drinking has always, unhappily, been an English vice; and during the Norman domination it was not diminished. Indeed, the luxury of the table was very great in every respect, especially, it would seem, in monasteries and religious houses. We are told, not only that from thirteen to sixteen different dishes were daily set upon some tables, but that these dishes consisted of the most exquisite and costly dainties; while foreign wines of many kinds, besides mead and other intoxicating liquors,\* the produce of the

\* We find mulberry wine amongst the rest.



country, flowed in too profuse abundance. It is probable, however, that in the baronial castle, where every vassal found a seat at the board of his lord, and many even of the inferior tenantry were regaled daily, the hospitality, though profuse, was less distinguished by the quality than the quantity of the viands; and here the native liquors of the land flowed with a liberal stream: ale, metheglin, and hypocrass taking place of the juice of the grape. However that might be, whether on the rush-covered hall of the castle, or the flower-strewed pavement of the city mansion, mirth and feasting generally ended in drunkenness, and often in strife.

Manifold in those days were the fine athletic sports of the people, both in the country and in the towns. In general, hunting and hawking were amusements reserved for the nobles; but the citizens of London possessed peculiar privileges in this respect, and could fly their hawks, or run their hounds, over a wide district in the counties of Middlesex, Hertford, and Kent. The proximity of a number of forests, and especially of Enfield-chase, which was then well stocked and of vast extent, rendered this right not insignificant at a period when the preservation of game was more regarded than the preservation of human life.

It is not to be expected that a barbarous age should not have barbarous amusements; and though we may well wonder that the torture of many domestic animals for the purposes of sport, should have been permitted within a few years of our own day, we cannot be surprised to find that bull-baiting, cock-fighting, bear-baiting, and combats between different dogs, or between dogs and boars, were then amongst the most approved entertainments of the people, as we shall show more particularly shortly. Football, and a number of other games, which have now very generally passed over to schoolboys, were then eagerly pursued by the young men of the land, both in towns and in the country; and the maypole, the morrice and the summer moonlight dances to the sound of the harp, as recorded by Fitz-Stephen, afforded softer amusements to the youth of the other sex, from a participation in which it is not probable that male companions were excluded. We are assured that chastity and other moral virtues were general amongst the citizens and lower orders; but the rudeness of the age showed itself both in

the frequency of robbery, and the means employed to put a stop to that crime.

Having mentioned the name of Fitz-Stephen, I think it may not be amiss to give some part of his description of the city of London, as it appeared in his time, namely, in the days of Henry II. and Richard I.

“Everywhere adjoining the houses in the suburbs,” he says, “the citizens have spacious and beautiful gardens, one joining the other, and planted with trees. Round about on the north side of London there are various principal fountains of sweet water, salubrious, clear, and flowing amongst shining pebbles, amongst which those called the Holy well, the Clerk’s well (now Clerkenwell), and Saint Clement’s well, are the most celebrated, and most frequented of scholars, and citizens going out in the summer evenings to take the air. The city must certainly be good, as it has a good lord. In London,” continues Fitz-Stephen, “three principal churches have three schools, by privilege and ancient dignity; nevertheless, by favour of some persons or certain teachers who are noted, and eminent for philosophy, there are other schools, by leave and permission. On holidays, the masters with their scholars celebrate assemblies at the festival churches. The scholars dispute there, some demonstratively, some dialectically, others recite enthymems, others better use perfect syllogisms. Some exercise disputation for ostentation, as struggling together; others, for truth, which is the grace of perfection.”

I need not proceed further with this description of the schools, which were the same all through Europe, for several hundred years: places, in short, where the abuse of the understanding was as much taught as its use. But I will go on to quote our author on matters of more interest: “The exercisers of each office, the sellers of each thing, and each hired labourer, are all every morning to be found distinguished by their places as by their offices. There is besides in London, upon the bank of the river, amongst the wine ships and wine cellars, a public kitchen, where every day may be found dishes of meat roasted, sodden and fried; fish, small fish, meats of coarse kinds for the poor, and more delicate for the rich, as venison, fowl, or small birds. If by chance any one of the citizens should be visited suddenly by friends wearied with travel, and it be not pleasant to let them wait fasting



till food can be bought and cooked, let the servants give water for the hands, and bread, while some one runs to the bank of the river, where everything desirable is ready. Whatsoever multitude of soldiers or travellers enter the city, at whatever hour of the day or night, or are about to go out of the city, that the one may not remain fasting, and that the other may not go out without their dinner, they can turn hither, if they please, and each refresh himself according to his own fashion. Those who wish to take care of themselves delicately, may take a goose, nor need they seek for the African fowl, or the Ionian godwit—delicacies which will be found there ready. This public cookery, indeed, is very convenient, and belongs to the city.”

Fitz-Stephen then goes on to describe the Friday horse market, which he says is attended by earls, barons, knights, and many citizens; and on this occasion he gives a curious description of the commencement of horse-racing in the market, which was held in a large field just without one of the gates of the city. “The buyers at first look at the horses in their slow pace, then in a quicker, and in their gallop. When the course, of such and of others which in their kind are both good for carriage, and quick for running, is about to begin, a shout is raised, and the common horses are ordered aside. The riders are boys. Sometimes three together, sometimes only two, prepare themselves for the strife; skilled to govern their horses, they rule the mouths of the wild creatures with sharp bitted bridles, avoiding especially lest one get before another. The horses also, after their manner, hold themselves up for the contest; their joints tremble; impatient of delay, they cannot stand still: the signal being given, they extend their limbs, hurry over the course, borne along with eager agility. The riders, striving from the love of praise and the hope of victory, apply the spur to the free horses, urging them no less with whips, and exciting them with cries. You would think everything in motion, according to Heraclitus, and that Zeno’s opinion that nothing moves nor passes through space, is false altogether.”

I shall omit the description of the cattle market, and proceed to give Fitz-Stephen’s account of the trade and internal government of London in his day. “To this city, from every nation under heaven, merchants carry on a commerce by sea: Arabia sends gold; the Sabæan spices and frank-

incense; the Scythian arms; the prolific soil of Babylon sends oil from its rich wood of palms.\* The Nile furnishes precious stones; the East Indies purple garments; Norway and Russia, vair, fur and sables; the French their wines. According to chronicles of authority it is older than the city of Rome. Both were from the same Trojan stock, this, however, being built by Brute before that was built by Romulus and Remus. Whence probably their ancient customs and laws were so much the same. Thus in a similar manner London is divided into regions (or wards), has annual sheriffs instead of consuls, has a senatorial dignity, and inferior magistrates, has sewers and aqueducts in the highways. All sorts of causes, deliberative, demonstrative and judicial, have their proper places of judgment and separate courts; the council has its meetings on appointed days. I do not think there is any city where there are more orderly customs of visiting churches, honouring the ordinances of God, observing holidays,† giving alms, showing hospitality, keeping engagements, contracting espousals, celebrating nuptials, ornamenting festivals, cheering guests, even in performing funerals, and inhuming the dead. The sole plagues of London are the immoderate drinking of fools, and frequent fires. Besides, almost all bishops, abbots, and nobles of England are, as it were, citizens and freemen of London, having there fine houses where they resort, and incur great expenses, being called thither to councils and important assemblies by the king or their metropolitan, or drawn by their own business."

The sports and pastimes of the citizens afford Fitz-Stephen a still more ample field for description. "Instead of theatrical spectacles and scenic plays, London has holier plays, namely, representations of miracles wrought by saintly confessors; or of the sufferings by which the constancy of the martyrs was made manifest. Besides, every year on carnival day—that we may begin with the sports of children, for we have all been children once—the boys of a school bring to their schoolmaster fighting cocks, and all the forenoon is given up to the sport of seeing these cocks fight in the schools. After

\* I have found some difficulty in translating this part of Fitz-Stephen's account, which is not written in the best latinity; but I suspect that the whole passage in the copy I have, is wrongly stopped. It is there written thus: "*Arma Scythes, oleum palmarum divite silva. Pingue solum, Babylon, &c.,*" which is mere nonsense.

† The words are "*festis feriandis,*" which might be translated more ways than one.



dinner, all the youths of the city go forth into the fields to play at ball. The scholars of each school have their ball, and the men of every craft of the city have their ball in their hands. The elder people, the fathers, and more wealthy citizens come out on horseback to witness the exercises of the youth, &c., &c.

“On every Sunday of Lent, after dinner, a troop of fresh youth goes out into the fields, mounted on war horses and on horses fit for the course, every one of which has been taught to run in the circle. The lay sons of the citizens burst out of the gates in bands, furnished with lances and military shields, the younger ones having their lances deprived of the iron; they now offer an image of war, and exercise themselves in military strife. Many come from the court when the king is in the neighbourhood, and also the youth of earls’ and barons’ families not yet possessed of the baldric, striving for military repute. The hope of victory fires them all; the horses neigh, their joints shake, they bite their bits, and impatient of delay they cannot stand still: when at length they beat the sounding course with their hoofs, the youthful riders divided into troops, some press on those before them, but cannot overtake them, some throw down their fellows and fly past them.

“In Easter they represent as it were naval battles. A shield being strongly fixed upon the trunk of a tree planted in the midst of the river, a young man placed in the prow of a boat carried swiftly on by both oars and the current, tries to strike the shield with his lance. If in striking it he breaks the spear and remains himself unmoved, he accomplishes his purpose, and has obtained his object: but if the lance remains unbroken when strongly struck, he is cast into the passing stream, the boat by its motion being carried away from him. There are, however, not far off from the shield, two stationary boats filled with young men, in order to take the unfortunate spearman out of the water, either when plunged in, or when he first appears again at the top. On the bridge, and in the galleries above the river, stand the spectators, prepared for much laughter. On holidays throughout the whole summer, the youth exercise themselves in sports with leaping, with the bow, with wrestling, with casting of stones, in throwing javelins with thongs beyond a limit, and with the warlike buckler.\* Bands of maidens beat the earth with free foot,

\* I have thus translated the words “*parmis duellionum*,” by which Stephanides

even until moonlight. In winter almost every holiday before dinner either the foaming boars fight for their heads, and hogs armed with terrible teeth are given over for bacon, or fat bulls or immense bears fight with the dogs that are let loose upon them. When that large marsh which extends on the north side of the city walls is frozen, thick crowds of youths go out to sport upon the ice. Some gaining more rapid motion by a run, with their feet apart and turned sideways, slide over a great space. Others make for themselves seats of ice like great millstones; many running before with their hands joined, draw him who sits thereon; some slipping with their feet in such rapidity of motion all fall on their faces. Others are more skilful in sports upon the ice, and fitting to the foot and tying on the shoes, bones, that is to say, the leg-bones of animals, and holding in their hands staves shod with sharp iron, with which they sometimes strike the ice, are borne on with velocity like that of a bird flying, or of a bolt from a cross-bow. Sometimes, also, two of these come by agreement, from a great distance apart, against one another, they meet with great force, they stretch forth their staves, they strike one another mutually. One or both fall, not without bodily harm, for after the fall they are carried far from one another, and wherever the head touches the ice, it is all bruised and flayed. Many break a leg or arm if they happen to fall."

Such, according to Fitz-Stephen, were the sports of the good citizens of London in the days immediately preceding the reign of Richard Cœur de Lion. Barbarous they certainly were, but the times in every respect harmonised with them, and the first Norman king, as well as his immediate successors, rather added to, than diminished, the barbarism of the land which he subdued. In the character of William the Conqueror, the barbarism of the times displayed itself in his fierceness and relentless severity. William Rufus, without the powers of his father, had all his despotic sternness, and superadded the licentiousness of the barbarian. In these respects the Anglo-Saxons had been comparatively civilised, for there is probably in modern history no parallel

probably meant practice with broadsword and buckler, always a favourite sport with our ancestors. In the sentence that follows, I have rather deviated from my author's exact words, as the good monk might by them give an impression which his whole account of London and its customs shows he did not mean. He says, in his inflated manner, speaking of the young women of the capital, "*Puellarum Cytherea ducit choras etc.*"



to the frenzied debaucheries of the second king of the Norman race and the horde of barbarians with which he filled his palace, except in the reign of the infamous Henry III. of France. Each had his minions, and the effeminate dapi-fers of William Rufus bear but too strict a resemblance, both in the nature and extent of their crimes, to the painted followers of the French tyrant. In order, it would seem, to allow more scope for the horrors of the royal orgies, lights were forbidden in the palace of the Norman after nightfall, and darkness covered vices on which we cannot dwell.

Every sort of licentiousness was practised under the second monarch after the conquest; and when Henry I. took possession of the throne, his coming was hailed as affording a prospect both of a deliverance from oppression, and a reformation of morals, though his own life exhibits a picture of continual indulgence in criminal amours, which not even his keen sense of policy could restrain. His unhappy son William, the immediate cause of whose death was an act of generous affection of which he left but too few on record, was at the early age of eighteen already overwhelmed by vices horrible and degrading, so that though the father mourned in bitterness of heart for the loss of his child, the nation could hardly regret a prince, whose overbearing disposition and early depravity promised a maturity as terrible as that of his uncle of the same name.

Though the subject be so dark and painful, it has seemed necessary to say thus much on the vices of our Norman kings, because the character of the monarchs that succeeded, and of the house of Plantagenet in general, cannot be duly estimated unless contrasted with that of the sovereigns who preceded them. Thus Henry II. himself and several of his successors, taken individually, appear far from deserving the praise of moral life; but when we compare the period which succeeded the accession of the second Henry with that which went before, we shall find a vast improvement in morals, notwithstanding several striking instances of licentiousness.

No regular rule of succession to the throne of England was observed till the reign of Henry II.; and indeed, even in private families, the law of inheritance seems to have been ill defined or ill observed. William the Conqueror, however, if we may believe that the words put into his mouth on his death-bed by various historians were really spoken by him, seems to have pointed out the rule of primo-

geniture as the one he recognised, even while he conveyed the throne of England to William Rufus, as far as he could convey that which he himself, in truth, held only by his sword. "Normandy," he said, "he had received from his fathers, and therefore that, as his paternal inheritance, he left to his eldest son." Might continued to make right, however; and Henry I., after having seized the crown of England, stripped his brother Robert of his undoubted dominions, and by a base violation of confidence and honour, confined him in a prison, of which death alone unclosed the doors. The plunderer of his brother, being suddenly deprived of his son William by the wreck of the vessel which was bearing the prince to England,\* had only one legitimate child left, a daughter, who had first been named Alice, but had afterwards assumed the name of Matilda, and married the Emperor Henry IV.† The desire of seating one of his own posterity on the throne, and the difficulty of securing the crown to his daughter, induced the King of England to marry his second wife, named Adelais, whose youth seemed to afford a prospect of numerous issue. Their bed, however, was unfruitful, and in the end he determined to settle the crown on his daughter, the Empress Matilda.

Although her husband was now dead, Matilda was very unwilling to leave her adopted country, and the English barons were not well disposed to allow the sceptre to be placed in a female hand; but Henry overcame the repugnance of both, and, in a general assembly of the clergy and nobles, Matilda was declared next in succession to the crown of England. It is to be remarked, that at this meeting were present, besides David King of Scotland, maternal uncle of the princess, her cousin Stephen Count of Boulogne, the son

\* The prince was following his father to England in a vessel called the White Ship, accompanied by his natural brother Richard, and their sister Adela, with an hundred and forty knights and sixteen ladies of noble birth. They spent several hours in drunkenness and debauchery before they weighed anchor; and some of the party, seeing the state of the crew, retired to land, and thus saved themselves. The ship was then unmoored, but in the confusion drifted on a ledge of rock not far from Barfleur, and immediately began to sink. The prince got speedily into a boat, and was rowing for the land when the cries of his sister Adela caught his ear, and he returned to save her. The moment he approached the ship, multitudes poured into the boat, which immediately sunk as well as the ship. Only one person was saved from the wreck, who clung during the whole night to the top of a mast which appeared above water.

† It was not at all uncommon in those days thus to change what is called the Christian name. A similar alteration had been made by the mother of Matilda, whose name was originally Edith.



of Adela, daughter of the Conqueror, and also Robert Earl of Gloucester, Matilda's half-brother, a natural son of her father Henry. Between these two noblemen immediately arose a dispute regarding precedence in the assembly, and it has been supposed that Robert of Gloucester, foreseeing that Matilda's title would ultimately be contested, looked with ambition towards the crown itself, as a prize which perhaps might fall to his lot, in an age when bastardy was not regarded as an insuperable bar, in all cases, of feudal succession. To be declared next to Matilda might have secured a distinct claim upon the crown itself; for if his illegitimacy did not affect his relation to Stephen of Boulogne, it could not be supposed to affect his position in regard to the succession. If he acted upon such considerations, the danger was obviated by the decision of the barons, who maintained that the claim of legitimacy was superior to that of proximity, and assigned the first place to Stephen, whose ultimate views undoubtedly extended to the crown.

In the various struggles and contentions which had convulsed Normandy under the sons of the Conqueror, Fulk, named Plantagenet,\* Count of Anjou, had taken a frequent part. Henry I. had studiously courted that prince, who had obtained much renown as a soldier, and who being called to the distant throne of Jerusalem about this time, resigned his European dominions to his son Geoffrey, a rash, hot-headed, violent youth. To the young count, Henry had already proposed the hand of his daughter, and he now urged on the match, promising him it would seem the immediate investiture of Normandy. In this scheme the king had to contend once more with the reluctance of his daughter, and the disapprobation of his vassals, who were strongly averse to the union of their future queen with the young Count of Anjou. Henry, however, persevered, and Matilda was married to Geoffrey, notwithstanding the murmurs of the Anglo-Norman barons, from whom the conclusion of the treaty was concealed as long as possible. Geoffrey acted as a boy of sixteen might be expected to act—quarrelled with his wife and father-in-law, and left neither of them any peace

\* From the *genêt*, or broom-tree, which his family bore as their device. I find the term *Plante de genêt* given as the origin of the appellation assumed by the house of Anjou; but the name of this shrub is much more simply put as *Plante à genêt*, which was not at all an uncommon form in the French of that day, and is still retained in such expressions as *arbre à fruit*, *bateau à voiles*, &c.

during several years. But the purpose of Henry was so far accomplished, that Matilda bore three sons to her husband, and male posterity was thus secured.

To place the succession of his daughter and her children beyond all doubt, the king engaged his barons to take an oath of fealty to her after her marriage with Geoffrey; and again on the birth of Henry, her eldest son, that oath was renewed to the young prince as heir to the crown. In all these acts, Stephen Count of Boulogne took part, and bound himself by the most solemn ties to support the throne of Matilda. Though naturally and habitually a suspicious man, Henry I., to his credit be it spoken, retained some faith in human gratitude and honour; and he does not seem to have entertained the slightest apprehension that either the strong tie of benefits received and conferred which ought to have bound his nephew to him, or the solemn vow which the Count of Boulogne had taken to Matilda, would ever be broken.

Stephen himself was one of four brothers, the sons, as we have seen, of Adela, daughter of the Conqueror, and the Count of Blois. The distribution of the count's patrimony after his death shows one of the strange anomalies which occasionally took place in the feudal system at an early period, and proves, by a striking example, how weakly established was the right of primogeniture at this time. It was Theobald, the second son of the count, who succeeded to the territory of Blois; the eldest son, William, having become Count of Solieu by his marriage with the heiress of that fief. The two other sons, Stephen and Henry, derived their elevation from the kindness and affection of their uncle, the King of England. The youngest he gradually raised from monastic seclusion to the important bishopric of Winchester; and Stephen, the third son of his sister, he married to the heiress of the Count of Boulogne, after bestowing on him numerous estates both in England and Normandy.

In him Henry trusted that his daughter would find strong support; and in that confidence, the king remained in Normandy, to guard the duchy against some rash though perhaps not unjustifiable attempts of his son-in-law Geoffrey. He was still there, when either excess or some accidental cause cast him into a fever, and he soon felt that the termination of his long and eventful career was approaching. On his death-bed, he solemnly declared it to be his will that



the kingdom of England, as well as the duchy of Normandy, should descend to his daughter Matilda, and in direct succession to her legitimate posterity. He did not leave any portion of his territories to Geoffrey of Anjou; nor did he seem to contemplate any material opposition to the immediate elevation of his daughter. Shortly after this solemn ratification of that order of succession which he had previously established, he died, leaving his illegitimate son, Robert of Gloucester, to manage the affairs of Normandy for the empress, till she could be called from Anjou, to which province she had lately gone with her husband.

In favour of Matilda's claim there was much to be urged; her father's will, the oaths of the barons, her immediate proximity in blood to the last king, and her clear descent from the Anglo-Saxon monarchs of England; for though she was not the direct heir of the last of those monarchs, she was yet quite near enough to succeed according to the Saxon rule. Against her, but one objection was to be urged—that she was a woman; and though it could be shown that in all ordinary cases of feudal succession old rules had been done away, and a female succeeded to her father's lands unopposed by collateral males; yet hers was the first instance where a crown was in dispute; and the objection was sufficiently strong to induce Stephen to determine at once upon contesting with her the throne of England, notwithstanding the oaths of all the barons of the land, notwithstanding his own repeated vows, and notwithstanding the ties of gratitude, which ought to have bound him to support her with all his strength.

The way was prepared before the Count of Boulogne by the perfidy of his brother, the Bishop of Winchester; who, as we have before said, had been raised by Henry I., from the low state of a Cluniac monk, to one of the most important dignities of the English Church, and had been covered with benefits and obligations of all kinds. Not the slightest doubt can exist that the bishop had laboured effectually to dispose the minds of many persons in favour of his brother; and there is even reason to suppose, that if he did not actually suggest to Stephen his design upon the crown, he confirmed him in his determination of contesting the succession with Matilda.

No sooner then did the news of the king's death reach the ears of the Count of Boulogne, than he set sail from Whit-

sand for the shores of England, determined to oppose both by arms and deceit the claims of the daughter of his uncle and benefactor.

A thousand circumstances combined to render the just pretensions of that princess unsuccessful. She herself was absent in Anjou at the time of her father's death. Her attached and talented brother, Robert, Earl of Gloucester, was detained in Normandy, by the task of executing Henry's will regarding that province; and almost all those on whose faith and attachment she had the best reason to rely for the security of her insular dominions, proved false and treacherous, abandoning her cause at the appearance of a rival, and selling their faith to the first bidder.

Amongst those that most disgraced themselves by treachery and ingratitude, was Roger, Bishop of Salisbury, who owed even more to the father of Matilda than Stephen himself, or the Bishop of Winchester. He had been taken from the low station of a Norman curate, and without any claim whatever had been raised successively by the mere bounty of Henry to the posts and dignities of Chancellor, Bishop of Salisbury, and Grand Justiciary. In the latter quality he was the natural Protector and Regent of the Kingdom upon the demise of the Crown: he held all the power, and all the authority of the state; and had he remained faithful to the duties imposed upon him both by his situation and by the will of his master, Stephen's attempt must have been frustrated in the outset. He, however, was one of the first to betray Matilda and go over to her enemies; and for this act, he met, at an after period, not only a just, but an appropriate punishment.

It is not to be doubted, that the defection of the Grand Justiciary was owing to the suggestions and temptations of the Bishop of Winchester, one of the most remarkable men of his age: unprincipled, dissolute, and careless of every moral duty; but bold, politic, decided, and endowed with the rare and valuable talent of guiding, directing, and uniting a great party. The Bishop of Salisbury was also a man of considerable ability, and was particularly distinguished by his skill in finance. Though by no means a moral or religious man, he had not shown any very marked and offensive neglect of his duties as a churchman and a minister, in an age when the license and debauchery of the clergy was probably at its height.



A third prelate speedily brought over to the party of Stephen, was William, Archbishop of Canterbury, a person of a weak mind, destitute of all firmness and resolution, who had long been under the influence of the Bishop of Winchester, and was accustomed to yield to him in everything. So much indeed was this the case, that he could not refrain from following his guidance, even on occasions where it is distinctly proved that he knew the wrong he was committing.

Notwithstanding all the preparations which had been made to ensure success to the enterprise of Stephen, he met with two rebuffs on his arrival in England, which might have checked the career of a less bold and ambitious man. Dover, then important as a fortress, refused to give him admission; and Canterbury, a large, wealthy, and distinguished town, shut her gates against the usurper. He hastened on, however, towards the capital undismayed; and in the city of London was received with joy and gratulation. His purpose was now no longer disguised. Educated in England, renowned in arms, liberal, courteous, affable, wherever Stephen was known, he was popular with all classes; and the citizens of the metropolis hastened to testify their affection, by proclaiming him King of England.

Stephen then proceeded to Winchester, where a reception as gratifying awaited him, and where voices, in those days more important than the acclamations of any town, were to be sought and won. These were the voices of the clergy and nobility of the realm; and the previous exertions of the Bishop of Winchester now began to show their fruit. The usurper was here met by the Archbishop of Canterbury, by the Bishop of Salisbury, and by a person whose co-operation was most important to the success of his enterprise—namely, William du Pont de l'Arche, to whom jointly, it would appear, with the Bishop of Salisbury, Henry I. had entrusted his immense treasure.

It is probable that a part of this treasure might of right appertain to the nation; but undoubtedly the greater part was Henry's own private property, which should have fallen to Matilda by every principle of law and justice. The false guardians, however, to whom it had been entrusted, instantly gave it up to her rival; and with her own money Stephen proceeded to buy her own subjects. The Bishop of Salisbury was rewarded by a donation of the town of Malmsbury,

and by the appointment of his illegitimate son to the post of chancellor ; while his nephew, the Bishop of Ely, was created treasurer ; and had he demanded ten times more, there can be no doubt that he would have obtained it ; for Stephen's situation, and the power of the bishop, rendered the prince's sincerity unquestionable, when he said, in speaking of that prelate, " By the nativity of God, if he were to ask me for one half my kingdom, I would grant it to him, *till this season be past.*"

The same views which moved the Bishop of Salisbury brought many other nobles and prelates round the usurper, though the great body of the nobility came so slowly, that Stephen might well entertain some apprehensions. The archbishop, too, was not without scruples in regard to the oath of fealty three times taken to Matilda ; and others might feel the same hesitation. An expedient was easily found for removing this difficulty. Ingratitude, treason, and breach of trust, had gone before ; a little perjury was now the only thing required ; and Hugh Bigod, Earl of Norfolk, steward of the household, was brought forward to swear that Henry on his death-bed had declared his vassals free of the oaths they had taken to Matilda and her son. Stephen found greater facility after this impudent falsehood was promulgated ; and though we cannot follow him step by step through his career, it may be necessary to say that he was crowned upon certain promises regarding the rights of the barons, and the privileges and authority of the Church.

The ceremony took place on the 22nd December, 1135, just twenty days after the death of Henry the First : in the beginning of the following year, the body of the deceased king was brought to England for interment ; and Stephen hastened to show every mark of reverence to the corpse of him whose living will he had set at nought. He afterwards proceeded to Oxford, and there announced to a great assembly of the nobility and clergy, that his title to the throne of England had been confirmed by the Papal authority. He renewed about the same time all his oaths and promises, pledging himself not to retain in his hands those bishoprics and abbeys which might become vacant during his reign, to restore the old laws, and to abolish many of the restrictions which had been placed upon the rights of chase. There is a curious reservation in this oath, however, as he ends by



declaring, "that he grants the whole, with a saving to his just and royal dignity." \*

The nobles and the clergy renewed to him their oaths in return; but in the engagements of the clergy we find a saving clause also which many of the lay barons likewise inserted. They only promised that they would be faithful to him while he preserved the liberties of the Church, and the vigour of discipline; and such vague expressions of course left the oaths little better than empty air: if indeed Stephen could, under any circumstances, regard the pledges of men who had so lately broken a vow three times repeated, as aught but a mere mockery.

While all these events were taking place, the Empress Matilda had in the first instance gone on unconscious of the treachery of her cousin; had entered Normandy from Anjou, and had been received without opposition; but her condition even in Normandy was soon changed. She herself was arrogant, presumptuous, and violent. Geoffrey showed himself capricious, rash, and tyrannical. What the Normans might have borne from their native princess, they would not bear from her foreign husband. Great excesses, it would seem, marked his entrance into the province, and the people rose and drove him out at the point of the spear.

News now reached Normandy of Stephen's usurpation of the crown of England, while the Norman barons, disgusted with the conduct both of Matilda and Geoffrey, were preparing to dispose of the ducal wreath to some person more worthy of respect. The emissaries of Stephen took advantage of the moment to urge the claims of their master, and to set forth the evil consequences of separating Normandy from England. Their reasoning was effectual, and the barons consented to acknowledge him as duke; although he was very far from obtaining possession of the whole duchy, as a result of this recognition, which we shall presently have occasion to show more at large.

As Lord Lyttleton has justly observed, "Stephen neither knew how to govern as a lawful king or a tyrant; and while he permitted, and pledged himself to permit, his turbulent barons to fortify themselves in castles, which rendered his authority nearly unavailing, he gave them high subject of dissatisfaction, by introducing into his dominions many of

\* His words are:—"Hæc omnia concedo et confirmo. Salva regia et justa dignitate mea."

those bands of foreign mercenaries, which at that time were springing up in the north of Europe. It so happened that at the same period a man was found worthy to command such troops; though it is but just to acknowledge that Stephen possessed chivalrous qualities, which make us wonder at his selection of a person every way so infamous as William of Ipres. That leader was the illegitimate descendant of one of the sovereigns of Flanders, and had been deeply implicated in the murder of his own first cousin, count of that country, called Charles the Good. His guilt seems to have been proved beyond all doubt; and, driven forth from his native country and his possessions, by the indignation of the King of France, he had put himself at the head of various troops of adventurers; and now sold his services and theirs to the usurping King of England. General indignation was excited in the nation, by the introduction of such troops under such a leader; and whether it was in Normandy or in England that William of Ipres appeared, he was sure to be met by the opposition of the British and Norman barons. The mercenary leader nevertheless increased daily in the favour of the king, monopolising a great part of the bounties of that monarch; and had Stephen followed his advice, that prince, though he certainly would not thereby have done his cause any service with those who were anxious to see their country governed according to law and justice, would, in all probability, have secured his power as a tyrant and usurper; for there can be no doubt that the councils of William of Ipres would have removed from the king's path the Earl of Gloucester, and many other nobles, supposed or known to be disaffected.

Stephen did not, however, pursue the line of conduct pointed out; and after having visited Normandy, and endeavoured to render his hold upon that duchy more firm, the king returned to England, called back by incursions on his northern frontier, which threatened to shake his throne itself. These were attacks made by David, King of Scotland, under the pretence of serving his niece, the empress; but if we may judge from the result, more with a view to plunder and conquest on his own account, than to the benefit of his relation.

We shall not pursue these insignificant wars, nor the desultory struggles which Stephen maintained with some of his barons, but shall proceed at once to notice the general



causes which prepared the way for the return of Matilda to England. At the outset of his career, in chastising refractory nobles, and in punishing even remarkable criminals, Stephen showed a degree of lenity which was impolitic from its excess. The consequences were such as might be expected: his authority was despised, and when at length he proceeded to exercise vigour, which he did with the same indiscretion that he had formerly shown in his clemency, he was naturally accused of injustice and oppression. Liberal of promises, his promises were never kept; and in every respect he disappointed those who had supported him. At the same time, the natural versatility of popular affection abandoned the successful monarch, and the eyes of men, either reasonably or unreasonably dissatisfied, turned towards the absent princess, whom they had before neglected.

To complete the measure of his imprudence, Stephen became irritable under the discontent he saw growing around him. Intrigues, as he well knew, were opened with Matilda; those who did not actually promise her support, did not fail to vent their murmurs in such a manner as to reach her ears; many were really disposed to break the oaths they had taken to Stephen, as well as those they had broken to Matilda, and many others Stephen suspected who probably were not guilty. A coolness had risen up between him and his brother, the Bishop of Winchester. The Bishop of Salisbury, who might be said to have placed him on the throne, did not enjoy under Stephen that authority he had possessed under Henry; the clergy were dissatisfied on account of many evasions which appeared in the execution of the royal promises; and it only wanted some violent aggression on the part of the king to rouse that important body against him.

The aggression soon took place. Instigated by his own apprehensions and suspicions, not less than by the suggestions of his foreign favourites, the king learnt to regard the Bishop of Salisbury as a concealed and dangerous enemy. It is probable, indeed, that the prelate and his relations did hold some communication with Matilda; but instead of attempting by moderate means to frustrate any machinations against himself, or to win back to his interest the disaffected churchmen, Stephen, to crush their intrigues, and to punish their falling off, determined rashly upon an act which was certain to array the whole body of the English Church

against him, if it did not even call down upon his head the thunders of the Roman See.

Upon a frivolous pretence, he caused the Bishops of Salisbury and Lincoln to be arrested in the town of Oxford. The Bishop of Ely had been marked out for the same fate; but, warned in time, he fled to Devizes, in the strong castle of which town he prepared to resist the authority of the king. By order of Stephen, the Bishop of Salisbury having been kept without food, was brought in a famishing condition under the walls of Devizes, and shown to his nephew, who was at the same time informed that his relation and benefactor would be subjected to the terrible death of starvation, unless the place was immediately given up to the royal troops.

This intimation produced the intended effect; the castle surrendered, and all the towns which the bishop and his family possessed fell into the hands of the king.

As a natural consequence, the highest degree of indignation was excited in the clergy throughout the country. The Bishop of Winchester himself earnestly and repeatedly entreated his brother to abandon measures of so dangerous a tendency, to restore the surrendered towns and castles to the bishops, and to remove by concession the prejudicial impression which his violent conduct had produced. All persuasions failed, however, and as a legate of the Roman Church, with which dignity he was now invested, the Bishop of Winchester summoned a synod to take into consideration the act which had been committed. Against this synod Stephen appealed to the Pope, and forced his brother to dissolve the assembly, by means very nearly approaching to violence. The Bishop of Winchester was of course offended and angry, and now found himself arrayed against his brother by the very acts of Stephen himself.

Such was the state of the king's affairs in England when Matilda, who had remained more than three years apparently without a chance of forming a party in her father's territories, set sail for this country, accompanied by her brother, Robert Earl of Gloucester, and one hundred and forty knights. The earl indeed had added his name to the roll of barons who swore fealty to Stephen at Oxford; but in the oath he took he expressly stipulated that he should be no longer bound by it than so long as Stephen kept his engagements with him, and maintained to him his dignity uninjured and entire. Stephen, however, had given him fully



sufficient cause to doubt his security at the English court, and he had consequently remained at a distance, watching the progress of events, and preparing to take advantage of the first favourable conjuncture to assert the claims of his sister to the crown.

Matilda and her brother reached the shores of Sussex on the 30th of September, 1139, and were kindly received by Adelais, the queen-dowager. That princess had married the Earl of Sussex after her first husband's death, but had always preserved a tender regard for Henry's child, and had kept up a secret correspondence with her during her exile. The gates of Arundel castle, which was then in her possession, were thrown open to the empress and her followers; and there the Earl of Gloucester left his sister, trusting that the strength of the place would enable her to resist all the efforts of Stephen till he could raise an army and march to her relief. The journey which he himself then undertook was most perilous, for a wide tract of country lay between Arundel and Bristol, in the neighbourhood of which city the earl's chief partisans were to be found; and the intervening space was thickly covered with the friends and supporters of Stephen.

Partly, it is supposed, by the connivance and aid of the Bishop of Winchester himself, partly by the prompt and vigorous assistance of Brian Fitz-Comte, Constable of Wallingford castle, Robert of Gloucester, pursuing by-paths and unfrequented roads, made his way across the country in safety. A great part of the west of England now declared in favour of Matilda, as well as Canterbury and Dover in the east; but on the other hand, Stephen marching with extreme rapidity from Marlborough to Arundel, laid siege to the castle, and might have captured his rival with ease. It was under these circumstances that the king, some say at the treacherous suggestion of his brother, some say from a spontaneous movement—a folly which is hardly credible—entered into a convention with Matilda, by virtue of which she was conveyed safely under an escort of his own troops to join her brother at Bristol.

As soon as this extraordinary compact was executed, both parties took the field; but a great part of the nobility held aloof from both, and satisfied themselves with plundering and making war upon their neighbours. Various changes of fortune then occurred; but after a desultory struggle, a

battle ensued, in which Stephen was taken prisoner. The clergy sided with Matilda; the barons did so likewise, though by no means universally; and the citizens followed where the others led, with the exception of the inhabitants of London, who with laudable firmness maintained their faith to the sovereign they had chosen, as long as it was possible, and in the end gave but very faint tokens of acquiescence in the substitution of Matilda. The Bishop of Winchester, the brother of the imprisoned prince, after some faint dalliance with the successful power, had likewise acceded, and affecting to blend justice to Matilda and the nation with a decent love for his brother, he admitted in full synod that Stephen had failed in all his engagements, and, therefore, that the people were free from the restraint of their oaths.

The character of the empress was one in which the evil spots are more clearly seen under the full sunshine of success than in the dim twilight of adversity. All her arrogance and harshness of character now appeared, and she soon taught the people of England to regret Stephen and abhor herself. She insulted and injured the citizens of London, whose adherence to their oaths should but have excited her respect; and in an outburst of popular feeling, excited by the sight of a small troop of horse belonging to a feeble party which the wife of Stephen had raised in his favour, the burgesses rose and rushed to besiege Matilda in her palace. She escaped them but by a few minutes, and with a small body of friends fled in haste to Oxford.

It would seem that the Bishop of Winchester was by this time disgusted with the party of the empress, and was actually engaged in preparing for the restoration of his brother. An intimation that such was the case having been conveyed to the ears of Matilda, she determined to surprise him in Winchester; but failing in that attempt, she endeavoured to get possession of his wealth, and of a fortress which he held in that city. While she was eagerly besieging the latter, however, she was attacked by the bishop and a large body of his adherents, and was in turn besieged by him. The fortunes of the day now became unfavourable to the empress, and she was forced to fly, while her brother and a body of her most faithful friends attempted to cover her retreat, and sacrificed themselves for her safety. The Earl of Gloucester and several others were taken, many more were slain, and the rest escaped with the greatest difficulty; but Matilda herself



was placed in security by the gallant devotion of her friends, and reached the castle of Devizes after extraordinary fatigues.

Stephen's partisans treated Robert of Gloucester with much greater lenity than Matilda had shown towards the usurper;\* and after various negotiations, it was agreed that the brother of the empress should be exchanged for the king. Thus when the two parties once more took the field against each other, they were very nearly in the same position in which they had commenced the war.

Though his situation seemed somewhat difficult, from the fact of his having served both parties, the Bishop of Winchester, formidable alike to each, easily prevailed upon Stephen to regard his late services as full compensation for his former defection. At the same time, to the people and the clergy he justified his political variations, in a manner not very complimentary to either of the candidates for the throne. He said, in effect, that although Stephen's conduct had been so bad as to induce him, notwithstanding their affinity, to abandon his cause, yet Matilda's had proved so much worse, that he was fully justified in quitting her party likewise. He added, moreover, that he had been compelled by circumstances to support the empress for a time, not led by inclination; and that since then God had manifestly shown his disapprobation of Matilda's cause, by the misfortunes with which he had visited her.

It is an extraordinary thing, that the quality of the human mind which seems the most completely independent of all adventitious aids—I mean common sense—should be found so very often wanting in barbarous ages. This reasoning on the part of the legate was received as perfectly satisfactory by a great part of his audience, and he proceeded with an unblushing face to adjure the clergy to excommunicate the supporters of her whom he had himself so lately served.

Before the struggle in the field, which had been for a time suspended, was fully renewed, Stephen fell dangerously ill. The Earl of Gloucester, with that penetration which always distinguished him, had long seen that the two parties in the country were too nearly balanced to admit a hope of speedy

\* By some we are told, that Matilda loaded Stephen with chains, and treated him with the utmost severity: by others, equally worthy of credit, that the Earl of Gloucester "treated him with the greatest humanity," and "kept him in safe but gentle confinement:" which of these two statements is correct may be difficult to decide.

success to either unless some new elements could be thrown in, to give a preponderance to the one or the other; and in the hope of gaining this point in favour of his sister Matilda, he had sent over deputies to entreat the presence of her husband in England. Geoffrey, however, refused even to treat upon the subject with any one but Matilda's brother, and the earl, though unwillingly, now seized the time of Stephen's illness to hasten back to France, and beseech Geoffrey to come over to his wife's aid with all troops that he could levy.

Geoffrey's affection for Matilda, however, was but small; and although he sometimes made a show of yielding to her appeal, and thus detained the Earl of Gloucester in Normandy for several months, he ultimately refused to accompany him back to England, but permitted him at his wife's request to carry over Henry, the eldest son of the princess, in the hope of exciting some new interest in her favour.

Before the earl left Normandy he aided the Count of Anjou in gaining possession of a great part of that duchy; but towards the close of the year 1142, the progress which Stephen was making in England rendered it absolutely necessary for the earl to fly to the aid of his sister. Matilda by this time was closely besieged in the castle of Oxford, where she soon found herself straitened for provisions; and Gloucester setting sail as soon as he received intelligence of her situation, arrived soon after at Wareham, on the coast of Dorsetshire, which was then an important city, belonging to himself. The castle, however, which had been taken by Stephen, was garrisoned with his troops; and the earl, anxious to draw the king from Oxford, besieged Wareham and Lulworth castles, and reduced the Isle of Portland, which had been fortified by the enemy. Finding, however, that nothing could induce Stephen to abandon the operations against Matilda, he determined to join the army which had been collected for her service at Wallingford, issuing at the same time a summons for his own partisans to meet him at Cirencester. His force now increased every day, and he was marching rapidly to his sister's deliverance, when to his surprise and joy he found that she had made her escape from Oxford, had passed through the midst of the hostile army during the night, had crossed the Thames, which she fortunately found frozen over, on foot, and after a long journey through the snow, had reached the castle of Wallingford in safety.



The miraculous nature of this escape served Matilda nearly as much as a victory; and the meeting with her brother and son increased her joy. The young prince was left under the care of the Earl of Gloucester, who it would seem during the rest of his life bestowed particular pains upon Henry's education. But neither for that nor any other occupation did Gloucester neglect the cause of his sister; and after frustrating the king in various attempts, he attacked and totally defeated him in the neighbourhood of Wilton. About the same time Geoffrey Plantagenet made himself master of Rouen, assisted in the siege, strange to say, by Louis King of France, and by a number of persons who had hitherto displayed the greatest zeal in the service of Stephen.

It was the character of this war, however, never to continue long favourable to one or the other of the two parties. If success in arms was obtained, the balance was soon restored, by some unexpected misfortune; and scarcely had the battle of Wilton been gained, when one of the most faithful and talented of Matilda's followers, Milo, Earl of Hereford, was accidentally killed whilst hunting. One-half, however, or nearly one-half of the country, remained in the possession of the empress; and in that portion some degree of order and regularity was maintained, which was not the case in the rest of the kingdom. There rapine, murder, torture, pestilence, famine, and despair, raged amongst the people; while a multitude of feudal lords, owning the authority of none, sanguinary, remorseless, and rapacious, dwelt within the walls of their well-guarded castles, and only issued forth to scourge with new devastation the miserable country round them.

Perhaps on the whole, at this period Matilda was in a better situation than her rival; and Stephen, by the various violent acts which he committed, contributed to render his own position worse. He alienated the brave and remorseless Earl of Essex, and also estranged one who had served him well, Bigod, Earl of Norfolk. Several other noblemen of great power and influence were arrested by his orders and deprived of their castles; and he gave much offence by various of his measures to that important body, the clergy. His losses, however, were more than compensated by the attack and capture of the castle of Farringdon, under the very eyes of the Earl of Gloucester, who could do nothing to relieve it; and this terrible blow to the cause of Matilda was followed by the base defection of the Earl of Chester, as well

as that of her own brother's youngest son. The town of Bedford was also taken by Stephen, and more than one-half of Matilda's possessions and followers were lost in the space of a few months. Certain it is, that in all the transactions of these times, her overbearing arrogance, and violence of temper, did her more injury than the arms of her enemies ; and neither the mildness, the justice, the abilities, or the devotion of her brother, the Earl of Gloucester, could counter-balance the effects of her own unhappy disposition.

Her husband, the Count of Anjou, however, was now in possession of Normandy, and many of the faults which he had displayed in youth had been corrected by experience ; but hopeless of his wife's success in England, and anxious to see his eldest son, he besought the Earl of Gloucester to send the young prince back to Normandy. With this request the earl complied, though it would seem unwillingly ; and shortly after, Gloucester himself being attacked by fever, died in the month of November, 1146, leaving the cause of Matilda entirely hopeless. In the beginning of the following year, after a vain struggle to maintain her party in the kingdom, the empress herself set sail, and abandoning England, took refuge with her husband in Normandy.

She left behind perhaps scarcely one person who loved her, and her absence was probably advantageous to her cause. Stephen's own disposition had been soured by reverses ; he had become jealous, suspicious, morose, inexorable. One by one, he drove many of the principal nobles into revolt, the chief of whom was that Earl of Chester, who had so lately abandoned the cause of Matilda. New injuries were offered to the clergy, and quarrels ensued between the ambitious Bishop of Winchester and the Archbishop of Canterbury, in which Stephen took part, and soon brought upon his territories the evils of an interdict.

These events occupied the greater part of the next two years ; and though in that time the hatred of the people towards Matilda had not decreased, yet the eyes of men began to turn towards her son Henry, who, having now reached sixteen years of age, displayed the promise of great abilities, and already possessed many graces of person and demeanour. An invitation to return to England was accordingly sent to him ; and many motives induced him to comply. He felt certain of support from the Pope and the Archbishop of Canterbury, who had now risen superior to the Bishop of



Winchester; the Earls of Chester and Hereford, with the young Earl of Gloucester, called eagerly for his presence, and promised him their fealty; and his mother's uncle, David, King of Scotland, held out to him hopes of still more important assistance; though this was coupled with a demand, that he should not be disturbed in possession of the three northern counties which he had obtained during the struggle between Stephen and Matilda. Everything promised him success; and escorted by a chosen body of troops, he landed on the coast of England—it is supposed in Dorsetshire; and proceeded to join the King of Scotland at Carlisle. From the hand of that monarch he received the honour of knighthood, and nothing was thought of during the winter months but the invasion of England.

Henry, however, had either accepted the invitation too soon, or his friends were timid or faithless. Stephen advanced with an army to York, and his son, Prince Eustace, made incursions upon the territories of the inimical barons. David remained at Carlisle with a force strong enough to protect his own territories, but not sufficiently numerous to attempt the invasion of England. The noblemen who had promised Henry their full support failed to join him. The King of Scotland would not march without them; and Henry, after seeing great part of the year wasted in inactivity, returned to Normandy in 1150, though not till he had created a strong interest in his favour amongst the barons of England and Scotland.

His return to the continent was very soon followed by an act which affected the fortunes of Henry during his whole life; and a few preliminary words are necessary in order to explain the events which succeeded. Not many years before, the well known Crusade under Louis the Young had taken place, the French king being moved to the enterprise both by remorse for some acts of inhuman barbarity which he had committed, and by the preaching of St. Bernard, one of the most singular and eloquent men of his age. Some years previous to the period of his taking the Cross, Louis had married Eleanor, eldest daughter of the Duke of Aquitaine, a princess of beauty, wit, and talent, eager passions, and flexible principles; who readily agreed to accompany her husband to the Holy Land, determined, as it would appear, from the very first, to turn the whole crusade into a matter of gallantry and amusement. She was accompanied by

almost all the ladies of her court; and certainly from the accounts we possess of the levity with which the expedition was undertaken and carried on, the result that followed might have been fairly anticipated.

In regard to this crusade I shall have more to relate hereafter. Suffice it to say at present, that both the King of France and the emperor, who had also taken the Cross, were deceived entirely by those whom they believed to be their friends. Louis was misled by guides, assailed unexpectedly at every turn by enemies; and it was not till his forces were diminished in a lamentable degree, both by carnage and sickness, that he found a temporary shelter within the walls of Antioch. There, however, he was hospitably received by Raymond of Poitiers, the sovereign of that city, who was also uncle to Eleanor, the young wife of the French king.

If Louis found repose in Antioch from the fatigues and dangers of the march, his mind was not suffered to enjoy lengthened tranquillity. The levity of his wife's conduct, if we may not call it by a harsher name, soon troubled his domestic peace, and drove him from his place of temporary repose. Her uncle Raymond, one of the most accomplished men of his day, endeavoured, it would seem, to engage his niece in the views he entertained of extending his territories in the neighbourhood of Antioch, and, through her means, to obtain the assistance of Louis and his forces. What mode of persuasion the Prince of Antioch employed, we do not know; but it is certain that Louis became jealous of Raymond's favour with his queen, and assured his council, that he had discovered a design on the part of the former to deprive him of Eleanor by force, to which scheme he asserted Eleanor throughout was a consenting party.

Whatever cause of jealousy might really exist in regard to Raymond of Poitiers, there can be no doubt whatever, if the concurring testimony of all the writers of the day may be believed, that Eleanor's incontinence, while in the east, was great and notorious. She is not only generally supposed to have entered into a criminal intrigue with her uncle, but she is accused of the same crime with a young convert from Mahommedism, and also with a Mahometan named Saladin. In regard to the latter, however, it may be necessary to remark, that if the writers who made the charge intended to designate the famous Saladin as the lover of Eleanor, they committed a great error; as it is proved by the Arabic, as



well as the European writers, that not the slightest communication could ever have taken place between Saladin and the French princess; and even if it had, it must necessarily have been of a very innocent nature, as Saladin was at that time under eleven years of age. The fact of her incontinence, however, is placed beyond all doubt, by the testimony of William of Tyre, who would not have perpetuated the scandal had not his vast means of information satisfied him of the truth of the tale.

However that may be, Louis was himself convinced of his wife's guilt; and, with all the intemperate fury of jealousy, he carried her forcibly out of Antioch in the midst of the night, and marched on as fast as possible to Jerusalem. From the Holy City, Louis wrote to the famous Suger, Abbot of St. Denis, asking counsel as to how he should deal with Eleanor. Suger, whom he had left in France as regent of the kingdom, and who was more a statesman than a prelate, replied by advising him strongly to smother his anger towards Eleanor, at least till his return to France; and the monarch wisely followed his advice. It was less easy, however, to make Eleanor forget her anger at the treatment she had received. Her husband had become hateful to her. She declared that she had married a monk and not a king; and she did all that was possible after her return to France for the purpose of driving Louis to propose or consent to a divorce.

In the mean time, the prospects of Henry Plantagenet were daily becoming more bright. Before the absolute return of the King of France from the Crusade, Robert, Count of Dreux, his brother, who had preceded him, endeavoured to raise a civil war in the land, for the purpose of deposing Louis. It would appear that Geoffrey, the father of Henry and husband of Matilda, strongly supported the power of the Regent Suger, and thus aided to save the crown for the king. Nevertheless, various causes, into which it is not necessary to enter, induced Louis to espouse the cause of Stephen on his return, and to make preparations for depriving Geoffrey of the duchy of Normandy, with the design, it would appear, of bestowing it upon Eustace, Stephen's son, who had married Constance, sister of the French monarch. Through the mediation of Suger, however, a treaty was concluded between the weak King of France and Geoffrey Plantagenet, by which Geoffrey agreed to make

over Normandy itself to his son Henry, the King of France giving that prince full investiture thereof. On his part, Louis received the Norman Vexin, and thus became pledged to support the family of Plantagenet in the duchy of Normandy.

As soon as these points were settled, the king proceeded to the duchy, and performed his part of the agreement, by formally giving it up to Henry and receiving his homage; and on this occasion, it is supposed, the young duke for the first time beheld Eleanor, Queen of France. He was destined, however, to be very soon in arms against her husband. That weak and unstable prince soon found occasion of quarrel against Geoffrey of Anjou; and instead of attacking the father in his dominions, he attacked the son in those with which he had just invested him. Henry, however, was prepared to receive him; but the war passed off without any remarkable action, and the King of France had the mortification of being obliged to retire from Arques before his own vassal, at the head of a superior force.

A treaty of peace succeeded; and in the autumn of the year 1151, Geoffrey of Anjou died of a fever, leaving to Henry, his eldest son, besides the duchy of Normandy, with which he was already invested, the three remaining counties of Anjou, Touraine, and Maine, comprising one of the richest and most beautiful districts in France. In order to do homage for these new possessions, Henry was once more obliged to visit the court of France; and there he again met with Eleanor, the wife of the French king. It is asserted that on these occasions that princess became fascinated with the demeanour and appearance of Henry Plantagenet, and conceived for him the passion which afterwards terminated in their union. Whether this might or might not increase her efforts for a divorce, I cannot tell; but at all events, she employed every means to urge that step upon the king. There can be no doubt that her marriage with Louis, her fourth cousin, was contrary to the canons of the Roman Church; and Eleanor took advantage of the fact to press upon the timid conscience of Louis, that they were living in a state of incest, their marriage never having been legalised by a dispensation from Rome.

Louis, on his part, had long entertained a wish to separate from his criminal wife, who, it must be remembered, had brought no male heirs to the throne of France: but



motives of policy had hitherto restrained him ; for Eleanor had brought him as her dower the vast duchy of Aquitaine, which comprised a large portion of the south of France, and the evil consequences of suffering such an inheritance to become the prize of any new suitor had been laid before Louis in the strongest language, by his great minister Suger. That minister, however, died on the 13th of January, 1152 ; and immediately after, Louis, calling a council at Beaugency, laid before them his scruples regarding the consanguinity of Eleanor and himself, together with the fact that no dispensation had been received from the Pope. The clergy pronounced the marriage null ; the sentence was confirmed by Papal authority ; and Louis, who had no pretence for keeping possession of the territories which Eleanor had brought him in marriage, immediately resigned to her the duchy of Aquitaine, and all its dependencies.

Eleanor, who had most likely already fixed upon her future husband, set off with all speed for her duchy ; and so great, in those days, was the desire of wealth and the carelessness of reputation, that both the nephew of Stephen, now become Count of Blois, and a younger brother of Henry, Geoffrey Plantagenet, endeavoured to stop this fair Proserpine in her course, and make her a bride by force. The first laid an ambush at Tours—the second somewhere farther on ; but Eleanor contrived to escape both, and as soon as she arrived in Aquitaine despatched a messenger to Henry, giving him notice that she was ready to become his wife.

It is probable that this was not the first intimation of her feelings which he had received ; her call, at all events, found him ready and willing ; and he immediately set off to join her at Poitiers, where they were married with somewhat indecent haste, within six weeks after her divorce from her former husband.

This marriage surprised and incensed Louis not a little ; but the deed was done ; and Henry Plantagenet had added, by his marriage with Eleanor, the duchy of Aquitaine to Maine, Anjou, Touraine, and Normandy.

The indignation of Louis, or rather his mortification and disappointment, induced him to seek confederates amongst his own vassals, in order to make war upon Henry, who, in fact, had injured him in nothing. In Anjou he stirred up against that prince his young brother Geoffrey ; and, leaguering himself at the same time with the other disap-

pointed suitor for Eleanor's hand, with Eustace, the son of Stephen, King of England, and with his own rebellious brother the Count of Dreux, he attacked the frontiers of Normandy, and laid siege to Neufmarché.

It is probable that the confederates imagined that Henry had quitted Normandy, for since his marriage with Eleanor he had been collecting troops to assert his right to the throne of England, and had reached Barfleur for the purpose of embarking. The news of the invasion of his territories reached him there, however, and immediately altering his course, he took the field against Louis, at the head of a brilliant and chivalrous army. Neufmarché he could not save, for either from weakness or treachery it had surrendered before his arrival; but he drove the French out of Normandy, and punished the King of France by ravaging his territories before his face; after which he proceeded into Anjou, and suppressed the insurrection which had been raised by his brother.

On his return, which was speedy, he found that Normandy had been again attacked; but Henry was ready to act promptly against his assailants; the Norman barons supported him vigorously, and willingly; Louis fell ill of a fever; his army mouldered away; and the overtures for peace which were made by the young Duke of Normandy were gladly received by the French king, who was by this time heartily weary of a war in which he had reaped little but disgrace. A truce was accordingly concluded, and negotiations were entered upon for the arrangement of a more durable peace.

Henry, in the mean while, rewarded with great discrimination and liberality the barons who had shown their attachment to him in the late war; and the wisdom of such conduct [soon became apparent, for no sooner did he attempt to renew the expedition to England, than he found himself once more threatened with war from the side of France. In this instance Louis was actuated by the solicitations of his brother-in-law, Eustace, the son of Stephen, who was now so peculiarly situated, that it was of the utmost importance to him and to his father that Henry should be delayed in Normandy, even for a few weeks. It may be necessary, however, to show the circumstances by which the tottering throne of Stephen was surrounded, before we proceed to notice the further proceedings of Henry and the French king.

The minor events which took place in England, after



Henry had left David, King of Scotland, at Carlisle, and had returned to Normandy, we may pass over in silence; merely stating that almost every act of Stephen was calculated to alienate more and more the affections of his people—or rather that portion of the people which adhered to his cause; for it must not be forgotten that besides the partisans of Matilda and her son, there were many of the nobles of the land who boldly dealt with all the affairs of life as if England were in a state of anarchy, and who recognised no authority but their own will.

In this state of things, Stephen, with an infatuation scarcely credible, endeavoured to procure the consent of his lay and clerical adherents to the coronation of his son, Eustace, as his heir and successor. He assembled a parliament of all those who had not abandoned him, and presenting himself with his son, made the proposal which had previously been concerted between himself and Eustace. The bishops and clergy, however, unanimously rejected the demand, declaring that the Pope had forbidden the archbishop to consecrate the son of a king who, against his oath, had usurped the throne, and who, consequently, had no hereditary right to transmit to his children. Even his own turbulent brother, Henry of Winchester, did not raise his voice in favour of Eustace; and Stephen now saw, apparently for the first time, that he had sought and won the universal hatred of the clergy.

Rage and disappointment drove the king and his son into acts approaching those of madmen. They first caused the bishops to be confined to the house in which the deliberations had been held, and vowed that they should never go forth till they had yielded to the royal commands. But the clergy maintained their resolution with firmness and dignity; and after some short confinement, the archbishop contrived to effect his escape, and fled to France. The rest of the prelates were then liberated, but their estates were immediately seized by the king with impotent rage, which soon subsided, and the temporalities of all were restored, except those of the primate, which were retained. A sentence of excommunication and interdict however was immediately fulminated by the Pope against the king, in case of his remaining contumacious, and the primate was consequently recalled to his see.

As soon as these unhappy disputes were somewhat tran-

quillised, Stephen turned his efforts against various partisans of Matilda; but in so doing he in one or two instances gave offence to members of his own faction, who were allied to the objects of his vengeance. He at length, however, undertook an enterprise aimed more directly at the empress herself than at any of her supporters. This was the siege of the castle of Wallingford, which was held out against him by Brian Fitz-Comte, a firm and steady friend of Matilda.

Finding that fortress impregnable by any means then known, except famine, Stephen constructed a number of castles round it, by which it would have been completely cut off from all communication with the neighbouring country, had it not possessed a bridge over the Thames, which for a time enabled the garrison to obtain provisions. To deprive them of this resource, Stephen erected a fort at the end of the bridge, which, together with one of the castles, called Craumers, completed the blockade, and left the garrison utterly without resource.

On finding himself thus shut out from all supplies, Brian Fitz-Comte found means to communicate his situation to Henry Plantagenet, then in Normandy, and besought him either to come personally to his aid, or to permit him to surrender the castle, while there was yet a chance of obtaining tolerable terms. Such was the summons which induced Henry so soon to make preparations for quitting his bride and taking the field against Stephen. But the policy of his enemies was of course if possible to detain him in Normandy; and Eustace, Stephen's son, applied, as we have seen, to his brother-in-law, the King of France, representing to him how necessary it was to prevent Henry from passing into England, at least till the castle of Wallingford had surrendered. Under these circumstances, Louis immediately prepared to renew the war, returned the hostages which he had received from Henry, and demanded back his own; thus putting an end to all those expectations of peace which the Duke of Normandy justly entertained.

The situation of Henry was now a very difficult one: he commanded a large and brilliant army, which would have been quite sufficient, as the parties were then situated, to seat him on the throne of England; but he could not leave his prosperous and attached provinces of France at the mercy of a fickle, savage, and restless prince. Those subjects who had shown him the greatest attachment would have had just



cause to complain, and abandon his cause, had he done so ; but at the same time it was evident that upon the fall or relief of the castle of Wallingford depended his chance of obtaining the crown of England.

Circumstances had disposed a great party in this country to support his cause as soon as he appeared ; but many dared not avow their attachment to him, until they were assured of assistance and protection. At the same time, while he had morally gained ground in England, he had lost much in extent of territory and military strength, and it was consequently necessary for him to give the moral power of the nation an opportunity of developing itself, so as to recover for him the physical power which had been thrown away. This could only be done by showing his avowed adherents that he was ready at their call to support and defend them, and by thus encouraging those who were really disposed to support him, but had not yet declared themselves openly, to come forward and give his party that strength and consistence which would render it overpowering.

He had thus a choice of difficulties ; and in endeavouring to meet at once the calls of England and Normandy, he took a step which probably might have lost him both, had not his own skill, courage, and activity, his affable manners, and his wise foresight, supplied in the kingdom the place both of arms and men, while the popularity he had acquired in the duchy, by his liberality, humanity, and resolution, raised up for him a bulwark in the affections of the people against the attacks of France. He determined then upon dividing his power ; and, leaving a large body for the defence of Normandy, he set sail for England, in person, with three thousand foot, and one hundred and forty knights.

His passage, though undertaken in the winter season, was rapid and prosperous ; but when he arrived, and it was noised abroad how small was the force he had brought with him, the hearts of all his English partisans sunk ; and those who were doubtful held back from a cause which seemed so feebly supported. The fate of Henry trembled in the balance ; and had he not displayed at that moment a degree of firmness and decision which was sometimes wanting in after years, his cause most likely would have sunk never to rise again. Very few of the nobles of England joined him ; and those who did so, were those only who had ever shown themselves the steadfast friends of his family, and who had nothing further

to fear from the enmity of Stephen. Others, it would seem, who had given him the most positive promises of support, now failed to join his standard; and Henry found that the force with which he was to take the field was quite out of proportion with the magnitude of the occasion.

He did not suffer his courage to sink in the least, however, nor his confident demeanour to be changed. He called his friends to council; he spoke to them words of comfort and assurance; he held out to them the prospect of a speedy augmentation of their numbers, and he only demanded of them with what great action he had better commence the campaign. Such conduct renewed hope and expectation. It was determined to besiege Malmesbury, as the first step to relieving Wallingford, and thither Henry marched at once, receiving but small reinforcements by the way. He was nevertheless successful; the town was speedily reduced, and the castle, with the exception of one tower, fell into his hands. This sudden and brilliant success, together with his unexpected appearance in England, when Stephen thought he had provided a sufficient diversion to keep him in Normandy, roused the king into activity, while it gave fresh hopes to the partisans of Henry.

Collecting an army in haste, Stephen marched to attack his adversary at Malmesbury; but Henry was strongly posted between the walls of the town and the river Avon, and remained in his camp till Stephen prepared to cross the river and risk a battle. The elements, however, fought against the unfortunate usurper. As he approached to the attack, a violent storm of hail and snow dashed directly in the faces of his troops, while a cold and cutting wind benumbed the powers of men who were not accustomed to fight at that season of the year. A retreat was consequently inevitable; and discomfited and disheartened, Stephen left Henry to pursue his course, and retired to London.

Now, for the first time, a great accession of strength was gained by the Duke of Normandy. The Earl of Leicester, who had long been wavering, joined him; Warwick castle was given up to him, and thirty other places almost immediately fell into his hands. But Wallingford castle was already reduced to a terrible state of famine, by the forts which Stephen had built round it; no time was to be lost; and notwithstanding the inclemency of the weather, Henry marched to its relief, passed in arms through the midst of the



enemy's forts, threw provisions into Wallingford, and then proceeded to lay siege to the principal castle which Stephen had built in the neighbourhood.

In the mean while, the king once more took the field; and accompanied by his son Eustace, by William of Ipres, and a large body of Brabançois, by the Earl of Arundel, and by many others of the English nobility, and outnumbering the army of Henry, notwithstanding all the accessions it had received, he marched towards Wallingford, with the firm determination of giving battle to his enemy. Henry, on his part, no sooner heard of the king's advance, than he determined to meet him in the field. Though he knew his own force to be inferior to that of Stephen, he judged well, that a display of valour and enterprise is never lost upon brave men. In order to open the passage across the river, he attacked and took by storm the fort which Stephen had built to command the bridge, and then marched out of his camp to meet his adversary, leaving, as if to mark his confidence in his own powers, a considerable body of his army to carry on the siege of Craumers.

The battle, which seemed inevitable, did not, however, take place. The Earl of Arundel, it would appear, had already opened a secret communication with the Bishop of Winchester, and with many other nobles and prelates, regarding some means of terminating the civil contest which had so long desolated the land. The earl himself was perhaps influenced by patriotic motives; but there is every reason to suppose that the Bishop of Winchester, and the persons with whom he was concerned, had no other views than those of so balancing the two contending parties in the kingdom as to retain the real power in the hands of the clergy, and to place the greater share in those of Henry of Winchester himself.

In the present instance, however, the bishop did not appear in the transaction at all; but while Stephen was concerting the plan of the approaching battle with his son and the leaders of the mercenaries, the Earl of Arundel called the principal English noblemen in the camp together, and addressed them, we are told, with great eloquence. The exact words used by the earl cannot of course be given; but Lord Lyttleton, from a comparison of various authorities, has composed a speech, which we may regard as substantially, though not actually, Arundel's address to the barons of Stephen's

army; and offering so masterly a picture of the evils of the times, that I cannot forbear giving a part, notwithstanding the length of the quotation.

“It is now about sixteen years,” said the earl, “that on a doubtful and disputed claim to the crown, the rage of civil war has almost continually infested this kingdom. During this melancholy period, how much blood has been shed! What devastations and misery have been brought on the people! The laws have lost their force—the crown its authority; licentiousness and impurity have shaken all the foundations of public security. This great and noble nation has been delivered a prey to the basest of foreigners, the abominable scum of Flanders, Brabant, and Bretagne, robbers rather than soldiers, restrained by no laws, divine or human; tied to no country, subject to no prince, instruments of all tyranny, violence, and oppression. At the same time, our cruel neighbours, the Welsh and the Scotch, calling themselves allies or auxiliaries to the empress, but in reality enemies and destroyers of England, have broken their bounds, ravaged our borders, and taken from us whole provinces, which we never can hope to recover: while, instead of employing our united force against them, we continue thus madly, without any care of our public safety or national honour, to turn our swords against our own bosoms. What benefit have we gained to compensate all these losses, or what do we expect? When Matilda was mistress of the kingdom, though her power was not yet confirmed, in what manner did she govern? Did she not make even those of her own faction and court regret the king? was not her pride more intolerable still than his levity? her rapine than his profuseness? Were any years of his reign so grievous to the people, so offensive to the nobles, as the first days of hers? When she was driven out, did Stephen correct his former bad conduct? Did he dismiss his odious foreign favourite. Did he discharge his lawless foreign hirelings, who had so long been the scourge and the reproach of England? Have not they lived ever since upon free quarter, by plundering our houses and our cities? And now, to complete our miseries, a new army of foreigners, Angevins, Gascons, Poitevins, I know not who, are come over with Henry Plantagenet, the son of Matilda; and many more no doubt will be called to assist him, as soon as ever his affairs abroad will permit; by whose help, if he be victorious,



England must pay the price of the services ; our lands, our honours, must be the hire of these rapacious invaders. But suppose we should have the fortune to conquer for Stephen ; what will be the consequence ? Will victory teach him moderation ? Will he learn from security that regard to our liberties which he could not learn from danger ? Alas ! the only fruit of our good success will be this :—the estates of the Earl of Leicester, and others of our countrymen, who have now quitted the party of the king, will be forfeited, and new confiscations will accrue. But let us not hope that, be our victory ever so complete, it will give any lasting peace to this kingdom. Should Henry fall in this battle, there are two other brothers to succeed to his claim, and support his faction ; perhaps with less merit, but certainly with as much ambition as he. What shall we do then to free ourselves from all these misfortunes ? Let us prefer the interest of our country to that of our party, and to all those passions which are apt in civil dissensions to inflame zeal into madness, and to render men the blind instruments of those very evils which they fight to avoid. Let us prevent all the crimes and all the horrors that attend a war of this kind, in which conquest itself is full of calamity, and our most happy victories deserve to be celebrated by tears. Nature herself is dismayed, and shrinks back from a combat where every blow that we strike may murder a friend, a relation, a parent.

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It is in our power to end the controversy both safely and honourably by an amicable agreement, not by the sword. Stephen may enjoy the royal dignity for his life, and the succession may be secured to the young Duke of Normandy, with such a present rank in the state as befits the heir of the crown. The bitterest enemies of the king must acknowledge that he is valiant, generous, and good-natured ; his warmest friends cannot deny that he has a great deal of rashness and indiscretion. Both may therefore conclude that he should not be deprived of the royal authority, but that he ought to be restrained from a further abuse of it ; which can be done by no means so certain and effectual as what I propose ; for thus his power will be tempered by the presence, the counsels, and influence of Prince Henry, who from his own interest in the weal of the kingdom which he is to inherit, will always have a right to interpose his advice, and even his

authority, if it be necessary, against any future violation of our liberties, and to procure an effectual redress of our grievances, which we have hitherto sought in vain. If all the English in both armies unite, as I hope that they may, in this plan of pacification, they will be able to give the law to foreigners, and oblige both the king and the duke to consent to it. This will secure the public tranquillity, and leave no secret stings of resentment to rankle in the hearts of a suffering party, and produce future disturbances. As there will be no triumph, no insolence, no exclusive right to favour on either side, there can be no shame, no anger, no uneasy desire of change. It will be the work of the whole nation, and all must wish to support what all have established. The sons of Stephen, indeed, may endeavour to oppose it; but their efforts will be fruitless, and must end very soon in their submission or their ruin. Nor have they any reasonable cause to complain. Their father himself did not come to the crown by hereditary right. He was elected in preference to a woman, and an infant, who were deemed not capable of ruling a kingdom. By that election our allegiance is bound to him during his life; but neither that bond, nor the reason for which we chose him, will hold as to the choice of a successor. Henry Plantagenet is now grown up to an age of maturity, and every way qualified to succeed to the crown. He is the grandson of a king whose memory is dear to us, and the nearest heir male to him in the course of descent. He appears to resemble him in all his good qualities, and to be worthy to reign over the Normans and English, whose noblest blood united, enriches his veins. Normandy has already submitted to him with pleasure. Why should we now divide that duchy from England, when it is so greatly the interest of our nobility to keep them always connected? If we had no other inducement to make us desire a reconciliation between him and Stephen, this would be sufficient. Our estates in both countries will by that means be secured, which otherwise we must forfeit in the one or the other, while Henry remains possessed of Normandy; and it will not be an easy matter to drive him from thence, even though we should compel him to retire from England. But, by amicably compounding his quarrel with Stephen, we shall maintain all our interests, private and public. His greatness abroad will increase the power of this kingdom; it will make us respectable and formidable to France. England will be



the head of all those ample dominions, which extend from the British Ocean to the Pyrennean mountains. By governing in his youth so many different states, he will learn to govern us, and come to the crown after the decease of King Stephen, accomplished in all the arts of good policy. His mother has willingly resigned to him her pretensions; or rather, she acknowledges that his are superior. We therefore can have nothing to apprehend on that side. In every view, our peace, our safety, the repose of our consciences, the quiet and happiness of our posterity, will be firmly established by the means I propose. Let Stephen continue to wear the crown that we gave him as long as he lives; but after his death, let it descend to that prince who alone can put an end to our unhappy divisions. If you approve my advice, and will empower me to treat in your names, I will immediately convey your desires to the king and the duke."

Whether such was the substance of the earl's speech or not, the effect of what he did say was to win over to his opinion all the barons present, apparently without exception. The arguments he had used were repeated to the soldiery, and the truth of his statements, the influence of the leaders, and probably the instigation of secret agents employed by the earl and his friends, had as great an effect in their ranks as amongst the nobles; so that ere the king had concluded his consultation with William of Ipres, there was a general outcry in the army for peace on the terms proposed by the Earl of Arundel. The earl himself communicated what may be termed *the decision* of the nobles to the king, Eustace, and William of Ipres assembled in council, and the effect upon each was such as might be expected from their various characters. Stephen was overwhelmed, and thunderstruck. William of Ipres, not less surprised, was enabled by cunning to restrain his rage and vexation, well knowing that his mercenaries were fewer than the English in Stephen's army, and very far inferior in numbers to the two armies, should they join together, which was not at all unlikely to be the case, if the earl's proposal were rejected by the king. Eustace was all fire and indignation to see himself thus by a word stripped of all hope of that crown which he looked upon as his hereditary right.

Stephen, however, was obliged to yield, where he had no power to resist; and the Earl of Arundel proceeded to offer

the same terms to Henry, having prepared the way by secret intrigues with the English leaders in that prince's army. Henry was as unwilling as Stephen, and as confident of success if the contest were left to the decision of arms; but he also was obliged to submit, and a conference took place between him and Stephen, with the infant stream of the Thames between them. The two princes were without attendants, so that no one can tell what passed during this interview; but the result was a short suspension of hostilities, for the purpose of negotiating a peace on the basis proposed.

Eustace, however, on his part, declared that he would consent to no treaty so injurious to his interests, retired to Cambridge, gathered together a small army, and supported by the Earl of Northampton and some others, waged war upon his own account. Henry kept the truce with good faith; but one of the conditions most advantageous to him he took care to see executed. This stipulation was, that Stephen himself should destroy the castle of Craumers, which was accordingly done. The formal treaty of peace, however, was still unconcluded when the suspension of arms terminated; and the war was resumed on both parts, though with much greater advantage to Henry than to his adversary.

The young Duke of Normandy had soon an opportunity of showing himself superior to his adversary, not only in military skill, but also in moderation and justice. The Governor of Oxford and a large body of Stephen's soldiery, having made an incursion into the territories possessed by Henry, that prince put himself at the head of the troops he could most speedily collect, met the enemy, attacked and routed them, taking prisoners no less than twenty knights. The rest of the routed force was pursued to the gates of Oxford by his cavalry, under inferior officers, who then proceeded to retaliate upon Stephen, by pillaging the country far and wide. On their return, however, they were not a little surprised to find that Henry commanded everything which had been taken as booty to be restored as far as possible, and he added words which rapidly spread from mouth to mouth: "It is not to plunder the people that I came into England," he said, "but to deliver them from the exactions of the great."

Nottingham and Stamford fell into Henry's hands very shortly after the recommencement of hostilities, the former



being taken by storm, the latter costing only the siege of a few days ; and though Stephen in return captured Ipswich castle from the Duke of Norfolk, yet the balance of success was much in favour of Henry.

In the midst of these events, Eustace, the chief obstacle to the conclusion of a peace on the terms proposed by the Earl of Arundel, was removed by death from the troublous scene into which his violent, impetuous, and daring spirit must inevitably have brought new elements of confusion had he lived. Although those were ages of suspicion, and although poison was as common as the dagger, or the sword, in removing an obstinate enemy, I have never found the death of Eustace ascribed to any unfair means. He had commanded his men, on some occasion of offence, to pillage the lands of the abbey of Saint Edmond's-bury, and even to cut down the ripe corn belonging to the monks. He remained under the heat of the summer sun, it would seem, to see these orders performed, and was immediately seized with a calenture, attended with violent frenzy, which ended his life in a few days. A similar fate attended his friend the Earl of Northampton, to whose instigation many of his evil actions are attributed.

The death of another great nobleman, distinguished by more than ordinary rapacity and baseness, is recorded about the same time. This was the Earl of Chester, who was poisoned by one of his own vassals, and whose death was in some degree a relief to both parties, from each of which he had endeavoured to extort advantages in the most unworthy manner.

Stephen's spirits sunk upon the death of Eustace. His other son, William, was in no degree fitted to fill the throne of England, or to contest the crown with Henry Plantagenet. The king was aware that such was the case, as well as the prince himself ; and all obstacles being removed from the scheme proposed by the Earl of Arundel, the Bishop of Winchester and the Archbishop of Canterbury took it up with much eagerness, supported by the great majority of the barons of the kingdom. It is supposed that they thus acted with a view of neutralising the power of Henry by the power of Stephen, and the power of Stephen by that of Henry ; whereas, had either of those two princes totally overcome his rival by force of arms, the authority so gained would have been sufficient to afford the means of punishing past

offences, of resuming grants unjustly made, of revoking dangerous privileges, and doing away unreasonable immunities. Such power men, who had lived a corrupt life and were filled with evil desires, were not likely to see placed, without reluctance, in the hands of any one; and they laboured, therefore, effectually to bring about an agreement between Henry and Stephen. A parliament was summoned to meet at Winchester, in the end of November, 1153, by writs from both princes, and there a treaty was drawn up upon terms previously arranged. But as this council was scantily attended by the lay barons of the empire, another parliament was called to meet Stephen and Henry at Oxford, and by it the convention agreed upon was confirmed and ratified.

By the agreement now entered into, Henry was adopted by Stephen as his son and successor, *and his heir by hereditary right*. The words are extraordinary, but it is clearly proved by the whole context of the document, that Stephen merely intended to imply that the kingdom was to descend to Henry's heirs by hereditary right. For this concession on the part of the king, Henry did homage, and swore fealty to Stephen, and at the same time granted and confirmed to William, Stephen's surviving legitimate son, all the possessions which his father had enjoyed in England or France before his usurpation of the throne, and also all that William himself possessed in right of his wife, or which had been given to him by Stephen; adding to all this several other estates of considerable value, amongst which was the honour of Pevensey.

Thus this most singular document proceeds with the most extraordinary anomalies. Henry, who appears to have been contending for the kingdom from his birth, as his own hereditary property, now claims all rights to it by the gift of Stephen. It is upon that concession, and upon Stephen's adoption, that he builds his claim; and yet he himself confers upon William, Stephen's son, all the territories and estates which he is to possess, while Stephen's son agrees to hold them of the Duke of Normandy, and does homage to him for the very lands in England which had been given him by his father. In his homage, however, there is a saving clause to the purport that he shall be free from feudal service to the duke if Henry fail in his engagements to the king; and the same is observable in regard to the oaths of the nobles to Henry and to Stephen: the first receiving the



homage of his former adversaries, with a saving of their allegiance to Stephen, and also with the intimation that the homage was only so long binding as he should keep his engagements with the king. To Stephen, the barons of Henry's party did homage, and swore allegiance, upon condition that he kept his engagements with the duke; and the clergy, shielded under the happy plea of neutrality, held out to both parties the menace of ecclesiastical censures in case of any infraction of the treaty; implying thereby the much more important threat, of employing their temporal and spiritual influence against the defaulter. This, they were not only likely, but certain to do, as by the convention they assured to themselves the confirmation of all grants and restitutions which had been made by the king to the Church. This was, in fact, putting the great seal upon the treaty. But Henry took care to stipulate for some advantage to himself, beside the remote prospect of the crown after Stephen's death. He required and received proper security that the forts and castles of the kingdom should be given up to him, on the decease of the king, and that Stephen should act in all affairs of the kingdom, except the mere administration of justice, by his advice.

Henry was now King of England in almost everything but name; and other secret articles it would seem were added to the treaty, though not published in Stephen's declaration, which increased the power of the young duke. We cannot very well trust to the historians of that time for the wording of each article; but two of them, which were speedily afterwards published under the authority of the great council, provided that all castles built in the reign of King Stephen should be immediately demolished, and that all foreign troops should be sent out of the kingdom.

The evils committed by the mercenaries I have already spoken of. The evils of the castles which had been built were certainly not less, for they had almost universally become dens of petty tyrants, within the walls of which every sort of horror and abomination was perpetrated. Thus, these additional articles of the treaty were amongst the most popular that it contained; and it was moreover known that these two articles had been insisted on by Henry. Stephen, however, though weaker than his rival in every respect, though unable to resist him in the field, or to contend with him in the cabinet, had once again the folly to select the

most unpopular act that he could commit as his point of resistance against his competitor. He was easily prevailed upon to perform neither his dangerous task of demolishing the castles, nor to take the unpleasant step of dismissing the mercenaries. Henry remonstrated, but in vain. He exposed to the parliament of Dunstable the infraction of the treaty which had been committed by Stephen, and though that monarch scarcely thought fit to cover his evasion with a decent veil, the Duke of Normandy chose rather to submit than plunge into a new war: satisfied with having gained the great advantage of displaying himself as the champion of the popular cause against two of the greatest nuisances of the times.

Other causes perhaps might combine with wise moderation to prevent him from resenting the conduct of Stephen. He was now anxious to return to Normandy, which province, as he had expected, had been assailed by Louis during his absence from his continental dominions. The French monarch, however, had not shown any great activity, or reaped any very remarkable success. The town and castle of Vernon taken, and the destruction of a part of the town of Verneuil, comprised all the feats he had performed, if we except the fact of his having excited some of the nobles of Aquitaine to revolt against their new sovereign.

No sooner did Henry arrive in Normandy than he hastened to quell the insurrection excited by Louis in Aquitaine, nor did he find any difficulty in accomplishing that object. He showed himself lenient and moderate to the rebels; and with the same wise policy, on his return to Normandy, he sought not to take vengeance upon Louis, but obtained from him by negotiation a restitution of all which had been captured on the payment of a trifling sum. He left no means untried, indeed, to gain the good-will of the French king, and found it not difficult to do so, though the favour of one so weak and unstable was too uncertain a possession to be a very valuable acquisition.

Henry had now been married two years and a half, and Eleanor had already given an heir to his dominions. She was again pregnant, when messengers from England announced to Henry the unexpected death of Stephen. The young sovereign, however, as if to show his confidence in his own power, refused to rise from before the castle of a revolting baron, which he was then besieging, even to put on the



crown of England. But as soon as he had reduced his vassal to obedience, Henry hastened to Rouen, where he conferred with his mother, the Empress Matilda, who now agreed to remain in Normandy; and though she made no formal renunciation of her title to the crown, she left her son to base his claim both upon her own rights and upon the treaty of Winchester. This being settled, Henry and Eleanor proceeded to Barfleur, in order to embark for England; but the weather was tempestuous, the wind contrary, the knowledge of seamen in those days but small, and Henry and his wife were detained upon the coast of Normandy an entire month before they could pursue their voyage.

The state of England, during this delay, furnishes a valuable indication of the progress made by society, even amidst the horrible anarchy and confusion of Stephen's reign. No preceding king since the Norman Conquest had died without the most terrible excesses and outrages taking place ere his successor could ascend the throne and grasp the sceptre firmly; but between the death of Stephen and the arrival of Henry everything remained tranquil and orderly; and we may well believe that, as evil often produces good, the turbulence, the bloodshed, the rapine, and the anarchy, which had disgraced the land for so many years, tended to make men appreciate law and justice, see the sad consequences of faithlessness and treachery, and perceive the beauty of faith, harmony, and social order.

Henry and Eleanor, with a brilliant train, landed on the coast of Hampshire in the beginning of December, after a tempestuous voyage, in which their fleet was dispersed, and their own vessel very nearly wrecked. The monarch's reception in England, however, was quite sufficient to obliterate all recollections of the discomforts of the sea. At Winchester, to which he immediately turned his steps, the nobles and prelates of the land gathered round him from every part of the kingdom. All men felt that they were delivered from an intolerable yoke: all but those who had plunged deeply into the rapine and corruptions of the times, rejoiced at the prospect of restored tranquillity; and all, either sincerely or hypocritically, hailed Henry as a benefactor and deliverer. His journey from Winchester to London was a continual triumph of the most glorious, because of the most bloodless kind. The citizens of the capital received him with joy and acclamations; and on the 19th of December, 1154, Henry and

Eleanor were crowned in the abbey of Westminster, without any condition being presented to the monarch, or any terms being wrung from him, but simply upon his taking the oath usually administered to the ancient kings of England.

Thus was raised to the throne of this country Henry the Second, not only the first of the Plantagenet line of our kings, but the first who really looked upon himself as king of the English people since the overthrow of Harold. He had many advantages on ascending the throne: he was a direct descendant both of the Saxon and Norman kings of England, but he was neither a Norman nor a Saxon, and was without the peculiar prejudice of either. William the First, with the exception of a short period at the commencement of his reign, governed England as a foreign conqueror, and we can only regard as his people those Norman nobles whose swords upheld him. William Rufus was even more distinguished than any of his race as a Norman tyrant; and Henry the First, though a wise and politic prince, and far superior to his predecessor, still treated England as a tributary country, to be drained of its treasures, and to contribute its forces of all kinds to augment the possessions of his family on the continent. He was still merely king of the Normans in England, like all his predecessors; and as I have before said, the race of the English kings may be looked upon as commencing with Henry the Second; for the turbulent reign of Stephen can hardly be considered as affording any means of judging in what way his affections might have turned, had he been left free to act the monarch of a united land. As it was, he seldom if ever reigned over more than one half of the country at once; and where he did reign, he was a king of foreign mercenaries, and not of the English nation.

I have now given a brief, and very imperfect view of the state of this country, just before the birth of Richard the First, and of the events which through a long series of changing fortunes, placed the family of Plantagenet upon the throne of England. I must next proceed to speak of what followed immediately after the birth of that monarch, though of course his own individual acts can form no part of the tale during those years of infancy, in the course of which the lives of few men afford any matter of interest, and respecting which authentic records are in almost all cases extremely scanty. It may be well, therefore, to continue



this sketch of the general history of the country, and of the provinces then joined with it under one sceptre, till such time as Richard began to take an active part in the affairs of life, when it will be time to relate all that we know of his younger days.

We have seen that Eleanor had borne her husband one son in France, who was named William; and shortly after his accession to the throne, the queen, who was pregnant at the time of their tempestuous voyage to England, was delivered in the city of London of a second son, named Henry, in March, 1155. Amongst the first proceedings of Henry the Second, was to settle the succession of the crown upon these two sons; and the lay and spiritual barons assembled in parliament at Wallingford, took the oath of fealty accordingly. Not the slightest difficulty was made on the part of the barons to the performance of this act; for Henry, since his accession, had fully maintained his popularity, even while he had taken measures for correcting abuses and remedying evils, which struck many a severe blow at those who had unjustly profited by the disturbances of the last reign.

The most popular of these measures he began with first; namely, the dismissal of all the mercenaries; which was carried through with the consent and approbation of parliament as then constituted. There were great murmurs, and apparently some indecent threatenings on the part of the foreign troops; but the king's order for them to quit the country was obeyed without resistance, though to the leaders Stephen had granted immense possessions, especially to William of Ipres, whom he had created Earl of Kent. All these grants were now resumed; and stripped of everything but their movable wealth, which their dissolute habits probably rendered comparatively small, the mercenary captains quitted a country which they had desolated, and more than one retired in despair to a monastery.

The demolition of the fortresses which had been left by Stephen, remained to be accomplished, and this was also done without any serious difficulty or resistance: but a more dangerous task was next undertaken by Henry, which was, the resumption of those crown lands which had been alienated both by Stephen and Matilda. It was held to be a fundamental principle of the monarchy, that all the ancient demesne lands of the crown were inalienable, and consequently all these grants were contrary to law. No length

of possession could render them valid, and the maintenance of the royal dignity required a revenue which could not be supplied without them. But still Henry had to consider that there was scarcely a great baron in the empire who would not be more or less damaged by their resumption, and he might very well expect opposition, from first to last, in the council and in the field.

He was prompted to undertake the resumption, however, not only by the duty of vindicating the law, but by the necessities of the crown, and by his own disposition, which was of a grasping nature; and upon the whole, the resistance that he met with was very much less than might have been expected. His first step in the proceeding was to lay the matter before the great council of the nation; and although in this council sat a great many persons who were to suffer from the measure he proposed, yet he succeeded in obtaining the consent of that assembly. In conducting this proceeding, however, Henry showed a much greater acquaintance with human nature, and the springs which moved the politics of that day, than Stephen ever displayed. In resuming the grants, he proposed to make an exception in favour of the clergy. The superstitious devotion of the times prevented the lay barons from murmuring at this as an act of unlawful partiality, and the clergy were all eager and desirous that a proceeding should take place, marked by an exception in their favour, which confirmed in the strongest manner a principle that they had always maintained in their dealings with other men—namely, that no grant to the Church could ever be resumed.

This probably may be the secret of the ready assent which Henry's proposition met with; and no sooner was that assent obtained, than he proceeded to put the proposed measure into execution, showing therein a vigour and promptitude which increased his power and authority, and a moderation and clemency which maintained his popularity undiminished. The first that attempted to oppose him was the Earl of Albemarle, who during the reign of Stephen had ruled Yorkshire with almost sovereign sway. It would seem that he did not absolutely refuse to surrender the grants now resumed, but that he certainly hesitated to express his acquiescence, and was making preparation for actual resistance.

Henry, however, marched at once in person to settle the question, ere open rebellion broke out, and the earl found



himself compelled to obey, and make entire restitution of all the crown lands. Almost at the same time, Roger Mortimer and the young Earl of Hereford took arms on the frontiers of Wales, and refused to resign what they had received for good and meritorious services. The case of the Earl of Hereford, indeed, seems peculiarly hard, for those lands which were now demanded, had been granted by Matilda to his father, Milo Fitzwalter, one of the noblest, most disinterested, resolute, and unchangeable of all her friends. But Henry founded the resumption upon the general illegality of all such grants; and there were many others similarly situated with the young Earl of Hereford. He could, therefore, make no distinction in resuming the demesne, but he might have granted the lands afterwards to the earl in the nature of a benefice, to be held for his life, which would have been consonant to law and justice, and honourable to the king's gratitude and good feeling. Mortimer, however, and his ally, waited Henry's coming in arms; but the earl was detached from the conspiracy by the exhortations of the Bishop of Winchester, who persuaded him to resign the two castles in dispute, and submit to the king's pleasure.

Mortimer, thus left alone, nevertheless determined to hold out, and defended the three castles of Clebury, Wigmore, and Bridgenorth, against the forces of the king. All three were speedily captured; but the career of Henry had very nearly terminated before the castle of Bridgenorth, into which Mortimer had thrown himself, and against which the king commanded in person. While he was directing the operations within a very short distance of the walls of the castle, an arrow was aimed at Henry with unerring skill; and, had not one of his most gallant officers, Hubert Saint Clare, cast himself between the king and the missile, it must have pierced the monarch's heart. Saint Clare received it, however, in his own bosom, and died shortly after in the arms of his grateful sovereign; recommending his only child, a daughter, to the care of him for whose life he had given his own. To the honour of Henry be it said, that he nobly fulfilled the trust. Bridgenorth soon after surrendered at discretion; and to the surprise of all, Henry pardoned Mortimer freely the resistance he had made, contented himself with resuming the grants, the restitution of which he had at first demanded, and took no other vengeance of his revolted subject.

It need hardly be pointed out what a remarkable influence such acts of clemency and moderation must have had in humanising the hearts of men, and softening the asperities of a barbarous age. No other resistance, that I have discovered, was made to the resumption of the grants; and Henry proceeded in the same course of policy, temperance, firmness, and mildness, pardoning offences against himself, and even against his crown, with perhaps excessive moderation; trusting to the vigour and sternness with which he punished offences against social rights and the general security, to maintain that respect for his authority, which could alone enable him to be lenient without danger. In a very rapid manner, considering the long period of anarchy which had just passed, law and order, and the even administration of justice were re-established; and to this happy effect, the king's frequent presence in different parts of the country, seeing with his own eyes, and hearing with his own ears, greatly contributed.

Another act of much importance took place in this most bright and honourable period of the king's reign, which was the renewal or confirmation of the famous charter of Henry I.

Everything now promised Henry, in England at least, internal peace; but there remained much still to be done: he had to guard against attack from without, to suppress civil wars in his continental possessions, and to risk a struggle upon his northern frontier for the recovery of those English provinces which David King of Scotland had contrived to seize upon during the late contest for the throne. No moment could be more favourable for the attempt to regain these provinces, than that which Henry chose, while Malcolm King of Scotland, who had now succeeded to David his grandfather, was yet under seventeen years of age.

There was but one impediment in the way of the English monarch: namely, the oath which he had taken, while at the court of King David at Carlisle, never to resume those counties, if he should obtain the crown of England. Henry, however, was not a great respecter of oaths, and in this case he did not treat that which he had taken at all tenderly. He held, and probably with justice, that in this instance, it was in no degree binding, for it had been extracted from him at a time when he was completely in the power of the King of Scotland—when that monarch had promised to make great



efforts in his favour, which were never accomplished—and when he had every reason to suppose that the attainment of the crown of England, which was contemplated in the oath, was likely to ensue as a consequence of David's assistance. The corresponding engagements of the King of Scotland had not been fulfilled. Henry had derived no equivalent advantage whatsoever, and, consequently, he might well regard his oath as of no avail. He accordingly sent ambassadors to the court of Scotland, to represent that it was not right, or just, that this large portion of England should remain dismembered from the empire. The King of Scotland did not resist; but, by the advice of his council, restored to Henry, Westmoreland, Cumberland, and Northumberland, and agreed to do homage for the county of Lothian, which had been conferred by Edgar, one of our Saxon monarchs, upon Kenneth III.

I have dwelt more particularly upon the circumstances which induced Henry to pay no attention to his oath in regard to Scotland, because another event took place in the commencement of his reign, in which a solemn engagement was directly violated on political motives, no less strong than those which actuated him in the transaction with Scotland, but without any moral justification. In order to make the proceeding to which I allude clearly understood, it may be necessary to go back to the period of Geoffrey, Count of Anjou, Henry's father. By the will of that prince, as we have seen, he left the three provinces of Maine, Anjou, and Touraine to his eldest son; but, by an extraordinary disposition made by him on his death-bed, he forbade his own body to be buried till Henry should take an oath positively to perform every part of the will, before he knew the contents thereof. The dying prince induced the nobles who were about him to swear that they would not permit the funeral to take place till such time as the oath had been duly administered to his son. Henry, however, very naturally objected to promise such blind obedience to injunctions of whose nature he was ignorant; but at length, after having held out for some time—sooner than see his father's body remain unburied—he consented, and took the oath.

As soon as the will was opened, he found that the Count of Anjou had only left him the important territories named, on condition that he should give them up to his brother Geoffrey, in case the hereditary dominions of his mother, Matilda, should ever be fully recovered by him.

This clause of the count's will, and the oath Henry had taken, were well known at the time of his accession to the crown of England; but with the condition of the will—which he was now called upon to perform—he was not in any degree inclined to comply. In short, though fixed upon the English throne, and in full possession of Normandy, Henry resolved to defeat the will of his father, and to violate the vow which he had taken to maintain it. Whether or not, if he had refused to take the oath at the time, the feudal law,—as affected by the customs of Anjou, Touraine, and Maine,—would have put him in possession of those provinces by right of primogeniture, can hardly be told; but, at all events, on the condition of that oath, he had received very great benefits. He had obtained investiture of the three provinces in a tranquil and easy manner, whereas, in other circumstances, he would have had to fight every foot of the ground, and, very likely, would have lost possession of the country altogether; and he also derived considerable advantages in point of reputation and character, by taking that oath, which he would have lost altogether, had his father's body been suffered to remain unburied in consequence of his refusing to bind himself to perform the will. Having gained all the superiority which was to be obtained by taking the oath, however, and benefited to the utmost by the favourable terms of the will, he now refused to perform the less agreeable clause, and applied to the Pope to be set free from the engagement into which he had entered.

The Pope thought it reasonable to grant the request of so powerful a prince. The King of France had received Henry's homage for the whole of the provinces now in question, and did not think fit to oppose him; and Geoffrey Plantagenet was left to break out into ill-considered revolt, which was soon crushed by the superior skill and power of his brother. Henry contented himself with demolishing the fortresses possessed by Geoffrey, giving him an annual sum of money instead, and leaving him in possession of his other estates—an act of clemency the more extraordinary, as Geoffrey had committed the rarely pardoned offence of being in the right.

About the same period, some disturbances took place in the province of Aquitaine, which have very generally been connected by historians with the revolt of Geoffrey. I do not, however, find any proof that such was the case. Any symptoms of insurrection which Henry might perceive in the territories he had received were soon put a stop to, and



he remained in peaceable possession of all his continental dominions, notwithstanding the just claims of his brother, and the favourable opportunities which those claims afforded to the King of France to promote a division in the territories of a vassal far too powerful.

Henry, however, though now fixed firmly in possession of England—comprising the counties which Stephen had suffered to be dismembered by the King of Scotland, and though established peaceably in provinces embracing one-third of France, meditated new augmentation of territory, in the conquest of Ireland, and the subjection of Wales. Nor would he probably have bounded his ambitious efforts there, had not a weakness of his own character raised up that internal foe who first sapped the foundation of his greatness, and gave opportunities for refractory subjects and foreign enemies to trouble his peace at home and to assail him from without.

It does not come within the scope of this introduction to notice more particularly the king's expedition against Wales, than merely to give an outline of the causes which produced it, and the general results. The hardy, resolute, and active character of the Welsh people found a fair field for action during the troubled reign of Stephen; and continual ravages on the English border marked how dangerous they were as neighbours. Henry had passed a considerable period of his early life within the districts subject to their incursions; and his knowledge of their habits would have been sufficient cause for so vigilant and active a monarch as Henry to undertake the subjection of the turbulent people who had such good reason to be the persevering enemies of the Anglo-Norman race.

The Welsh, it would appear, did not fully comprehend the character of the monarch who now ruled the English nation, and thought they might pursue the same depredations as in former years, so that Henry was in some degree compelled to take measures for their repression. His first steps were such as might be expected from his prudence; and he employed means to strengthen a colony of Flemings, which had been early planted in South Wales, and had proved, on many occasions, a strong bulwark to the English frontier. The importance of the occasion, however, rendered it necessary to use much more vigorous measures; and, as soon as possible after his accession, he undertook boldly the conquest

of the whole country. That this attempt was dangerous and difficult Henry must have known, both from the opposition and reverses which attended the arms of his grandfather, Henry I., and from the frequent defeats which some of the bravest and most skilful of the Norman nobles had undergone not long before his accession. Notwithstanding these defeats, the most signal of which was that of the Earl of Chester and Madoc, Prince of Powysland, by the famous Owen Gwyneth, much ground had been gained in South Wales by the English and Flemings. Henry, therefore, determined to turn his arms directly against Owen Gwyneth, prompted, it is supposed, by Cadwallader, one of the Welsh princes. The latter had been driven out of his territories by Owen, King of North Wales, who, there is every reason to believe, had never yet either done homage to the English crown, or owned any allegiance to the king of this country.

The army which Henry now assembled was large, well appointed, and brilliant; but in the very outset he suffered himself rashly to be drawn into an ambuscade in the mountains, where he was attacked by the Welsh, and lost a very great number of his men; he himself being forced to retreat, and narrowly escaping with his life. He contrived, however, to rally his men, and to retrieve in some degree the disasters of the day, which ever after proved a warning to the English king. He now laid out a plan of operations totally different, and, avoiding the mountains, took his way by the sea coast, his fleet following him, and insuring to him support in case of need. In vain Owen Gwyneth endeavoured to lead him into fresh ambuscades, or, encamping on the side of Snowden, like an eagle perched upon the rock, watched the progress of the enemy for the purpose of attacking him unprepared. Henry was neither to be again deceived nor turned from his purpose; and, confining his operations to the more open country, he subdued a great part of it, making roads, and building and repairing castles, to render any future proceedings against the Welsh more easy and effectual.

The progress made by the English king could not escape the eyes of Owen Gwyneth; and, finding he had no power sufficient to resist the united forces of England, that prince proposed to open negotiations for peace, which Henry only granted on the condition of his doing homage, restoring all the lands which had been conquered during the reign of Stephen, and reinstating Cadwallader in his territories. Two



of the Welsh monarch's sons were given as hostages, and Henry returned to England, leaving his principal officers to carry on the war against the inferior princes of Wales, who, one by one, were brought to submission, and did homage for their lands.

The last that submitted was the famous Rees ap Gryffyth, who was welcomed and honourably treated by Henry, the attention of that sovereign being now called to another quarter.

Such was the result of the English monarch's first expedition into Wales. The conquest of Ireland—which would appear to have been one of the great objects of Henry's ambition—we shall have to notice casually hereafter, and therefore I will not dwell upon it now; more especially as it does not in any important degree affect the history which is to follow.

Various abuses still existed in England, which it was necessary for Henry to sweep away; and a part of the year 1157 and the commencement of the year 1158 were spent by that monarch in going from one part of the country to another, endeavouring as far as possible to remove the last remnants of all those evils which had been engendered by the civil wars. One of the most important transactions of those two years was the calling in of the old coinage, which had suffered, during the reign of Stephen, the most terrible debasement, and the reissuing it restored to the proper weight and standard. Another very important transaction that occurred in the year 1157 was the admission of Malcolm, King of Scotland, to do homage to the English sovereign, which act took place at Chester, whither that monarch came to perform it, according to the promise he had given immediately after Henry's accession to the throne. This homage was rendered generally for all the fiefs which he held of the crown of England, but was guarded by a clause saving the royal dignity of the young Scottish king.

These peaceful occupations, however, appeared likely to suffer an interruption from some transactions which took place on the continent. The duchy of Brittany was at that period in point of feudal institutions somewhat behind the rest of France, and it had also been for some time filled with confusion and civil contention, in consequence of the dying act of Conan the Fat, Duke of Brittany, by which he disowned Hoel, his reputed son, declaring positively and

distinctly that he was not, and could not, be his child. The duchy was immediately divided into two factions. Eudes or Eudo, Viscount of Porhoet,\*—having married the eldest daughter of Conan, widow of Alain le Noir, Count of Richmond—laid claim to the succession, and was recognised by the people of Rennes, and by a great part of upper and lower Brittany: but the important towns of Nantes and Quimper, with various territories attached to them, maintained the party of Hoel, and a civil war of an anarchical, but not very desolating character, took place. Little is known of these wars: but it seems that the greater part of Brittany never recognised Hoel; calling him merely Count of Nantes, but never denying his right to that part of the territory.

In the mean time, a new claimant to the often contested duchy of Brittany started up in the person of Conan, son of Bertha, Countess of Porhoet, by her first husband, Alain le Noir. If Hoel was illegitimate, the young Conan's right cannot be doubted as the representative of his mother, but she herself gave countenance to Hoel's claims by siding with him so far as the county of Nantes was concerned, and receiving from her brother, in 1153, a donation for her son Conan of the town of Villeneuve.† It is worthy of remark also, that, in the act of donation, she suffers Hoel to style himself Duke of Brittany, and, at the same time, or shortly afterwards, her husband Eudes styles himself likewise duke, and, with the consent and approbation of his son by Bertha, named Geoffrey, performs acts of sovereignty in the duchy.

Thus, at the time of Henry's expedition into Wales, there were three candidates for the ducal coronet of Brittany. Conan the Less, however, who had been in England, it would appear, during the last year of Stephen's reign, had returned in 1156, supported by a large party in the duchy, and took arms at once against his stepfather. His first attempt was upon the town of Rennes, which he besieged and took; and, shortly after, Eudes himself was captured by a partisan of Conan, from which time the duchy was generally recognised

\* This name is confounded by Lord Lyttleton with that of Pontieure, or Pen-thievre. Eudes, however, was of a distinct Breton race, and was son of Geoffrey, Viscount of Josselin.

† Lord Lyttleton imagines that Conan the Less did not assert his title till after his mother's death, and that she died during the struggle between her husband and Hoel. Such, however, is not at all the case. Bertha did not die till the year 1162, and she is mentioned in the charters of the 'abbey of Redon, and other places, up to that period, as still living, and confirming the acts of her son.



as his. Nantes and its territory still remained in possession of Hoel, and against the people of that city Conan next prepared to turn his arms.

The inhabitants of Nantes, however, having, in the course of Hoel's government, discovered his incapacity, expelled him with very little ceremony, and called to their aid Geoffrey Plantagenet, brother of Henry the Second of England, offering him the title of count. Geoffrey, stripped by his brother of his inheritance, gladly availed himself of the opportunity of aggrandisement; and Henry willingly saw his brother placed in this honourable situation; which, beside other advantages to be derived from the establishment of a prince of the house of Plantagenet in part of Brittany, offered such occupation to a gallant and enterprising spirit as might prevent the Count of Nantes, embarrassed as he was likely to be in a war with Conan, from disturbing Henry in the possession of Anjou and Maine. He, therefore, consented readily to his brother's acceptance of the coronet, left him in the enjoyment of his pension, and, we are told, held out to him a promise of support in case he should be attacked. The knowledge that his rival would be thus powerfully assisted, probably withheld Conan from any vigorous efforts against the Count of Nantes; but still Henry kept a watchful eye upon the province during the years 1157 and the beginning of 1158, while he himself was engaged in the struggle with the Welsh, in all probability looking forward to the future for an union of that duchy with the other immense continental possessions of the crown of England. In the year 1158, however, he received intelligence of the decease of his brother, which took place in the month of July; and about the same time came the news that Conan had made himself master of the town of Nantes, immediately after Geoffrey's death.

What right or title Henry had to claim that city as a part of the succession of his brother, has never very clearly appeared. Lord Lyttleton supposes that some testamentary gift of the county was made by Geoffrey to his brother Henry, with the consent and authorisation of the people of Nantes: but I can discover by no means any proof that such was the case. It seems to me probable that the king himself manufactured the claim, rather than that he possessed it by any right; for the history of his whole life shows frequent instances of the same grasping at every advantage. He now, however, proceeded to take measures for obtaining Nantes,

and at the same time he carried on a negotiation with the King of France, having for its object the recovery of the Norman Vexin, which had been ceded to the French crown by his father Geoffrey.

With these views, he went over to Normandy as soon after the death of his brother as the state of England would permit, and held a conference with the French king upon the frontiers of the duchy, in regard to a marriage between his son named Henry—who now, in consequence of his elder brother's death, was heir apparent to the crown of England, and Margaret, daughter of Louis, the French king, by Constance of Castile, whom that monarch had married after his divorce from Eleanor. The dower demanded with the princess was the Norman Vexin; and, as Constance and her husband had no male issue, they were extremely glad to grant the territories required, in order to secure for their daughter a seat upon the throne of England. The youth of the two principal parties, however, left much to futurity; for the prince was but seven years old, and the princess but three. Henry, however, skilfully turned the apparent obstacle to his own advantage; and, sending his famous minister Becket to the court of France, he exacted and obtained the following extraordinary conditions: That the princess should be confided to his care, and sent into Normandy to be educated as a wife for his son; and that the castles of the Norman Vexin should be placed in the custody of three Knights Templars, to be held by them, till such time as the marriage could be consummated, when they were to be given up to England. He thus stipulated, in fact, that he should hold the daughter of the French king as a hostage, and secured the neutrality of three important castles upon his Norman frontier.

All this, however, was not sufficient. Becket having completely won the favour of the King of France, Henry was invited to Paris in order to receive the princess from the hands of her parents, and to conduct her into Normandy. At the French court the monarch, aided by his minister, proceeded so artfully as to obtain permission from the King of France to march into Brittany, and in the quality of Grand Seneschal of France, which he held as Count of Anjou, to decide between the young Duke Conan and his old rival Eudes, who had escaped from prison some time before, had served the King of France, and whose claim to the duchy of Brittany was now resumed.



Monstrous as was the weakness of Louis in a political point of view, it was scarcely less so in a moral light, if we consider that the person into whose hands he gave the judgment of so important a dispute was himself a claimant of part of the territory in question. He was, moreover, an interested party in consequence of an old claim—apparently a just one—of the dukes of Normandy to hold Brittany as a fief. Notwithstanding Henry's quality of Grand Seneschal, the natural resort of the claimants to Brittany was to the King's Court of Peers so long as the claims of the Norman dukes were not allowed; and thither, had Louis been politic or just, he would have brought the cause for decision. Such, however, was not the plan which he pursued; and the determination of the whole was left to Henry, who had previously issued a summons for all his Norman vassals to meet him in arms at the town of Avranches on Michaelmas-day 1158.

The young Duke of Brittany hastened to avert the storm that was now gathering over him. Everything indeed seemed to indicate that it would crush him: Eudes had established, by services in the field, great claims upon the King of France, and was now making use of them in order to deprive his stepson of his patrimony: Henry of England was offended by Conan's seizure of Nantes, and the King of France left the decision of the whole dispute to that monarch; while Henry, gathering his soldiers in Normandy, was preparing to enter Brittany in the two incompatible offices of enemy and judge.

In mollifying him, then, lay Conan's only hope, and he consequently hastened in person to Avranches, immediately ceded the town of Nantes to Henry, and gave up to him also the territory then called *Pays de la Mie*, that is to say, everything between the Loire and the Vilaine. Such an important argument immediately gained the decision of the judge, who pronounced a sentence favourable to Conan, fixed him in the duchy, and took possession of the acquired territory, with a force which seemed more than proportioned to the undertaking. It might be intended to overawe any partisan of Eudes; but Henry employed it, immediately after, to punish the revolt of one of the nobles of Poitou, which probably might have ended in a more general insurrection, had it not been promptly quelled. About the same period, he induced the Count of Blois to cede Amboise and another fortress, which he held upon the frontiers of his dominions, and recovered various places that had been dismembered from Normandy during the contentions between Matilda and Stephen.

Henry was now, beyond all doubt, the most powerful monarch in Europe: he possessed, in right of his descent from Matilda, and the approbation of all his vassals, all Normandy and England. The princes of Wales had been reduced to do homage and to promise peace. Anjou, Maine, and Touraine, descended to him from his father; Aquitaine was his, in right of his wife. His subjects were obedient and contented; his vassals, brave, warlike, and experienced; his revenues vast and increasing; his renown high for wisdom, policy, and arms. But all these vast possessions could not diminish—perhaps they rather increased—the spirit of acquisition which was the ruling passion of his nature. There yet remained something to be gained, and Henry prepared to risk a general war rather than not obtain it.

In the year 1158, or 1159, a crusade against the Moors of Spain was proposed by Louis King of France to Pope Adrian, and Henry promised to take part therein with his firm friend and ally, the French monarch. Louis even began to levy troops, and carried on his preparations very far; but Adrian refusing to sanction the crusade, the King of France submitted, and gave up the project. Whether Henry, in listening to the proposal of the neighbouring king, had in view to favour his own purposes in another quarter, without ever really intending to pursue the enterprise; or whether he seriously thought of joining in the crusade, and only turned his mind in another direction when the project was abandoned, I cannot tell. Certain it is that he continued his preparations, gathered together large forces in all his continental states, and, while Louis believed that he was occupied with the design of driving the Moors from Spain, he was in fact putting himself in readiness to assert an old claim of his queen, Eleanor, to the rich county of Toulouse. In pursuit of this object, he entered into alliance with the Counts of Blois, Nismes, and Montpellier, and for the same purpose negotiated a treaty with Raymond, Count of Barcelona, who was virtually sovereign of Aragon; though it would seem he did not assume the name of king, in consequence of his marriage with Petronilla, the heiress of that kingdom. In these negotiations the name of Richard Plantagenet, afterwards King of England, appears for the first time in any great diplomatic transaction; and we shall therefore now proceed to the history of that prince himself, although, of course, for many years after this period his individual history merges in that of the nation.



# HISTORY OF THE LIFE

## OF

# RICHARD CŒUR-DE-LION.

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### BOOK I.

RICHARD PLANTAGENET, afterwards King of England, was born at Oxford, in the month of September, 1157. He was the third son of Henry the Second and Eleanor of Aquitaine. His eldest brother, William, being born in France, before his father's accession to the throne, had been acknowledged heir-apparent by the great council of the nation; while the second son, Henry, was formally recognised as second in the succession. We may deduce, perhaps, from the fact of Henry having required his parliament to acknowledge his second son, then an infant, as heir to the crown in case of his brother's death, that the eldest son of Henry and Eleanor was from his birth of a weak and sickly habit. Certain it is, however, that he died soon after; and the other children of the king and queen appear to have inherited a constitution of iron. Thus, at the time of Richard's birth, very little probability existed of his ever ascending the throne of England. Nevertheless, it would appear that from the very earliest period, Henry the Second destined for his son Richard an important share of his continental dominions: Although the promises of monarchs as well as those of other men, are, unfortunately, not always to be depended upon, and although the treaty, in which the name of Richard first appears in any matter of importance, was afterwards abrogated by unforeseen events, yet we discover therein distinctly the intention of his father, both to divide that terri-

tory amongst his children, which he had been at so much pains to unite in his own person, and to bestow upon Richard a large portion in the partition.

The treaty to which I refer was concluded between Henry II. and Raymond, Count of Barcelona, the actual sovereign of Aragon;\* and, by this treaty, the English king engaged that Richard, his second surviving son, should marry the daughter of Raymond and Petronilla, the king undertaking to give Richard the duchy of Aquitaine on the consummation of the marriage. The prospect, indeed, was remote, for Richard was at this time less than two years old; and it is very possible Henry might justly calculate that a thousand things would intervene to change his relations with the Count of Barcelona before the period arrived for fulfilling his engagements. Still the treaty, though it did not prove binding in regard to his arrangements with Raymond, implied a promise to his second son, which might be difficult to evade at an after period.

There can be little doubt indeed that, in this instance, one of the weaknesses and contradictions of Henry's character displayed itself. He was, it would appear, politic, far-seeing, prudent, and cautious, even to an excess; and yet, such was the strength of his passions and the vehemence of his desires, that, when any object was to be gained which he had very much at heart, he forgot every consideration of the future, rather than forego his purpose. This peculiarity is apparent in a thousand acts which he performed in the course of his life, one of which we shall have to notice very shortly.

In the present instance, the advantages to be gained by an alliance with the Count of Barcelona overbalanced all those considerations of policy which led him to strive for the augmentation and consolidation of his dominions, and, as we have said, he promised to bestow Aquitaine upon his son Richard. Many other causes, besides the inducement of this alliance, led Raymond of Barcelona to join eagerly in the warfare against his namesake of Toulouse; and while negotiating with him, Henry had contrived to encircle the

\* Raymond, I believe, as I have said before, never did assume the name of king, and we are told that he actually refused to take that title, which the Aragonese nobles wished to confer upon him. According to William of Newbury, after having pointed out the superiority of Barcelona over all other counties, he ended his speech, "*Proinde malo esse comitum primum quam regum nec septimus.*"



lands which he himself claimed, by persons who were enemies to the actual possessor, and whom he had bound to himself by treaties and promises. One of the principal of these was Trencaval, whom William of Newbury calls Trenchveil, Viscount of Beziers and Carcassonne, who had many ancient causes of hostility towards the Count of Toulouse. It would appear, indeed, that a league had existed between various noblemen in the neighbourhood of the county previous to the assertion of Henry's claim,\* and that the English monarch

\* Nothing has been more thoroughly confused and mis-stated than the whole of these transactions. The account which I give in the subsequent paragraphs contains nothing that has not been proved beyond a doubt by Dom Vaissette, in his *History of Languedoc*. All his surmises, and very often indeed his deductions, I have not admitted, because he evidently wrote with a view to support a preconceived opinion. Various gaps in the chain of cause and effect will therefore be found, where positive proof of the facts could not be obtained, and these the reader must supply as his judgment may suggest. The facts ascertained, however, show Lord Lyttleton's statement to be incorrect in many particulars, though not nearly so much so as that which has since been put forth by Dr. Lingard, for which I can find no authority whatsoever. He says, "The father of Queen Eleanor had possessed the duchy of Toulouse in right of his wife Philippa, but, under a pretence of a sale or a mortgage, had conveyed it to her uncle Raymond, Count of St. Giles. At his death, the right of succession to all his dominions devolved on his daughter; and Raymond, that he might retain Toulouse, concluded a treaty with her husband, the King of France, by which the territory was secured to him as the dower of his wife Constance, the sister of Louis." Now, there is not one single assertion contained in the above sentences that irrefragable facts do not prove to be erroneous. William X., Duke of Aquitaine, Eleanor's father, never possessed a foot of ground in the territory of Toulouse, and it is very doubtful whether he ever put in a claim to the county, which was not named a duchy. Next, Eleanor never had an uncle Raymond, Count of St. Giles. Her uncle Raymond was Prince of Antioch, and never, by mortgage or any manner, possessed an acre in the county of Toulouse. The Count of St. Giles here spoken of by Dr. Lingard must either be the famous Raymond of St. Giles, to whom Lord Lyttleton supposed the county mortgaged, or the younger Raymond of St. Giles, who possessed Toulouse when Henry attacked it. Now, if the first be meant, Eleanor's father, William X. of Aquitaine, was four years old when that prince died, William being born in Toulouse in 1100, and Raymond dying in Syria, where he had been some years, in February, 1105. If it be the Raymond who held the city in the days of Henry II., that prince was born in 1134, and Eleanor's father died in April, 1137. No such transaction, therefore, as a mortgage could have taken place between either of those parties. We are next told that "Raymond, that he might retain Toulouse, concluded a treaty with her (Eleanor's) husband, the King of France, by which the territory was secured to him as the dower of Constance, the sister of Louis." Raymond succeeded his father Alphonso in 1148, being then between thirteen and fourteen years of age; Eleanor was divorced from Louis the Young in 1152, and, on Whitsunday of the same year, gave to Henry of Anjou her hand, and with it her claim upon Toulouse. Thus, if any treaty took place between Raymond and Louis in regard to the claim of the latter upon Toulouse, it must have been between 1149, when Louis returned from the Crusade, and the spring of 1152, when he divorced Eleanor. However, poor Constance could have no share in the matter; for she was at that time married to Eustace, son of Stephen, King of England, to whom

took advantage of that league to secure his operations against his adversary, by binding all the confederates to himself.

The claim put forward by Henry to the county of Toulouse is one of the most obscure and difficult points in the history of the times; the statements made by many contemporary writers, especially those on the part of the English monarch, being distinctly proved to be erroneous by the dates of deeds and charters, which show what is false without giving any direct clue to the truth. The title set forth by Henry was that the grandfather of his wife Eleanor, having married the heiress of the county of Toulouse, had afterwards mortgaged that territory to the Count of St. Giles. Neither the mortgager nor his son had ever been able to redeem the mortgage; and the county had still remained in the hands of the Counts of St. Giles, who took also the title of Counts of Toulouse. The rights of Eleanor, however, remained entire, and were transferred to Henry after her divorce from Louis, the King of France. Such was the statement of the English king, and he now determined to advance his claim without further delay; but at the same time he endeavoured to guard against any interference on the part of the King of France, by asserting—it would appear justly—that the same claim had been made by that monarch at the time that Eleanor was his wife; so that he had absolutely recognised her right to the county. How this is to be reconciled with the known facts is difficult to discover; but the following particulars may serve to show that some considerable misstatements were made by the partisans of the King of England in regard to the history of the county of Toulouse.

Pons, Count of Toulouse, left two sons, William and Raymond, the first named of whom succeeded to the county towards the year 1061. His second son, Raymond, on the decease of his mother, succeeded to the county of St. Giles, and, at the death of William, his brother, which took place about 1093, he took possession of the whole of the territory of Toulouse, having accumulated in his own person, previous to his brother's death, a number of the adjacent lordships, which rendered him already one of the most powerful princes

she was united in 1140, and who did not die till the summer of 1153. Thus Louis had no claim whatever to Toulouse, in right of his wife Eleanor, at any period of time when Constance's hand was at liberty, so that the county could not have been given as her dower. Constance did not marry Raymond till 1154, the first year of her widowhood.



in France. His brother William, however, left one daughter, named Philippa, who was first married to Sancho, King of Aragon, and afterwards to William, Duke of Aquitaine. How it occurred that this princess did not succeed at once to her father's territories is by no means clearly shown; but it is a very curious fact, and one which strongly confirms the assertion that Raymond had acquired some hold upon Toulouse by lending money to his brother, that he had taken the title of Count of Toulouse, in many of his public acts, before his brother's death, even so far back as the year 1088.\*

The testimony of William of Malmesbury, likewise, is of very great importance, as that writer died before the pretensions of Henry had been mooted, and from him we distinctly learn that William, the father of Philippa, had sold the territory of Toulouse to his brother for a sum of money, several years before his death. Whether such a sale, if absolute, and not by way of mortgage, was legal, might be a question; but it is perfectly clear that Raymond continued in undisturbed possession of the county till his departure for the Holy Land, which took place in October of the year 1096. Sancho of Aragon, the husband of Philippa, was killed by an arrow at the siege of Huesca, in June, 1094; and it would appear that his widow, after the short mourning for a few months, married the Duke of Aquitaine, named William IX. What transactions took place between that prince and Raymond of St. Giles, between the period of his marriage at the end of the year 1094, and the pilgrimage of Raymond two years after, there are no means of ascertaining; but it is certain, however, that almost immediately upon his departure, William IX. and Philippa seized upon the county to the exclusion of Bertrand, the eldest son of Raymond St. Giles, whom he had left in possession, and that they therein exercised sovereignty until the year 1100, calling themselves in their public acts, Count and Countess of Toulouse. Two sons were born to them in the town of Toulouse; and it would appear by a codicil to the will of Raymond, dated from Syria, in the year 1105, that he had dropped the title of Count of Toulouse on quitting Europe for the Holy Land. It is evident that their hold of the county was forcible, however, for it cannot be doubted that Raymond left his son Bertrand in possession; but what the claim was which they

\* It is clearly shown, however, that Raymond's claim was resisted by many of the vassals of his brother, which is admitted even by Dom Vaissette.

made to justify their entrance into Toulouse, does not appear. It would seem not to be doubted, indeed, that Bertrand was not legitimate: either he was the son of a concubine, or he was the son of one of the relations of Raymond whom that prince had married, notwithstanding her being within the prohibited degrees of consanguinity, and from whom he was obliged to separate by the menaces of the Church. However that might be, the Duke and Duchess of Aquitaine dispossessed Bertrand, and held the county till 1100, when, as strangely, they seemed to have yielded it again to Bertrand, from whom they had taken it, without any of the reasons which have been assigned for such conduct being supported by sufficient proof.

The account given by Henry's partisans, however, is supported by two or three known facts. In the first place it is proved that William IX. took the cross at Limoges, in the year 1100, almost at the very time that he yielded the county to Bertrand; and it seems very generally admitted that Bertrand entered peaceably into the county, and paid or lent a sum to William and Philippa. From that time it would appear that Bertrand remained in quiet possession, till he also took his departure for the Holy Land, in imitation of his father and in accordance with the spirit of the age. In the mean time, Raymond of St. Giles, having married again before his departure for the Holy Land, had another son by his wife, Elvira of Castile. This son, named Alphonso, was born in Syria while his father was carrying on the siege of Tripoli. He was baptized in the river Jordan, and was brought over into France while still in his infancy, towards the year 1107. Not long after that period, his brother Bertrand, having taken the cross, as we have said, departed for the Holy Land, carrying with him his only son, and leaving Alphonso in possession of the county of Toulouse and all those European territories which he had obtained either by succession or by negotiation with the Duke of Aquitaine.

This proceeding would seem as strange as any other part of the history. It is very true that men were prompted by the spirit of the age to abandon their territories in Europe, and to seek establishments in the East; but Bertrand, on various occasions, showed a grasping disposition which would lead one to suppose that, if he had held the county of Toulouse in any other manner than conditionally, he, like many other Crusaders, would have put his dominions under the



protection of the Church, in order to insure himself against any reverses which he might meet with in Syria.

How long William of Aquitaine remained in Palestine does not appear; but he suffered Alphonso, though a mere youth, to hold Toulouse till the year 1114, when he again took possession of the county, and his wife therein exercised acts of sovereignty during that and the following year. We are assured that it was not without bloodshed that Alphonso was dispossessed, and that, in the strife, the Bishop of Pam-peluna was killed in the streets of Toulouse. It is proved, however, that from the year 1114 to the year 1119, William and Philippa were recognised as Count and Countess of Toulouse, not only by the great body of the people, but by the famous Bernard Aton, Viscount of Beziers, and a near relation of the race of Toulouse.

Philippa died, it would seem, about the year 1119, though the history of her life is very obscure after 1115. Her husband, however, married again after her death, and led an army into Spain in order to support Alphonso, King of Aragon, against the Moors, leaving Toulouse but weakly guarded. His absence afforded an opportunity which the friends of Alphonso did not neglect; and we find that prince fully re-established in the county in the year 1122, after which period it was never regained by William IX. of Aquitaine, though he continued to assert his claim, and waged war from time to time with his competitor till his own death, which took place in 1127.

Up to that date it is distinctly proved that the claims of Philippa and her branch were never entirely abandoned; but during the reign of her son, William X., over Aquitaine, I do not find that any fresh attempt was made to recover Toulouse. His daughter Eleanor, however, was married to Louis the Young, King of France, in 1137, immediately after her father's death, and she conveyed to her husband her claims to the county of Toulouse. In 1141, Louis advanced at the head of an army towards the capital of Alphonso, and laid siege to it upon grounds that are not distinctly stated by the historians of the time; but there can be scarcely a doubt in the mind of any one that the pretensions of Eleanor upon Toulouse were those which brought the arms of the King of France before that city,\* especially when we are told by

\* We find (lib. iv.) the states which Eleanor was supposed to bring to her husband thus named in the history of Vezelai, by Hugh of Poitiers—all Aqi-

William of Newbury, who may be considered as contemporary, that Louis did make application for the restitution of Toulouse.\*

A vigorous resistance was offered by the citizens to the efforts of the French king; and Louis, as was always the case when long protracted operations were necessary, got weary of unfruitful warfare, and withdrew his troops.† His quarrels with the Count of Champagne succeeded, and those again were followed by the Crusade, which occupied all the time that intervened ere his divorce from Eleanor and her marriage with Henry. Thus the claim of that princess had never, in fact, been abandoned, and Henry merely renewed an application which had been frequently made before. The situation of Louis indeed was changed; and it was as much his interest to oppose the claim of Eleanor now as it had formerly been to support it. Her husband was already too powerful as a neighbour and too powerful as a vassal; but, besides such political motives for taking a new view of the question, Louis had a strong incentive in his affection for his sister Constance, who, after the death of her first husband, Eustace, had married Raymond, the actual Count of Toulouse.

Nevertheless, it would seem that Henry—either too confident in the influence he had acquired over Louis, or believing in a sense of justice in kings, and trusting that the French monarch would be ashamed to oppose in the present case pretensions which he had formerly advocated—imagined that the King of France would remain neuter in his strife with the Count of Toulouse. That monarch, indeed, did suffer him to make preparations unopposed, and also to form alliances with the enemies of Raymond of Toulouse; but he might imagine that the forces levied beneath his eyes were still destined for Spain; and he might be ignorant of the negotiations which were carried on both within and without his own territories. Some of the many writers of the life of Becket, however, assert, that Louis positively promised to remain neuter; and, if the authority for this fact were not somewhat

taine, Gascony, the land of the Basques, Navarre, as far as the Pyrenean mountains, and as far as Charles's Cross.

\* The words of William of Newbury are:—"Reliquit autem unicam filiam heredem, quæ cum Regi Francorum Ludovico nupsisset, idem Rex uxoris nomine Tolosam repetiit."—*Lib. ii. cap. x.*

† Adrian Vital gives us to understand that Louis met with difficulties, dangers, and discomforts, on which he had little calculated.



doubtful, we might conclude that the French monarch very basely violated his promise.

Meeting with no opposition from the crown of France, Henry proceeded with his preparations for a war, the success of which he would hardly doubt when he contemplated the vast forces at his command. Not contented, however, with the power which he could draw from Normandy, Touraine, Anjou, Poitiers, and Aquitaine, he determined to apply to his English subjects also for assistance in establishing his claim to the county of Toulouse. He accordingly returned to England in the spring of 1159, and found his nobles ready and willing to support him, though there may be some reason to suppose that representations were made to Henry by such as were not inclined to go, in regard to the hardship of serving at such a distance from their native country. Whether remonstrances were actually offered or not, certain it is that Henry felt the hardship, and assigned it as his motive for an act\* which, though undoubtedly most convenient and agreeable to him as a king, was an infraction of the grand principle of feudality, greater perhaps than even the establishment of communes. This was an extension of the right of commutating military service for a sum of money, which had long been possessed by all abbots and bishops, to inferior vassals who held by knight service. He had already made a similar arrangement with his Norman feudatories; and no difficulty was found in England, where we are told the enormous sum of one hundred and eighty thousand pounds of silver was raised by this new tax. At Worcester, where there is reason to believe that Henry obtained the sanction of the great council of the nation for this innovation upon feudal institutions, the king and Eleanor caused themselves to be crowned for the third time; but, at the offertory, the monarch and his queen laid down their crowns upon the altar, solemnly vowing

\* Robert de Monte gives it as Henry's express motive, "*Considerans longitudinem et difficultatem viæ, nolens vexare agrarios milites, nec burgenses nec rusticos, sumptis xl. solidos Andegavensium, in Normanniâ de feudo unius cujusque lorice.*" The scutage in England was fixed at three pounds for each knight's fee, and was apparently assessed by the king himself, with the consent of the council of Worcester. Some copies of the Norman Chronicle say forty solidi of Anjou, some sixty. It is difficult to ascertain the true value of money at that time, as it had suffered great depreciation; but I find a curious document in Le Blanc, p. 153, which shows that the mark of Anjou was equal to 15 sous Tournois, and that the mark of silver was equal to 13 sterling solidi 4 denarii of England, or 53 sous 4 deniers Tournois.

to God never to be crowned again.\* All Henry's greater vassals prepared with alacrity to accompany him; and even Malcolm, the young King of Scotland, put himself under the banner of his cousin of England, in order to win his knightly spurs in the ranks of one who had already acquired such great renown.

The person, however, who displayed the greatest zeal in the cause, and the most ostentatious alacrity in taking the field, was no other than Thomas Becket, Archdeacon of Canterbury, the king's chancellor. Very few years had elapsed since the Bishop of Winchester had been seen in arms during the civil wars of England; and the Bishop of Beauvais was still somewhat notorious for his military propensities. It could not therefore astonish any one in those days to see a personage who had not taken priest's orders—which was then the case with Becket—at the head of an armed force; but it might very well surprise all Europe to hear that a man who five years before possessed nothing but an inferior dignity in the English Church, was now able to maintain in the most sumptuous and ostentatious manner a force which no other leader in the realm of England could bring into the field.

Armed as a warrior, and with certainly the wisdom of the serpent, if not the harmlessness of the dove, the future saint followed his monarch at the head of seven hundred knights paid and entertained by himself. It is not to be supposed that the forces of the other vassals and adherents of Henry were at all in proportion to those of the chancellor; but there can be no doubt that the army which the English king collected in Perigueux and Aquitaine, and which continued to assemble from the middle of Lent till the end of June,

\* I have to apologise for the frequent repetition of the word crown in the above sentence; but in this and in many other instances, I have thought it better to seek for accuracy of expression rather than sweetness of sound. In the present case I have ventured to differ from a great authority. Lord Lyttleton translates Hoveden thus:—"But when they came to the oblation, they laid them down on the altar, and vowed to wear them no more." I am inclined to think that this was not the exact meaning of the author, whose words seem to me to imply that a solemn coronation of the king and queen took place, and that they vowed not to have so expensive a ceremony performed again. His words are—"Idem rex Henricus, tertio, *fecit se et Elienor uxorem suam coronari* in solemnitate Paschali apud Worecester: ubi cum ad oblationem venirent, deposuerunt coronas suas, et eas super altare obtulerunt, voventes Deo quod nunquam in vitâ suâ de cætero coronarentur." Dom Vaissette, in his History of Languedoc, mistakingly asserts that this took place at Winchester.



was fully sufficient to overthrow the whole power of the Count of Toulouse, had that prince remained unaided. The count, however, appealed for assistance to Louis the Young, and adjured him by all the ties of kindred, as well as the principles of sound policy, to prevent a faithful vassal and near connexion from being overwhelmed by another vassal already more powerful than his sovereign. Louis was moved; and, acting by impulse, as he generally did, he determined to succour the Count of Toulouse. Policy pointed out the same line of conduct; but had policy at all weighed with the King of France in this matter, he would have interfered in favour of the count sooner, and would have also interfered in a very different manner. As it was, Louis suffered Henry to commence his march, and then threw himself suddenly into Toulouse with a handful of men.

This event greatly disconcerted the King of England. There were many in his camp who urged him to attack Toulouse at once, and make the King of France a prisoner, as a just punishment for his inconsistency and breach of faith. But the English monarch listened to more cautious counsels: Louis was his sovereign as far as his continental territories were concerned; and though the vassal had an undoubted right to make war on his feudal lord when that lord injured him, or opposed him in his just claims and pretensions, yet Henry, both a sovereign and a vassal, was inclined to give more weight to the deference due to sovereignty than to the extreme rights of a feudal tenant. He therefore determined not to attack the city of Toulouse itself; and contented himself with subduing a great part of the count's territories.\*

\* Few matters have been more strenuously contested than the question whether Henry did or did not besiege the city of Toulouse. Dom Vaissette, writing as a Frenchman, labours hard to prove that Henry did besiege the city, and finding he could not take it, made the presence of the King of France within the walls an excuse for retreating. That could be no excuse, however, if, as the historian himself shows, Louis was in Toulouse before Henry commenced the siege at all. He cites, however, strong authority to prove that there actually was a siege, namely, Galfridus of Vigoeis and Hoveden, the latter of whom, certainly, has these explicit words: "Eodem anno Henricus rex Angliæ, magno congregato exercitu, obsedit Tolosam et quamvis ibi diu sedisset." I am disposed, however, to agree with Lord Lyttleton, in relying upon the host of authorities which are opposed to Hoveden. William of Newbury, Robert of Mount St. Michael, in the Norman Chronicle, Diceto and Brompton, all agree in using such terms as leave no doubt that they did not believe Henry had ever laid siege to that town; and Matthew Paris, copying Roger of Wendover, says distinctly that Henry only went towards Toulouse, capturing the cities in the neighbourhood. "Sed Rex Anglorum ipsam civitatem non assiluit, ob reverentiam Regis Francorum." It is

The important town of Cahors was taken, and nearly the whole, if not the whole, of Quercy was subdued.

In the mean time, however, the King of France, whose presence had only been sufficient to deter Henry from capturing the capital of the county itself, had taken better means for protecting the territories of the Count of Toulouse, by creating a diversion in his favour, and causing an attack to be made on the frontiers of Normandy. The incursions in that quarter were carried on by the king's two brothers, Robert, the turbulent Count of Dreux, and the sanguinary Bishop of Beauvais. It is true that they effected but little, in a military point of view, though the ravages which they committed caused great suffering amongst the subjects of the English king. The reports from that part of his dominions, however, alarmed Henry; and after having detached the Count of Blois to attack the territories of the King of France in the neighbourhood of Orleans, he followed himself soon after with the main body of his army, leaving his bellicose chancellor to pursue the war in the county of Toulouse. Nor did Becket carry it on ineffectively; he showed more energy than Henry himself had done, and in a wonderfully short space of time he had captured three fortresses, it is said by storm, each of which had been deemed impregnable; and with his own hand he overcame a French knight of great renown in single combat, bringing away his horse as a trophy.

Henry, in the mean time, had hastened back into Normandy, with a numerous force, although he lost a considerable number of distinguished noblemen by the way. Amongst others was William, the young Count of Boulogne, the only surviving legitimate son of Stephen, Henry's predecessor. Hamo, the son of the Earl of Gloucester, another cousin of the king, also ended his life in this expedition. Malcolm, King of Scotland, however, shared a better fate, and returning with some distinction in arms, received what he had so

true that not much faith is to be placed in the historians of Becket's life. I therefore do not rely here on Fitz-Stephen; but there is another writer whom Lord Lyttleton does not cite, and whom he probably had not read, but whose authority as a Frenchman, and belonging to an abbey greatly favoured by Louis the Young, is of weight, though not absolutely contemporary. William of Nangis, a monk of St. Denis, who was probably born towards 1240, possessed every means of information; and he distinctly states that Henry advanced towards Toulouse; "but as the King of France, Louis, had entered it in order to defend it, the King Henry retired, not daring to besiege his lord."



long coveted, the honour of knighthood\* from the hand of the King of England.

Henry's force, together with the troops which he had left in Normandy, proved quite sufficient, not only to protect the province, but to carry the war into the enemy's country; and immediately entering the Beauvoisis, with the usual horrid barbarity not only of those but of much later times, he retaliated upon the unhappy people of that district all the cruelties which had been committed by the Bishop of Beauvais in Normandy. An act of vengeance which probably might be more serviceable to himself, was effected in the capture and destruction of the strong town of Gerberoi, and several other lesser fortresses. Henry always obtained, however, far greater advantages by negotiation than he gained by arms; and in the present instance, by a treaty with Simon de Montfort, Count of Evreux, he acquired the three important towns of Montfort, Epernon, and Rochefort, which brought his garrisons within a few miles of Paris itself, and affected in a very dangerous degree the communication between the French capital and a great part of the Orleanois.

This situation of affairs alarmed, as it well might, the King of France; and the arrival of Becket in Normandy, bringing with him reinforcements of twelve hundred knights, and a body of inferior cavalry, to the amount of four thousand men, soon put it in the power of the English monarch to punish the inconsistency and injustice of Louis far more severely than he had hitherto done. Henry, however, with that moderation in success which was one of the finest traits of his character, did not exact more than he might reasonably expect. Negotiations took place; and in the first instance a truce was concluded from Christmas 1159, to Whitsuntide 1160; which was followed by a treaty of peace in the subsequent year, every article of which evidently shows how tired of the war Louis had become—we might indeed say, how terribly humbled he appeared to be by its consequences. All that Henry could possibly demand was granted by the French king. He retained everything he had acquired in the county of Toulouse, except some towns which he restored, not to the King of France, or his brother-in-law, but to his own ally, the

\* Some say that the King of Scotland was knighted by Henry in a meadow near Perigueux; and such probably was the case, for the account of Geoffrey of Vigeois, a contemporary, and one who lived amidst the scenes he describes, confirms that statement. Hoveden, however, says it was at Tours.

Viscount of Nismes. These, however, were merely ancient possessions, of which the Count of Toulouse had formerly stripped the sovereign of Nismes. All Henry's allies were protected by the treaty, not even excepting Simon de Montfort, though that nobleman had undoubtedly been guilty of a most notorious act of treason. Henry, on his part, granted to the Count of Toulouse, as we find by the treaty, a truce from the first day of Pentecost next ensuing, for the period of one year, which suspension of arms is expressly stated to be consented to by the English monarch for the love of the King of France; but Henry does not in the slightest degree abandon thereby his title to the whole county of Toulouse, his right being in some measure acknowledged by the terms used by the French monarch.\* At the same time the Count of Toulouse is bound not to molest Henry in the possessions of the conquered territories during the truce; though he, and the allies of the King of England, are left at liberty to wage war upon each other if they think fit.

The most important part of the treaty, however, in a historical point of view, is to be found amongst the first clauses. It is there declared that the King of France does render unto the King of England all those rights and territories in France which had been enjoyed by Henry I., excepting the Vexin, of which certain portions are declared to belong to the King of England, and certain portions are retained by the King of France. Even these, however, he agrees to give up to Henry as the marriage portion of his daughter on her union with the son of the King of England, and promises seisin thereof, at all events, within three years from the next day of Assumption, after the conclusion of the peace. It is, moreover, distinctly stipulated that, if the marriage of the Princess of France with Henry's son take place before that term of three years was expired, with the cognisance and consent of the Holy Church, the seisin and possession of the whole shall be given to Henry. In the mean time, the castles of the Vexin were placed in the custody of the Knights Templars till the specified period for delivering them up to the English monarch. Three great fiefs of the Vexin, comprising a large extent of territory, were secured to the King

\* Louis does not say that he *grants*, but that he *restores* to Henry those rights and possessions of the county of Poitou of which he speaks. The words used are "*Præterea rex Franciæ reddidit regi Angliæ omnia jura et tenementa comitis Pictavensis.*"



of England immediately, and for ever ; but the whole territory was the object in view, and that was speedily obtained.

The treaty had not been signed six months, when Constance of Castile, the second wife of Louis the Young, died in child-bed of a daughter named Adelais ; and with indecent haste the King of France proceeded to marry again within one fortnight of the death of Constance. The funeral baked-meats did coldly furnish forth the marriage tables, at least to Henry, who was, it would seem, in Paris at the time of Constance's death, having gone thither in order that his son Henry might do homage to the French king for the duchy of Normandy. Constance had ever been a firm friend to the King of England, and her death itself was a serious calamity to that monarch ; but when Henry saw that the new bride chosen by the King of France was a sister of the Count of Champagne, who had long been inimical to him, he felt both grieved and alarmed, and quitted Paris hastily, without waiting to witness the nuptials of the widower of fourteen days.

The English king seems at once to have perceived that a change of policy would take place towards him ; and his first step on returning to Normandy was to devise measures for rendering the engagements of the King of France with regard to the Vexin, irrevocable. His proceedings, indeed, must have been very quick ; for we find that he was in Paris in the beginning of October, and that in November of the same year he had everything prepared for putting his plan in execution. Circumstances indeed favoured him greatly. It happened that, at that time, a schism which disturbed the Church caused the Pope Alexander to send the cardinals of Pisa and Pavia, as legates to the King of England. These legates were now with Henry in Normandy ; the Princess Margaret of France was in the custody of Robert de Neuburg, one of Henry's vassals. The three Knights Templars, Robert of Pirou, Tostes of Saint Omers, and Richard of Hastings, were gathered together in the palace of the King of England. The legates gave the full consent and approbation of the Church to the marriage of the Princess Margaret with the young Prince Henry ; the ceremony was performed between them—the bridegroom being seven, and the bride not four years old—and the Templars, on the summons of the King of England, having witnessed the marriage and knowing the existing treaty, gave up the strong castles of Gisors, Neufle,

and Neuchatel, with the whole of the rest of the Norman Vexin.

It might perhaps be necessary for the King of England to proceed in this hurried and clandestine manner, but Henry's dignity, if not his policy, would have been better secured by pursuing a more open course; and the secrecy and haste of the transaction cast suspicion in the eyes of Europe upon the rectitude of his conduct and the justice of his claims. That his claims were perfectly just, and that there was nothing in any degree fraudulent in the transaction, nobody who reads the treaty can in any degree deny. Whatever the writers on the French side of the question might say, there was no doing away the fact that, not only had the marriage been contemplated as a thing likely to take place speedily, and provided for by the treaty itself, but that the marriage so provided for was exactly the sort of marriage that was now solemnised. Louis called it indeed but the shadow of a marriage; but the union which he had referred to in the treaty could be by no means of a more complete kind, inasmuch as no period, within the specified limits of three years, could have brought Henry and Margaret to a really marriageable age. Espousals, such as took place in the present instance, were perfectly common in those days, and even to a time nearly approaching our own. As much solemnity had been given to them as was possible, by the presence of the legates and the full consent of the Church. The marriage was therefore in every respect what had been contemplated by the treaty, and the Templars merely did their bounden duty in giving up the Vexin to him who had now the only just right to claim it.

Justice, however—at least in the interpretation of treaties—was not in those days more to be found than at present. Louis, stimulated into wrath, by the instigations, it is supposed, of the Count of Champagne and his brothers, the Counts of Blois and Sancerre, accused Henry, in vehement terms, of fraud and deceit, drove the Knights Templars, who had delivered the castles to Henry, out of his kingdom, and instantly commenced preparations for war instead of remonstrating in moderate terms, as he might have done with dignity and justice, upon the secrecy with which the King of England had thought fit to envelop his proceedings.

While the King of France thus made ready to attack



Henry in the spring, his three new brothers-in-law were not idle; but with activity far surpassing that of the king himself, prepared to carry on a desultory war against the English monarch from the side of Blois. This sort of predatory frontier warfare was one of the most annoying features in the contests of those days; but the purposes of the three counts were soon made evident to the King of England, by their assembling a large body of troops, and proceeding to fortify, in a very strong manner, the castle of Chaumont, in the county of Blois.

Henry, however, on his part, had not taken the decided step which he had adopted, without being prepared for the consequences; and he no sooner received intelligence of the measures pursued by his adversaries, than he took up arms to meet the coming evil. Without waiting for any more formal notification, he marched at once with a large force towards Chaumont, which was claimed as an old fief by Hugh of Amboise, one of his own vassals. The Counts of Champagne and Sancerre, thinking their proceedings quite secure, had retired with their forces, leaving their brother, the Count of Blois, to complete the fortification which they had begun. The news of Henry's rapid march caused that prince also to retire, and the English monarch seized upon the town and territory in question, which he immediately gave or restored to Hugh of Amboise, who was an hereditary enemy of the house of Blois.

This done, the King of England returned into Normandy, and employed the winter season in putting all parts of his continental territories into a state of complete preparation to resist the efforts of his adversaries. The Vexin of course obtained a particular share of his attention, both as a district peculiarly necessary to the security of Normandy, and as one which opened the way almost to the gates of Paris. The strong castles which it contained were put in the most perfect condition of defence; men and provisions were supplied wherever they were wanted; and the whole frontier, before the spring had advanced far, was bristling with spears and armoured with fortresses.

As soon as the weather would permit him to take the field, Louis sent an army into the Norman Vexin; but every city, town, or castle that he approached, was found completely prepared for resistance, and he dared not undertake any siege, but retired before Henry, who, at the head of a

large force, followed him across the frontier, and seemed determined to bring the quarrel to the issue of battle. Henry, however, was as cautious as he was active, and was very willing to hear proposals of pacification at all times, well knowing that whatever was gained must be upon his own part, if he granted, rather than demanded, a peace. The Pope interfered to reconcile the two monarchs of France and England; several of his envoys busied themselves to remove any difficulties that might lie in the way; and a truce was concluded in the month of June, almost as soon as the war had begun.

The fickle character of Louis rendered such changes in his determinations by no means extraordinary; but in the present instance there might be motives of a very powerful kind operating upon his weak and bigoted mind. A schism at that time divided the Church, and caused great scandal in Christendom, in consequence of a double election which had taken place after the death of Pope Adrian IV., if that could be called a double election, indeed, in which three votes were given to one candidate, and twenty-three to the other.

The person who obtained the greatest number of votes was Orlando of Sienna, Cardinal of St. Callisto, and Chancellor of the Roman Church. His opponent was Octavian, Cardinal of St. Cecilia. The former had already shown himself a marked enemy of the emperor, Frederic Barbarossa; and we are even told that he had bound himself by an unlawful oath, with other confederates, to pursue measures the most hostile to the emperor and his party in Italy. So much party rancour indeed ensued, and so many falsehoods were propagated on both sides, that the above statement may possibly be a calumny, as the moral and religious character of Orlando stands very high. It is evident, however, that he was decidedly opposed to the emperor, and that Frederic strove, with undisguised anxiety, to raise Octavian to the Papal throne.

The popes had been daily encroaching upon the old rights and privileges of the empire; and after a struggle of centuries, had succeeded in excluding the emperors from all power in the election of the bishops of Rome. On the other hand, as it could be clearly proved that the emperors had formerly the right of confirming the election, Frederic made every effort, if not to resume the full exercise of that right,



at least to regain some portion of the authority which his predecessors had weakly abandoned. The opportunity afforded by the double election of Orlando and Octavian was of course taken advantage of by the emperor. He did not indeed pretend to resume at once the power of deciding between the two candidates, as such a proceeding might have armed against him the jealousy of the whole Church; but he declared that the election should be investigated before a council of the Roman empire, and that by its decision the claims of the two cardinals should be judged. In the mean time, Orlando took the name of Alexander III., and Octavian assumed the name of Victor III. The latter, however, was recognised in Rome, while Alexander made his escape with difficulty from the imperial city, where he ran some risk of his life, and was consecrated by the Bishop of Ostia, on the 29th of September, 1159.

Frederic proceeded immediately to summon a council to meet at Pavia, for the purpose of trying the election, and deciding between the two claimants. The actual judges on this occasion were the clergy of the empire; but a number of other persons attended, amongst whom were all the great princes of the Germanic body, or envoys from their courts. The Kings of England and France, too, had ambassadors present to watch the proceedings. Fifty bishops, and a number of the inferior clergy,\* presented themselves, and Victor attended in person, submitting entirely his claims to the assembly.

Alexander had also been summoned; but though a man of high character, devout, and respectable as well as wise, he took a step which was so far imprudent, that, as a necessary consequence, it determined the decision of the council against him, and might have also added to the party of his opponents a power which would have rendered that party overwhelming. The ambition of Victor was personal; that of Alexander clerical; Victor sought to elevate himself; Alexander to extend the power of the Church. The latter was, in fact, the representative of papacy with all its grasping ambition, with all its perversion of reasoning, with all its assertion of false facts, and assumption of unreal rights; but it was only as a representative that he was all this: as the Pope, not as the

\* William of Newbury says, that there were none but Italian and German bishops, but with an immense multitude of the inferior orders of prelates, meaning of course abbots.—*Lib. 2. Cap. 9.*

man, so that the evil points of his official character gained an undue lustre from the brightness of his personal virtues. In his character of pope, then, he refused to be present at the council of Pavia, or to submit to its decrees; and, besides assuming that he was Bishop of Rome, which was the very point in question, he put forth an assertion perfectly false and groundless, as his reason for not yielding obedience to the summons. That assertion, however, comprised a principle which, though never perhaps so distinctly announced before, had been laboriously and studiously inculcated and assumed in every indirect manner by many other pontiffs his predecessors. The reason he gave for not attending the council, was "that Christ had given to St. Peter and his successors the privilege of judging all cases in which the Church was concerned, which right the see of Rome had always preserved, never having submitted to any other judgment."

He must have counted very much upon the ignorance of Europe in matters of history, and he must have counted very much also on the weakness of Louis, King of France, and Henry, King of England. The feebleness of the first he might well reckon upon; but that Henry should so much forget his own policy, and the warnings which the whole reign of Stephen afforded, as to give any support whatsoever to a prelate who put forth so monstrous, so false, and so unreasonable a doctrine, Alexander had certainly no right to believe. The popes by one step had put themselves above the authority of the emperors; by another they had put themselves above the interference of the people of Rome: Alexander now aimed to put them above the authority of the councils: and certainly it was a daring and extraordinary act.

The admission of such a doctrine as that which Alexander propounded would have left no known power of deciding between any two candidates for the papal dignity, and the only appeal left would have been to the sword, which, indeed, in those days was very generally considered as affording the best means of arriving at the decision of the Almighty. The council of Pavia, however, was not inclined to admit the plea of Alexander, and pronounced him guilty of contumacy for not appearing.

Victor and his friends—or rather Frederic Barbarossa, for he undoubtedly was the soul of the opposition to Alexander—urged two strong objections against the latter pontiff; first, that he and the cardinals who had elected him had taken an



unlawful oath, which disqualified them by the canons from electing at all ; and in the next place they rested, it would seem, though not so strongly, on the fact of the Roman people not having sanctioned the election of Alexander. The council of Pavia examined witnesses, took what information it thought necessary, and, as might well be expected, decided with very little hesitation in favour of Victor.

It is not at all necessary here to investigate who was really the duly elected pope, to ascertain which fact would require an examination into many of those obscure parts of history, which it has been the interest and practice of the see of Rome to darken and perplex. In the first place, to arrive at anything like a decision on that point, we ought to inquire in whom the power of election did really exist—whether there was a right of confirmation in the emperor, whether the people of Rome participated in any shape in the electoral authority ; for we cannot suppose the mere bull of any pope could take away the rights of the persons who elected him. In the next place we should have to discover what portion of truth and falsehood was to be found in the statements of Alexander and of Victor, which perhaps could never now be ascertained.

The principal question before us, and one of much importance to the sequel of this history, is the part which Henry took in the controversy, the policy by which he was guided, and the effect which that policy produced upon the authority which he transmitted to his son. We may infer from various acts of the King of England, that he had very early conceived the design of diminishing the exorbitant power which the Church had acquired in England during the troublous and unhappy reign of Stephen ; and had determined not to suffer the clergy to withdraw themselves altogether from the reach of the civil law. Taking it for granted, then, that he had conceived this design as a well-considered part of his great scheme of policy, the reason assigned by Alexander for not attending the council of Pavia should have led Henry at once to oppose the elevation of a man who so distinctly claimed exemption from every authority upon earth, and who thus announced, that if he made his pretensions good, the ecclesiastical matters of the Christian world would have no other judge but himself, that neither synods, nor kings, nor emperors, no, nor councils themselves, which had always hitherto been held supreme in authority, would have any

power in restraining the despotic sway of the Bishop of Rome.

In this mighty controversy, however—one of the most important in its character and its results that modern Europe has ever seen—Henry does not appear to have given the slightest consideration to the effect which its termination would have upon his great scheme of policy. The only object which he seems to have considered, was how his leaning to this or to that side would affect the objects of his ambition at the time, how he could gain advantages here or there, remove the animosity of the King of France, or retain possession of territories that were in danger. It is curious and instructive to trace how passions and weaknesses, turning us in a small degree from the course laid out before us by reason and experience, work out sooner or later the bitterest of disappointments, and in many instances, the complete frustration of the object desired. From the recognition of Alexander by Henry the Second, sprang the long series of misfortunes which attended the strife with Becket, the overthrow of all his best schemes for emancipating England from a part at least of the tyranny of Rome, and the defeat of his efforts to render the civil law of the land the judge of all men in civil cases; under whatsoever denominations the parties might appear. This is clearly and distinctly shown in the history of a more advanced period of Henry's reign.

After having made his escape from Rome, and having been driven by the dangers that surrounded him into Campania, Alexander sent legates to the Kings of England and France, in order to claim their assistance in establishing his right. Similar legates were despatched about the same time to those monarchs by Victor; and the mind of the King of France was now far more taken up and affected by the schism in the Church, than by the wrongs which he conceived had been done to him by Henry, or by the war which he had commenced against that prince. The envoys of Alexander were busy in France at the conclusion of the truce which we have noticed, in the end of June, 1161,\* and had evidently a share

\* It is not known whether Alexander dated his letters from the period of his election, or the period of his consecration; but I find a letter from him, dated in September, in the third year of his pontificate, and addressed to Henry, and urging him to make peace with the King of France; the date assigned to it is 1162, but it bears on the face of it no other date than the year of the pontificate, and I am rather inclined to imagine that it should be placed earlier.



in bringing it about. Scarcely was it concluded, when Louis called a synod to meet at Beauvais,\* in order to examine into the rights of the two claimants to the papacy, and to determine upon the course of France. It would appear that Henry was now completely reconciled to the French monarch, and co-operated with him in regard to the papal controversy; for almost at the same time that Louis held the synod in Beauvoisis, Henry called a similar assembly of the clergy of his continental dominions to assemble at Neufmarché, in Normandy. Shortly after a synod was called in England likewise; and the result was in all instances the same—the recognition of Alexander, and the rejection of Victor. One particular, however, is worthy of notice in the reply of the assembly held in England, which is, “that the council declared it would be contrary to their duty, and to the prejudice of the majesty of the crown, to pass any judgment upon the matter; and they therefore merely tendered their approbation of the claims of Alexander as *advice* to their sovereign.” Perhaps the very tone of this reply might mislead Henry into a belief that he would always find prelates as humble and unambitious as those who now dictated it.

It appears that Louis and Henry agreed in the most cordial manner to act together in regard to the papacy; and immediately after the decision of the Gallican and Anglican Churches had been obtained, they determined to call a new general council to assemble at Toulouse, and examine once more the claims of the two prelates. This fact evidently shows, both that the Kings of England and France were once more upon terms of friendship, and that Henry’s claim to Toulouse had been silenced for the time either by admission or compromise; as the treaty of peace, which he had concluded with Louis in the preceding year, had ended at Whitsuntide, 1161. As Henry and Louis were both to be present at the council, it is not probable that the English monarch would have consented that the place of meeting should be at Toulouse, had he not been able to appear there as a friend rather than an enemy.

Though matters had been thus proceeding unfavourably to Victor in France and England, neither that prelate nor the emperor had been inactive in endeavouring to promote

\* Lord Lyttleton implies that the synod of Beauvais was held in 1160, after Henry’s return from Toulouse; but it is clearly proved by Dom Vaissette that it took place in the month of July, in 1161.

his interests in those countries. Messengers had been sent by Frederic to urge both upon Henry and Louis the decision of the council of Pavia. The English monarch was the emperor's friend and ally; and it was certainly far more Henry's interest to conciliate Frederic and support his power, than to follow where Louis led, and seat one of the French faction in the chair of St. Peter. Frederic's influence might therefore well be great with the English monarch. Such, however, was not the case with Louis; but there, Victor employed interest of another kind. The Count of Champagne was his relation, and was at this time very powerful in the court of the King of France. His voice, then, was constantly and eagerly raised in favour of Alexander's opponent; while Victor applied himself earnestly to engage some of the bishops and nobles of France to support him, writing with his own hand to many of them, and, as in the case of the Lord of Montpelier, sending a legate to some even of the nobility, as to sovereigns of the highest station.

Little progress, however, was made either by the representations of Frederic, or the solicitations of Victor himself. The King of France, indeed, wavered in some degree, in consequence of the entreaties and remonstrances of the Count of Champagne; but still the opinion of the English and French clergy was of much weight; and the greater part of those who appeared as judges at Toulouse, had already announced their sentence in the synods of Beauvais and Neufmarché. The cause of Victor, therefore, was not likely to be more fortunate at Toulouse, than that of Alexander had been at Pavia. The assembly was respectable, indeed; for besides the Kings of France and England, there were the legates of the two aspirants to the tiara, five cardinals, a hundred bishops and mitred abbots, and ambassadors from the emperor and the King of Castile, as well as a number of noblemen and gentlemen of France and Normandy. As far as we can now judge, however, the meeting was not near so numerous as that of Pavia; but it immediately proceeded to go through the appearance of examining the claims, and then unanimously decided in favour of Alexander.

It would have seemed after this event that nothing remained for the monarchs of France and England but at once to acknowledge Alexander in such a manner as to pledge themselves to his cause for ever. Such was not the case, however; though they both in all their acts recognised his



authority, and suffered him to exercise the jurisdiction of supreme head of the Church, both in France and England. The council of Toulouse excommunicated Victor and all his adherents; and, as a matter of course, Victor, having possessed himself of a share in the thunderbolts of the Church, did not think fit to let them lie idle. The authority of the council of Toulouse was denied by Victor and the emperor, its decrees were held to be schismatical, and its pope worthy of excommunication. In order that all this might be solemnly announced, a new council was called by the emperor at Lodi, where Victor was once more declared Pope; and Alexander and his faction were excommunicated.

It was after his authority had been fully recognised, and his election declared valid by all the clergy of France and England, that the title of Alexander ran the greatest risk of being denied in one, if not in both of those kingdoms. The Count of Champagne, with his two brothers, possessed territories sufficient to make them very formidable to so weak a monarch as Louis; and they had also obtained a degree of influence over him, after his marriage with their sister, which rendered them the most dangerous opponents that Alexander could encounter. If Henry, seeing the great political mistake that he had committed, had joined with the Count of Champagne in the beginning of the year 1162, there cannot be the slightest doubt that Louis would have gone over to the party of the empire; and that if the clergy had not resisted such mutability of conduct, France would have led the way in acknowledging Victor. Henry, however, refrained, affecting to be entirely guided by the King of France; and in the meanwhile, Frederic employed the Count of Champagne to influence the mind of the French monarch by every means in his power. The first step which the count gained, was to persuade Louis to receive a letter from Victor, brought by the hands of one of that prelate's agents, who was admitted to the French court. The next point was to bring the king to listen to a new suggestion from the emperor regarding the means to be taken for the purpose of terminating the schism in the Church. The proposal was to hold another general council, in the town of Avignon, at which both popes were to be present, and once more to investigate the whole facts of the election, and either acknowledge one pope and depose the other, or depose both, and elect another. The next effort was to induce Louis to send an ambassador to the

emperor for the purpose of treating upon this matter. Not only were all these steps gained, but the wily Count of Champagne obtained for himself the post of ambassador, and set out with all speed to confer with the emperor at Pavia.

Such was the state of affairs in France at Easter, in 1162; and on the 11th of April, in that year, the Pope Alexander, feeling fully convinced of a warm and favourable reception in France, landed at Maguelonne, and made his arrival known to the King of France. He was gratulated by the nobles and the people of the south of France with the utmost joy and enthusiasm; the Count of Toulouse went down to Montpellier to receive him; all the other princes of Languedoc gathered round him, and rivalled one another in showing him respect: and the lower orders crowded upon his path wherever he went. All this, however, was not sufficient to compensate for the first news that Alexander received after his landing in France. It was, that new hesitation had taken possession of the mind of Louis; that he was listening to proposals from the emperor, all of which tended to call his election in question, and that he had even sent an ambassador to the Imperial court of Pavia, to treat in regard to the assembling of a new council. Alexander's indignation at the unworthy conduct of the King of France overcame his prudence; and when two envoys from Louis, chosen—as if for the purpose of marking his change of feeling—from an inferior order of the clergy, came to offer him formal congratulations, he received them with coldness and haughtiness so marked, that the weak king gave way to a violent fit of passion, and committed himself with the emperor so far that it was scarcely possible to retract. The Bishop of Orleans was immediately despatched to communicate with the Count of Champagne, and to bear to that nobleman a letter from the King of France, in which Louis acknowledged that he regretted having recognised Alexander. He also gave his ambassador full power to agree to the convocation of a new council, and to settle all the particulars regarding it with the emperor. Very seldom, indeed, has so much been left to the discretion of a minister, as was now trusted by Louis to the judgment of the Count of Champagne. That prince, of course, took advantage of his power to forward his own purposes, and entered into a treaty with the emperor, by which it was agreed, that Louis and Frederic should meet at St. Jean de Losne, where the Saône, at that time, formed the



boundary between France and the empire, accompanied by the bishops and nobles of both countries, and also by the two claimants of the papacy. A number of persons were chosen to judge the cause of Alexander and Victor; and the emperor on his own part, with the Count of Champagne on that of Louis, promised to abide by their decision, and instantly to recognise the pontiff who should be declared duly elected.

One or two particulars are worthy of notice in regard to this agreement. In the first place, the decision of the cause was not left to ecclesiastics alone, it being expressly stipulated that a number of knights were to be among the judges. In the next place, the idea of deposing both popes was abandoned; although there can be no doubt that, if the allegation of the emperor was true—that Alexander, by taking an illegal oath, had rendered himself incapable—such a proceeding would have been perfectly just, as Victor could not pretend to a sufficient number of votes to give him the papacy, from which Alexander had excluded himself.

The Count of Champagne, however, suffered this proposal to be dropped entirely; and having obtained the powers already mentioned from his sovereign, he gave Frederic the fullest assurance that Louis would abide by the decision of this new council. There can be no doubt that both the emperor and the count were perfectly certain of what the decision of the council would be, for they were both well aware that Alexander, who had refused to submit his cause to a court composed entirely of ecclesiastics, would by no means present himself for judgment before an assembly where laymen assumed to themselves the right of dealing with the highest ecclesiastical affairs.

How far the promises of the Count of Champagne went cannot well be told, nor is it possible to discover to what length his newly-kindled anger at Alexander carried the unstable King of France. It is certain, however, that Frederic and Victor both entertained the most sanguine hopes of winning France from the party of their opponent; and that Victor actually despatched nuncios to the court of the French king.

Rumours of all these transactions reached Alexander at Montpellier, and of course alarmed him greatly, especially when he found that his enemies were daily making progress, notwithstanding his holding a council in the south of France,\*

\* At Montpellier, 17th of May, 1162.

at which a number of bishops and abbots were present from the most distant parts of that kingdom. He accordingly endeavoured, as far as possible, to do away the effects of his imprudent conduct, and employed the good offices of the Bishops of Langres and Senlis to work upon the mind of the king, while at the same time he gained the more powerful influence of the king's own brother, whom we have had occasion to speak of as the Bishop of Beauvais, but who had now been elevated to Rheims. Not long after, namely, in the month of July of the same year, he wrote to the Bishop of Soissons also, beseeching him to employ his whole influence in his favour with the King of France, and if possible to prevent him from going to the meeting with Frederic. This letter was written from Mende, while the Pope himself was hurrying from Montpellier to intercept Louis on his passage towards the Saône.\* The excuse which Alexander made to cover the real purpose of his journey, was that a severe famine was at that time felt in Montpellier. But such could not be his true motive, as we learn from William of Nangis that the same famine desolated the whole of France. There can be no doubt, that having learnt the exact time when Louis proposed to set out to meet the emperor, he now hastened to confer with him by the way, in order, if possible, to prevent him from keeping the engagements entered into by the Count of Champagne. It is possible, indeed, that Louis himself may have summoned him, as he had promised the emperor to bring him to the conference; but at all events, the Pope hurried his journey as soon as the king's intentions were known, and arrived in Auvergne towards the middle of August, while Louis on his part advanced into the Bourbonnois, and took up his abode in the monastery of Souvigni. At the latter place, conferences took place between the Pope and the king; and although Alexander firmly refused to go to the proposed meeting, he gained an influence over the mind of the French monarch which never after failed.

Louis was perplexed by his resolute opposition, and more than once became angry, insinuating, that if Alexander were really innocent of the charges brought against him by the

\* Lord Lyttleton and many other historians have mistakingly asserted that Alexander quitted Montpellier in the month of June; this could not be the case, for there is still extant a bull signed by his hand, in the ides of July, 1162, dated from the city of Montpellier. This document is dated in full, both with the year of indiction of the papacy, and of Christ.



emperor, he would not shun an investigation in which his innocence must appear; but nevertheless, he appears to have been much impressed with the dignity and imposing demeanour of the pontiff, while all his habitual thoughts and feelings took part with Alexander, and acknowledged the principle upon which he grounded his resistance: a principle to which Louis had been devotedly subservient during the whole of his reign and life; namely, the supremacy of the Roman Church, and its independence of all temporal authority.

A small concession made by the pontiff in this part of the transaction, in all probability, did much to regain the favour of the king, without at all sacrificing his own views. He agreed that Louis should be followed to the meeting with Frederic by some of the cardinals who had accompanied him into France; but it was expressly stipulated and understood that they were not there to plead his cause, or to make the slightest submission on his part, but merely to declare his right before the bishops and nobles there assembled. This was all that Louis could obtain, and he then set forth to meet Frederic, very much perplexed by the determination of Alexander, though resolved, it would seem, not absolutely to abandon his cause.

On the arrival of the King of France at Dijon, the situation of all parties in Europe was very extraordinary. Louis himself was accompanied by very few military followers, being surrounded, as was usually the case, by a number of ecclesiastics. The emperor, on the contrary, had collected an immense force immediately on the other side of the Saône, being followed to the place of conference by a multitude of the princes and nobles of the empire, forming a large body of well-disciplined soldiers, whom he had just led to victory under the walls of the devoted city of Milan. In the mean while, Alexander remained at a distance from the scene, watching the events; and Henry the Second of England, at the head of a considerable army, which he had not been weak enough to disband in consequence of a truce with so fickle a monarch as Louis, held himself ready within his own continental dominions, to act as circumstances might require.

The whole fate of Europe was at this moment in the balance, and a few hours decided some of the greatest events in history. At Dijon, the King of France was met by the Count of Champagne, who immediately communicated to him the treaty he had entered into with the emperor; but Louis

would willingly have denied that the powers of the count had been sufficiently extensive to pledge his sovereign to such important acts. The Count of Champagne, indeed, had the king's own letter for his authority; but the consequence of the situation in which they were respectively placed, was a sharp altercation between the monarch and his ambassador, which of course tended to irritate the mind of Louis against Victor. The Count of Champagne, however, had pledged himself to the emperor in a manner which rendered any breach of the agreement on the part of Louis a most dangerous step. In signing the treaty with the emperor, it would appear, the count promised on oath, that if the sovereign whom he represented failed to perform the conditions which he subscribed, he would convey his homage from Louis to the emperor, and hold his vast and important territories, on the north and east frontier of France, as a fief from Frederic.

Louis hesitated, and at the time appointed for the first conference, the emperor and Victor appeared upon the bridge of St. Jean de Losne, with a splendid train of nobles and ecclesiastics; but Louis and Alexander did not keep the engagement. Alexander, on his part, it was well known, would not come; and Frederic, after waiting a short time for the appearance of the King of France, retired with indignation, reproaching Louis bitterly for his want of faith and courtesy.

At his departure he left some deputies to confer with the French monarch in case he should come in the end, but those deputies had no power to agree to any proposal respecting new arrangements; and the very next day the Count of Champagne notified to the French king, that, according to the oath he had taken, he felt himself bound immediately to transfer his homage to the emperor, the King of France having failed to keep the engagement which his ambassador had been authorised to make in his name. The situation of the King of France was now lamentable. He could expect nothing but immediate war at the hands of the emperor, and he was totally unprepared to resist it. Frederic was within a few miles of him, at the head of a large army, which might make him a prisoner at any time by a sudden advance; and one of the principal vassals of his crown was about to abandon him, in order to swell the party of the monarch he had just incensed. Under these circumstances, Louis ac-



ceded to a proposal which he would not have entertained for a moment in a less desperate state of affairs, and bound himself to attend a council at the end of three weeks, to bring with him Alexander, to hear the cause of the two pontiffs tried, and to abide by the decision of the notables of France and Germany, by whom it was to be judged.

Louis, even while he made this agreement, well knew that Alexander could not be brought to the council; but after having been obliged to give hostages of such quality as the Count of Nevers, the Count of Flanders, and the Duke of Burgundy, it seemed absolutely impossible that he could escape from ultimately recognising Victor.

In the mean time, however, Henry the Second of England, towards whom the King of France had displayed but scanty ceremony in treating concerning a new council without him, had sent neither barons nor prelates to the bank of the Saône; but, on the contrary, had some time before despatched the Archbishop of York, and the Bishops of Lisieux and Evreux, to attend upon Alexander, who was now in Berri. The king himself had remained at the head of his army; but the moment Alexander heard of the jeopardy in which the French king had placed himself, he besought the English monarch to march with all speed to his rescue, in order to counterbalance by his power and military strength the dangerous preponderance of the emperor. Henry paused not to deliberate, but marched into France at the head of a large army, entered Berri, and advanced as far as Bourgdieu, where Alexander then resided. At the same time he sent messengers before him to announce his approach, and intelligence of his coming soon reached both Louis and the emperor.

There was another foe, however, in Frederic's camp, which was much more terrible and difficult to oppose than even the arms of the English monarch. A general dearth reigned upon the banks of the Saône, as well as through the rest of the land. Louis could find food in Dijon for himself and his priests; but Frederic, with his mounted barons and their long trains of soldiery, found neither corn nor grass; and, after having endured the pressure of famine in his camp as long as possible, he was forced to yield to circumstances and retire to his own country.

To what extent he was influenced, in thus leaving the field, by the approach of Henry's army, can hardly now be told, nor does it at all affect the course of history. He knew that the

King of England had marched to the assistance of the King of France, and his friendship towards his British ally was of course cooled in proportion. On the other hand, however, Louis was, for the time, as grateful for Henry's prompt assistance, as Frederic was offended by his interference. To him he seems to have attributed entirely his deliverance from the dangerous situation in which he had placed himself; and, at the meeting which took place immediately afterwards between Louis, Henry, and Alexander, on the banks of the Loire, a peace was concluded between the two monarchs, by which Henry was permitted to retain everything that he had acquired, without the restitution of any part of the territory in dispute. The most remarkable incident, however, of this meeting on the banks of the Loire was, that Henry and Louis received the Pope on foot, and while he, on a horse splendidly caparisoned, rode towards the pavilion prepared for him, the two monarchs held the bridle on either side, to do him honour. Whether the motive of Henry, in performing this act of degradation, was to secure the friendship of the Pope, or to please the priest-ridden King of France, certain it is, that, in holding the bridle for the pontiff, he virtually brought his head below the stirrup of Thomas à Becket.

His dissensions with that prelate I shall have to speak of hereafter; and it will be enough to notice, in this place, the elevation of Becket to the highest dignity in the English Church. In the year 1161, died Theobald, the good old Archbishop of Canterbury, and for a considerable time no new archbishop was appointed. The advocates of the Roman Catholic Church have asserted, that this long interval was owing to Henry's desire of appropriating as long as possible the revenues of the vacant see. It is clearly proved, however, that the delay proceeded from the conscientious opposition of a great body of the English clergy to the person whom the king thought fit to nominate, whose habits and character rendered him most unfit for the archiepiscopal dignity, and most obnoxious to the English clergy. That person was Thomas Becket, Archdeacon of Canterbury, chancellor, and favourite of the king. He had not yet taken priest's orders; he had distinguished himself as a soldier, as a courtier, and as a negotiator; he had lived a luxurious and worldly life; he was extravagant in his apparel and his household; he was notoriously ambitious and grasping; and he had caused the scutage for the war of Toulouse to fall with such peculiar



weight upon the clergy, that the Archbishop Theobald had threatened with excommunication all who should be concerned in exacting the second instalment.

It is not wonderful, therefore, that the great body of the ecclesiastics of England should as strongly as they dared oppose the nomination of such a person. The famous Bishop Foliot, who perhaps hoped for the dignity himself, most decidedly endeavoured to delay, or to prevent, his election; and even the people murmured at the elevation of a man so thoroughly worldly to the highest spiritual office in the kingdom. The Empress Matilda, though she had long ceased to take any part in the political events of the day, remonstrated with Henry on his purpose of placing Becket in the archiepiscopal chair, and it was necessary for the king to make a very harsh and unscrupulous use of his authority, before he could force the obnoxious archdeacon into the cathedral of Canterbury.

Nevertheless, Henry persevered; for Becket had contrived to win at once the favour, the confidence, and the respect of the monarch. He had shown himself, in all their dealings, both subservient and successful, which too frequently form the greatest recommendation to a monarch's favour; and Henry doubted not that in his projects regarding the Church, he should find in the new archbishop the same pliancy of will, with the same powers of mind, which his chancellor had displayed. Indeed, he had every reason to believe that such would be the case; for Becket had more than once signalled himself in supporting the royal authority against the encroachments of the Church; and that he had still kept his eye upon the primacy, is evident, notwithstanding everything that his eulogists thought fit to assert after Henry had made him a martyr, and the Pope had made him a saint.

In judging of the views and proceedings of Henry and Becket, a very nice and critical examination of the authorities is necessary; for very few documents have reached us free from a suspicion of partiality, except the records of various matters which took place before Becket's elevation to the dignity of primate, and which were recorded previously. These are the purest sources when they can be found, but they are very rare, and do not embrace the most important points in question. The next best source, probably, are the letters written about the times of which we now speak; for, though they are all glowing with the heat of controversy,

yet, as in the pleading of a cause, the opposite statements are laid before us, and we can judge between the parties. A more suspicious sort of authority still, is found in the chroniclers who wrote shortly after these events, when Rome had encircled the head of Becket with a halo, which, though very different from the effulgence that shone upon the countenance of Moses, as effectually dazzled the eyes of the monkish beholders; and we must recollect that almost every chronicler of that age was either monk or priest. The last and least worthy of all sources of information, is that of the manifold writers of Becket's life, professed eulogists, who seldom or ever suffered the undisguised truth to appear, except when barbarism or superstition led them to mistake a vice for a virtue.

It is sufficiently ascertained that Becket kept his eyes upon the archbishopric, that he proceeded to England in order to secure his election, and that it was not till he was perfectly certain of the determination of the king that he affected to be indifferent to the matter, or unwilling to assume the dignity.\* The difficulty which Henry met with in overcoming the repugnance of the English clergy, was far greater than any that he had to encounter in removing scruples from the mind of Becket. Various means of menace and intimidation were resorted to, to drive the clergy to elevate the king's favourite; and we are distinctly told, by the Bishop of London himself, that he and all his relations were threatened with exile and proscription unless he yielded to the royal mandate, which was borne to England by Richard de Lucy, the king's justiciary, with orders from Henry himself to use the same means for the elevation of Becket to the see of Canterbury, that he would employ for the elevation of the

\* \* In arriving at this conclusion, we must put aside the authority of Becket's professed eulogists, who made a point of declaring that the humble and self-denying chancellor, whose train had surpassed that of any monarch, as they themselves admit; whose table was that of the most finished epicure; whose horses and monkeys, and grooms leading them, had dazzled and astonished the French peasantry; who had absorbed all favours, and had even received the homage of a number of vassals in the county of Toulouse, was too humble and lowly-minded to desire, or even accept, without the greatest unwillingness, a dignity which placed him at the head of his profession in England, and required from him the renunciation of none of his posts and offices. The authority of Foliot is much better, though he was Becket's enemy; and that prelate boldly charges him in the face of the whole world—while Henry and Becket were both still living—with keeping his eye fixed upon the see of Canterbury, and coming over to strive for it, as soon as possible after it was vacant. See an after note in reference to Becket and Foliot.



king's son to the throne of his father, if that father were dead.

Such means, then, being used, nothing remained for the suffragans, and other electors, but to accept the archbishop upon Henry's recommendation; and Becket was accordingly elected on the 3rd of June, 1162.\* The royal assent was immediately given by Prince Henry, who was then in England and under Becket's tutelage; and, shortly after, the new archbishop proceeded to Canterbury, took priest's orders one day, and was consecrated archbishop the next. We are told that the only person who ventured to make any observation upon this strange and indecent transaction was the Bishop of Hereford, who remarked that the king had worked a miracle, having changed, within four-and-twenty hours, a layman and a soldier into a priest and an archbishop. The king did not resent the jest, even if it was related to him, for we find this same Bishop of Hereford very soon after translated to London.

These events occurred while Henry was contending with the King of France, or delivering him from the dangers which he had brought upon himself. In the mean time, however, other important changes had taken place in the state of England, which strongly called for the presence of the monarch; and Henry having, somewhere about this period, suppressed a revolt amongst the people of Aquitaine, always a turbulent and excitable race, returned to Great Britain in 1163, to pacify, or to punish the Welsh princes, who were once more in arms in the southern part of the principality. The cause of this resumption of hostilities on the part of the Welsh was principally, it would appear, the violation of Henry's own engagements with Rees ap Gryffyth, to whom he had promised certain territories in a compact form and position. The king, however, had given him nothing but territories scattered through various districts, by which his power was bridled, and his dignity decreased. This injury he had borne more patiently than could have been expected, but another inflicted upon him by Walter de Clifford raised his indignation to a higher pitch; and he complained loudly to Henry himself. His complaints produced no satisfactory results: Henry, detained on the continent, paid little atten-

\* This is the date mentioned by Lord Lyttleton. Dr. Lingard places it on the 30th of May. Thomas Wikes says it was III nones of June; but the matter is of no great moment.

tion to him : and Rees rose in arms, reducing, in a very short space of time, the whole of Cardiganshire to subjection, and destroying all the castles which had been built for its protection. About the same time also he overran Pembroke-shire, but was forced to raise the siege of Caermarthen, by the Earls of Cornwall and Pembroke, aided by some of the Welsh princes of the English party. He then retired into the mountainous districts of Brecknock, where he remained in arms at the head of a large force, making war from time to time upon the neighbouring nobles. Henry himself, as we have said, returned at length to England, and advanced into South Wales with a large force, which soon induced the Welsh prince to submit, upon the mild terms to which Henry was willing to accede. Many of the demands of Rees ap Gryffyth were granted, and he had the satisfaction of obtaining possession of Dynevor, the residence of his ancestors, kings of South Wales.

Thus happily terminated this insurrection ; but the disturbance which Henry was to receive from the valiant inhabitants of Wales was not yet at an end. Scarcely had a year passed ere Rees ap Gryffyth was once more in arms against the King of England ; and it is more probable that the growing dissensions which sprang up rapidly between Henry and the archbishop, encouraged the Welsh prince to break the oath that he had so lately taken, than that the murder of one of his kinsmen was really attributable to the Earl of Pembroke. However that may be, Rees ap Gryffyth not only overran and desolated the county of Cardigan, but also carrying the war into Pembroke-shire, attacked and greatly injured the colonies of Flemings, which Henry and several other monarchs had settled there ; and moreover, knowing now that he had little to hope from the clemency of the often-offended King of England, he negotiated with all the other Welsh princes, urging them by every argument which could have weight with a high-spirited and patriotic nation, to throw off the yoke of those foreign sovereigns, who had, day by day, cooped them within narrower bounds, and imposed new badges of servitude upon them. Nor was his oratory unsuccessful. All the Welsh princes, almost without exception, comprising even those who were the most deeply indebted to Henry's clemency and to his generosity, took up arms to cast off his sway, and to recover the independence of Wales ; so that during the autumn and



winter of 1164 and 1165, the most formidable rising took place which the English king ever had to encounter in any part of his dominions. A parliament, which met at Northampton in the former year, raised troops for the purpose of making head against Rees ap Gryffyth; but such were the embarrassments under which Henry laboured from his dissensions with Becket, and from the part which the King of France and the Pope, Alexander, had taken in the dispute, that it was the middle of 1165 before he was enabled to use any vigorous measures for subduing the insurrection of the Welsh.

In order to see what the embarrassments were which thus shackled the active powers of Henry's mind, it may be necessary now to give some account of the dissensions which had arisen between the king and Becket since the elevation of the latter to the see of Canterbury. Scarcely had the prelate taken possession of his new dignity than a change came over his whole demeanour. It might be that he was seized with remorse for his former course of life; or it might be, that with the same skilful adaptation of means to an end which he had displayed throughout his whole career, he now made use of every appearance of profound devotion and sanctity, seeing that the elevation which he had so suddenly attained required that ambition should change its path, and put on the flowing robes of zeal and enthusiasm. If we reject the one or the other of these suppositions, we can but conclude that the archbishop was one of those Protean characters, the whole form and feature of whose mind suddenly yield under the pressure of circumstances; that he who was the general in the field, the knight in the saddle, the courtier in the hall, the minister in the council, the diplomatist in the cabinet, merely from an honest and straightforward intention of doing well and skilfully in the situation in which he was placed, became also, in one moment, from the change of circumstances, the zealous and devoted churchman, and, cameleon-like, received from the shades of his dim cathedral the grey hue of monastic enthusiasm and religious fervour.

We would fain receive the best view of the prelate's character; and did we not perceive that every change of direction which his vast and versatile powers assumed, tended to his own immediate elevation and the promotion of his own interest, even to the subversion of principles which he had at other times professed, we might conceive those changes to

have proceeded from the simple impulses of an honest heart employing a subtle and powerful mind. Or did we find that humility of conduct succeeded reformation of manners—that the hard bed and the frugal meal excluded pride, haughtiness, subtlety, and love of power—we might imagine that his last alteration of demeanour took place from penitence, not ambition; and that the object was changed, rather than the means.

However that may be, no sooner did Becket feel the mitre on his brow, than all the externals of the man were changed; luxuries were banished from his table, long trains of glittering domestics from his palace; his conversation was of spiritual things; his companions clergymen and monks; he was regular and devout in the offices of religion; and secret penances, and half-hidden mortifications, were whispered with wonder through the court of the new archbishop. While Henry was still zealous in his favour, Becket sent him back the great seal, declaring that the post of chancellor was incompatible with the high duties of his clerical station, for which he could scarcely suffice: but in doing so, it would seem that he at once opened the eyes of the king, who, notwithstanding his long-established partiality, now saw, or believed he saw, that the archiepiscopal dignity had changed the object of Becket's ambition. Perhaps Henry argued, that if Becket resigned his post out of conscientious motives, and because he no longer regarded worldly wealth and authority, he would have given up at the same time the archdeaconry of Canterbury, which was certainly not compatible with the mitre of the same see. Many another office or emolument he might have yielded also with equal dignity and propriety; but we find that the archdeaconry was wrung from him with the greatest difficulty, and that he defended his least possession with the utmost pertinacity.

The doubts which had taken possession of the mind of Henry in consequence of Becket's resignation of his office of chancellor, might produce the first coldness of the king towards him. But certain it is, that on the monarch's return from France in 1163, he received the archbishop, who met him at Southampton, with a demeanour greatly altered, and it became evident to the whole court that Becket was no longer the favourite. Other causes of dissension speedily appeared; but the first direct opposition which Henry met with from his former chancellor, was in regard to some of



the most useful and beneficial purposes which that monarch ever entertained. The subject has been embarrassed by long and complicated details which have nothing to do with it, and all the arts of sophistry have been employed to give a colouring of justice to the resistance of Becket; but I find the main matter in dispute so clearly set forth in the somewhat homely words of Richard Hoveden, that I cannot do better than translate them in this place.\* “The king,” he says, “desired that presbyters, deacons, sub-deacons, and other rectors of churches, if they should be detected in robbery or murder, or felony, or arson, or similar things to these, should be brought to secular examination, and punished like laymen: on the contrary, the archbishop said that if a clerk duly ordained, or any other rector of a church should be accused of anything, he should be judged by ecclesiastics, and by an ecclesiastical court, and if convicted, his orders should be stripped off; and thus deprived of office, and of benefit of clergy, if afterwards he became criminal, he should be judged according to the will of the king and his bailiffs.”

At the very first view, the king's purpose was evidently just and reasonable; and the eagerness of determination with which he pursued that purpose might have drowned all opposition; and most likely would have done so, if the original grounds of the question had not soon been lost sight of, in the fierce struggles of Becket to maintain the unjust exemptions and privileges for his order. The causes of Henry's eagerness, to which we have just alluded, are thus described by William of Newbury: “The king being busy in the care of his kingdom, and commanding that all malefactors should be indiscriminately exterminated, was informed by the judges that many things against public order, that is to say, robberies, rapes, homicides, were often committed by the clergy, to whom the power of the lay jurisdiction could not be ex-

\* The original words of Hoveden are as follows:—*Rex enim volebat presbyteros, diaconos, subdiaconos, et alios ecclesiæ rectores, si comprehensi fuissent in latrocinio, vel murdrâ, vel felonîâ, vel iniquâ combustione, vel in his similibus, ducere ad secularia examina, et punire, sicut et laicum. Contra quod archiepiscopus dicebat, quod si clericus in sacris ordinibus constitutus, vel quilibet alius rector ecclesiæ, calumniatus fuerit de aliqua re, per viros ecclesiasticos et in curiâ ecclesiasticâ debet judicari, et si convictus fuerit, ordines suos amittere, et sic alienatus ab officio, et benefico ecclesiastico, si postea foris fecerit, secundum voluntatem regis, et bailivorum suorum judicetur.*

tended.”\* He goes on to say that Henry was informed of more than a hundred homicides already committed by the clergy in England under his reign. This might well move the indignation of the king, and he consequently determined to bring ecclesiastics under the arm of the civil power in cases where offences of such gravity had been perpetrated. But it was the determination of the Church of Rome, and of Becket, that such a purpose should not be effected. In the very first year after that prelate’s elevation, a general council was held at Tours, and one of the avowed objects of the assembly was to provide for the liberties of the clergy, which, as it had already deviated into licence of the grossest and most abominable description, evidently wanted circumscription rather than extension. I know not, however, that this object was announced before the council had assembled, otherwise Henry must have been very weak indeed to suffer the whole of his archbishops and bishops, except three, to attend the meeting at Tours, as he did at the solicitation of Alexander himself. What took place between the Pope and Becket on this occasion, can only be matter of conjecture.

\* His words are, “Rege quippe circa curam regni satagenti, et malefactores sine delectu exterminari jubenti, a iudicibus intimatum est, quod multa contra disciplinam publicam, scilicet furta, rapina, homicidia, a clericis sæpius committerentur, ad quos scilicet laicæ non posset jurisdictionis vigor extendi.” These are the words of a monk; and certainly this respectable and independent man, living in the midst of the scenes which he describes, may be trusted when he speaks against the prejudices of his order, which as well in this, as in the case of Becket, he does not unfrequently, condemning much of the archbishop’s conduct, and plainly showing his approbation of the king’s views, even while he censures the weak violence with which Henry pursued them. I shall have frequently occasion to cite both Newbury and Hoveden, and it may be necessary here to point out, that the latter was chaplain to Henry the Second. He had, therefore, an opportunity of knowing, fully and completely, all that took place in regard to the dispute with Becket, and most likely had studied it deeply. It may be supposed that his situation near the king’s person gave him a prejudice against Becket; but we must remember that he wrote long after that prelate’s death, as well as after the death of his sovereign. Becket was by that time canonised, the power of Rome completely triumphant over the weakness of John, everything was to be gained, and nothing to be lost, by giving the most favourable view of the archbishop’s proceedings; and these circumstances, as well as the spirit of his class, which he must have shared with other ecclesiastics, may well be considered as sufficient to counterbalance any prepossession against Becket. His account, too, is simple and straightforward, and deals more with facts than opinions. This part of his narrative, too, may be considered as written purely from his own knowledge. A great portion of the first part of his history is evidently taken from Huntingdon; and the Abbot of Peterborough has afforded him materials for the latter part; but between the years 1154 and 1170, Hoveden, I am convinced, drew his information from original sources.



William of Newbury, however, declares it was reported, that Becket, in remorse at the violent means which had been employed to force him upon the clergy of Canterbury, resigned his see into the hands of the Pope, who as a matter of course gave it back to him, and quieted his conscience by absolution. Certain it is, that Alexander received him with the utmost distinction; and, between the prelate and the sovereign pontiff a bond was established, which, strengthened by the superstitious zeal of Louis of France, enabled them to overthrow the wisest and most admirable purpose which the English monarch ever entertained.

In speaking as I am obliged to do on this and other occasions, I by no means intend to imply that degree of censure of Alexander and Becket which their conduct would have well merited had they lived in more enlightened times, or been placed in circumstances wherein their eyes could have seen clearly the paths of right and wrong, unobscured by the dim mists of self-interest, and undazzled by the fictitious splendour with which Rome had invested herself. Alexander, on his part, doubtless thought that he only claimed for the Church that which was the Church's right; and forgetting the more bitter degradation of crime, he might look upon it as derogatory to the clergy to submit to the judgment of laymen. Nay, more: he might remember how ignorant, mercenary, and flagitious, as well as cruel and remorseless, many of the judges of the land, and still more the barons who acted as judges, had proved themselves, not only in England, but over the whole of Europe. He might, at a later period, have urged, that not even the greatest jurisconsult of the day, the High Justiciary of England, was free from suspicion of most iniquitous corruption. He might have put forth the principle, that all men are to be tried by their peers, and that in the age in which he lived none could bear that relation towards the clergy but clergymen themselves. He might have pleaded many other things to support the claim which he conceived to be in every respect just to the Church, of which he was the head. But, on the other hand, Becket unfortunately, in former controversies with churchmen, had made such declarations of the authority of the crown, that his present pretensions could only be supported by a supposition that the miracle which had changed him into an archbishop and rendered him devout instead of worldly, had at the same time opened his eyes in

regard to the respective rights of kings and clergymen. From whatever source he derived his light, certain it is that he now viewed all things in a different manner, and that he returned from Tours with a full determination to resign none of those privileges which his order had so much abused. He began his proceedings, however, in an unwise manner, claiming as the property of the Church various estates belonging to English noblemen, who had held them for several generations. His plea was, zeal for the Church; but as the proceeding was exactly in accordance with the grasping spirit which he had previously shown, while the zeal of the archbishop had slumbered in the archdeacon, men believed him to be actuated far more by avarice than by devotion. These, and various similar acts, not only excited the anger of the king in a tenfold degree, but called upon him the animosity of the nobles, which was certainly contrary to the policy that Becket should have pursued.

Another great error he committed, was that—instead of taking instant measures to purify the manners of the clergy, to reform the ecclesiastical courts, and to punish, with all the severity which the canons permitted, the crimes of the priesthood—he used all his authority to screen clerical offenders, and in some instances to protect persons who had committed the most dark and terrible crimes. This excited still greater anger and indignation, and Henry summoned the bishops of his realm to meet him at Westminster, in order to employ means for putting a stop to such abuses.

In this assembly, the king did not make any direct charge against the archbishop; but he demanded that the clergy, when proved guilty of heinous crimes, should be given over to the secular arm for punishment.\* The king, however,

\* A modern writer, in a laborious defence of the clergy of that day, which he has woven into his history, omitting all that would injure his cause, insinuates that it was upon one single case—that of Philip de Brois—that Henry called his clergy together, and “required their consent that for the future whenever a clergyman had been degraded for a public crime, he should be immediately delivered into the custody of a lay officer to be punished by the sentence of a lay tribunal.” This is by no means a just statement; and if,—putting aside the account of Stephanides, who, where Becket is concerned, cannot be received by any candid critic—we compare Diceto with Hoveden and with William of Newbury, the one a priest, the other a monk, and inquire what the king did demand and upon what grounds, we shall find that Henry, discovering that the clergy were in the custom of committing robbery, rape, and homicide with impunity (*vide* Guil. Neubrig. lib. ii. cap. 16), demanded of his clergy and people, that, according to the laws of his grandfather, if any clergyman should be taken in (*comprehensus*) the commission of robbery, murder, felony, arson, or any similar



weakly suffered Becket to confer with the rest of the prelates apart, and their reply went to sustain the archbishop's views, as I have already given them from Hoveden. The king next demanded, whether the bishops would observe the ancient customs and laws of the realm; and probably there had never before been a period in England when that question would have produced any hesitation; but on the present occasion, at the dictation it would appear of Becket, the bishops, with only one exception, replied that they would observe those customs, as far as they could, saving the privileges of their order, and the honour of God and the Holy Church; the interpretation of which reservation was not difficult.\*

Henry, indignant, quitted the assembly, with very slight effort to change this determination, saying, that he saw the bishops were arrayed against him. The next morning he deprived Becket of the preceptorship of his son Henry, and took from him the custody of various places which had long been entrusted to him. Becket was greatly mortified, it would seem, at this result; but his daring and determined spirit rose to resist rather than to yield. We find, clearly, that the whole of the lay nobility were strenuous in support of the king; but the bishops on the contrary seem to have been either overawed by the superior abilities of Becket, or by the fear of offending Rome; and nothing could induce them to declare openly against that prelate, although the good sense of many of them might lead them to side in opinion with the king. This was the case probably with the Bishop of London, and certainly with the Archbishop of York and the Bishop of Chichester; and a number of those who did not choose to declare themselves openly, laboured zealously with Becket in private for the purpose of inducing him to make the promise exacted by the king, without the saving clause, which rendered it of no effect. No sort of influence was left unemployed, and the Bishop of Lisieux is said to have come from France in order to prevail upon him to enter into some compromise with Henry.

crime, he should be examined and punished as a layman. Hoveden, pars: post: Henric. II.

\* The account of Hoveden is slightly different, but in no material particular. He says that of the convocation in 1164, Henry asked, if for his love and service, and for the stability of the kingdom, they would receive and keep the laws of Henry, his grandfather. He goes on to state that Becket answered for them all, saying, "That they would keep them, saving in all things, his order, the honour of God, and the Holy Church."

Nothing was found effectual, however; Becket remained not only obdurate, but the Bishop of Lisieux, in one of his letters, leads us to believe that he spoke with contempt of the king, and utter disregard of his authority.\* It would appear that amongst those who pressed him the most eagerly to submit to the royal authority, were two Knights Templars, Richard of Hastings, and Tostes de Saint Omers, to whom Henry had shown great favour, after they had been driven from France for yielding to him the castles of the Norman Vexin; and it would seem that they prevailed more with him than any other persons. Nevertheless, he still resisted; and negotiations took place between Henry and the Pope, in order to obtain a mandate from Alexander, addressed to the bishops of England, and commanding them to observe the ancient customs and laws of the realm. This was doubtless undertaken in the hope that Alexander's infinite obligations to Henry would induce him to follow the steps of Calixtus the Second, who had granted such a confirmation of the customs of England to Henry the First.

It now appeared that Henry had made a lamentable mistake in supporting Alexander against the Emperor Frederic. Had the King of England either maintained that prelate's claims upon the papacy who had announced opinions favourable to his own views, which was the case with Victor; or had he even refrained from aiding that prelate who had openly declared principles totally subversive of his wise intentions, till such time as he had established firmly the laws with which he now sought to bridle the licentiousness of the clergy, the English monarch would have found either a will-

\* In the collection of Becket's correspondence, quite sufficient materials are to be found for judging of the character of the man, and refuting the claims to sanctity which have been set up in his favour, though not, perhaps, to elucidate all the events of his life. Much curious matter is to be found in a letter (No. 85) from Ernulfus of Lisieux, which affords proof—although a modern writer has asserted that “by his contemporaries Becket's change of conduct on his elevation was *universally* attributed to a conscientious sense of duty”—that there were not wanting many persons to assert that “his ambition was more fully gratified to hold the power independently, and from reverence for his ecclesiastical dignity, which he had formerly possessed from the favour and at the will of another; that being once thus raised, he could not be content to sit at the foot of the throne, or even by its side, but menaced the crown itself, intending to bring it so far into subservience to his authority, that the power to bestow and support it should principally rest with the Church; that he began with opposing the king's commands, in order that everything might seem to be absolutely under his rule, as no hope of resistance could be entertained by others, when the royal authority itself was forced to succumb.” This was the man whose conduct was attributed “*universally* to a conscientious sense of duty.”



ing co-operator in Alexander, under the fear of total abandonment, or else a sure resource in Victor, whose views were perfectly compatible with his own. The Pope refused the king's request, except under conditions which would have rendered his consent null; and Becket had now the clear and distinct support of the papal approbation in his struggle with the king, with the nobility, and with the laws.

On various points connected with this part of the history, different statements exist, which create considerable confusion and obscurity. It is distinctly asserted by Hoveden, however, that about this time, Philip, the Pope's almoner, was sent to England for the purpose of quieting the dissensions which had arisen between Henry and the archbishop; and that he was authorised by the supreme pontiff, and the cardinals, to command Becket to promise that he would keep all the laws without exception. Nothing can be more clear than the words of the historian; and it is also certain, that the archbishop did shortly after join Henry at Woodstock, and promise unreservedly to observe the customs of the kingdom. The eulogists of Becket have attempted to soften down this act with assertions so ridiculous, as to be unworthy of any consideration.\* It is clear, if the best and most impartial contemporary historians are to be believed, that he went to Woodstock; it is clear that he made this promise unreservedly; and it is clear that Henry relied upon it perfectly.

It remained, however, for the King of England, having as he believed vanquished the obstinacy of his primate, to obtain the same concession from the bishops whom Becket had stimulated to oppose him; and for that purpose he summoned a great council to assemble immediately at Clarendon. The meeting took place in the spring of 1164. The eldest persons there present were appointed to draw up from memory the

\* They asserted that Henry assured Becket he would never require anything of him to the prejudice of the Church; and that all he wished for was, a testimony of respect and submission in the face of his barons, for which purpose a mere shadow of consent would be sufficient. Were it possible to suppose that Henry would be so foolish as to say such a thing, or that Becket would be so foolish as to believe it, the circumstances under which the promise was given would show the falsehood of the assertion altogether. Becket went to Oxford to the king to make this promise, after his conference with the Pope's almoner; and Henry, so far from showing any disposition to leave the promise vague, instantly called a great council or parliament at Clarendon, for the purpose of defining what the customs were to which the promise referred, and of causing the other prelates and nobles to make a similar promise.

laws and customs of the realm, which had been so often referred to; and certainly nothing could be more just or straightforward than this method of defining them. But, when it was proposed that the whole assembly should take an oath to observe them, Becket refused positively to do so. Some writers declare, that the archbishop asserted as his excuse that this was all very different from the general promise he had made the king; but others, and amongst them Hoveden, state that he did not deny the promise he had made, but only declared that he had greatly sinned in making it, and would so sin no more.\*

The king and his nobles were furious at this conduct. Violent and irritable in the highest degree, we may easily believe that Henry could scarcely bridle his indignation; and for three days the clergy, the monarch, and the barons remained in fierce and menacing debate, in which, if we may trust to the words of the Bishop of London, whose high and severe purity of character renders his testimony indisputable, the prelates resisted every effort to extort from them the oath demanded: "ready to submit to loss of fortune, anguish of body, endurance of exile, and if God willed it, even the sword itself," rather than abandon the course in which their archbishop led them.

It would appear that the prelates from time to time consulted apart; and "on the third day," says the Bishop of London, "when all the princes and nobles of the realm had been excited to the utmost fury, after a tremendous noise and shouting, they entered the meeting where we sat, and with their mantles cast back, and outstretched arms, addressed us thus: 'Listen, oh ye who condemn the statutes of the realm, and will not receive the commands of the king; not ours are these hands that you behold, not ours these arms, not ours even these bodies, but they are those of our lord the king, ready at his nod to revenge his injuries, ready to do his will promptly, let it be whatsoever it will; whatever shall be his mandate, shall be to us most just, and we will execute it willingly. Change your determination, incline your minds to obedience, in order that you may avoid, while it is yet easy,

\* Et paulo post congregato clero, et populo regni apud Clarendum, poenituit Archiepiscopum, quod ipse concessionem feceret regi. Et volens resilire à pacto dixit se in illa concessione graviter pecasse, et quod in hoc amplius non peccaret.—HOVEDEN, 493.



a peril which soon must be inevitable.' What then?" continues Foliot. "Who fled? Who turned their back? Whose spirit gave way?"

The bishop goes on to say that no one yielded; and he names all the prelates present, down to himself, with the exception of Becket, asserting that every one of them remained firm in the defence of the Church; but he then proceeds: "The general of the host turned his back, the leader of the camp fled from it, from his brethren, and from the council; the Lord Archbishop of Canterbury withdrew himself, and after a space given to conference apart, he returned to us, and spoke these words: 'It is the will of my Lord that I should perjure myself, and at present I submit, and incur perjury, for which I may do penance hereafter.'"

The bishop proceeds to describe the stupified astonishment into which these words cast the bishops. They yielded, however, to the will of Becket, and led by him like sheep, took the oath demanded of them, promising in truth and sincerity faithfully to observe the ancient customs of the country, which had been written down from the general testimony of the elder members of the assembly.

In this transaction, while we see somewhat to regret in the fact that a number of English prelates should ever have combined to struggle for privileges subject to such dark and terrible abuses, we cannot help admiring the firmness, courage, and constancy with which they maintained that which they believed to be right. The conduct of Becket, however, in this instance, as in all that preceded the parliament of Clarendon, shows the same mixture of greedy ambition, of dark cunning, and base hypocrisy. If the account of the Bishop of London be correct, and if that account was addressed to Becket himself by an eye-witness, who took part in all that was there enacted, the archbishop's conduct on this occasion may very well be received as elucidating the whole of his previous behaviour. This letter of Gilbert Foliot, indeed, has been declared on the most unreasonable grounds to be spurious, having been suppressed by the librarians of the Vatican.\* It seems to me that no dispa-

\* The first person, I believe, who impugned the authority of this letter, was a gentleman of the name of Berington, somewhat about the year 1790. This author assumes two grounds, changing from the one to the other as he proceeds. He labours hard to show, in the first place, that the letter was never sent to Becket, but was privately circulated by Foliot; or, having been written by him, was never

sionate inquirer can for a moment doubt that the letter is genuine; especially as it is completely borne out in all its

sent, on account of what he calls its libellous character, and was suppressed. His argument to establish this is, that it could not have been sent, as Becket, or John of Salisbury, could easily have refuted it, and never did.

As this is begging a part of the question, if not the whole, such a course of reasoning requires no notice. The worthy gentleman, however, admits that "Here the letter is (*i. e.* in the Cotton MSS.), and it seems to be authentic. It is equally so with the manuscript itself, which contains five hundred and sixty-two letters, and without date." This is a very important admission, as the Cotton MS. is esteemed one of the most ancient copies of Becket's letters extant. The letters are illuminated, and I have taken means to satisfy myself fully that the writing is considerably anterior to the Reformation.

Mr. Berington goes on next to impugn the credibility of Foliot's statements, principally resting his objections upon what that prelate says in this letter regarding the election of Becket and the forcible manner in which it was carried through. Against this he brings forward Becket's answer to the same charges, when made by the suffragans, and John of Salisbury's letter upon the same subject; both of which distinctly deny that the elevation was anything but regular and canonical, and declare that it was approved of by all. John of Salisbury even goes on to assert, that the applause of the Bishop of London on Becket's election, was more strongly marked than any other person. This, be it remarked, was but pleading, by Becket and his most strenuous supporter, a direct denial to a serious charge made by the suffragans as well as the Bishop of London. Such a denial, however, might be held as good by some people against the Bishop of London and the suffragans, did it not happen that two of Becket's most zealous and eager friends give a strong contradiction, both to the assertion of the primate, and to that of his clever but malignant follower, John of Salisbury. In regard to the assertion of the latter, that the applause of the bishop was more strongly marked than that of any one else, we have only to turn to Fitz-Stephen, the panegyrist of Becket, to find the bitter sarcasm with which Foliot vented his indignation on Becket's consecration; and with regard to the election, which Becket declares to have been perfectly canonical, we have the unfortunate testimony of his friend and devoted companion Alanus, by which we find that he himself acknowledged to the Pope everything in regard to the election with which Foliot charges him. (See a note farther on upon this subject.) Moreover, the uncanonical character of Becket's election has nothing to do with the present letter, which only repeats a charge contained in other letters, which no one has ventured to doubt. All this while, Mr. Berington does not advance the slightest doubt that the letter was written by Foliot. He only attempts to prove that Foliot lied against Becket. But as Foliot has the testimony of the Pope Alexander himself to his upright integrity, this would be an indirect proof that the letter was not his, if by any means it could be established that the charges of the letter were false; for then the Bishop of London could not have made them. What then is Mr. Berington's argument to prove that the rest of the charges were false? First, that Roger Hoveden, and Diceto, both of whom were in all probability present, give (*he asserts*) "a story, which hardly in a single instance accords with Foliot's." This worthy gentleman is fond of assuming such things without any very great accuracy, and I will show that the statements of this letter are confirmed throughout by the best contemporary authority. The account of Diceto is extremely brief, and as he omits a thousand particulars regarding the parliament at Clarendon, he omits these amongst the rest, merely stating the broad result. Hoveden, however, is much more ample; and I do not scruple to affirm, that in every particular of which, by his station, he could have personal cognisance, he confirms the account given in the bishop's epistle. Foliot puts Becket in mind, in his letter, of what had happened at London and at Oxford. Hoveden tells us



statements by other historians of the time, whose account is not marked with suspicion by their being the professed eulogists of the refractory prelate.

what that was; namely, that Becket refused at London to receive the laws of Henry I. without a saving of the rights of his order and the Holy Church; and that upon Henry's anger he followed him to Woodstock (which is what Foliot means by Oxford) and promised the king to receive his laws *bonâ fide*, and without evil intention. "*Se bonâ fide et sine malo ingenio leges suas servaturum.*" The letter of Foliot then goes on to say, that, at Clarendon, when for three successive days the king had tried to draw from the prelates a recognition of the ancient laws of the realm, and the bishops had refused to give it unconditionally, the barons entered and threatened them; upon which the archbishop retired, consulted with some other persons, and returning, declared that he had made up his mind to perjure himself, and do penance afterwards. How does Hoveden describe the same matter? He says, that at Clarendon, Becket announced his determination to break his word, plighted in good faith at Oxford, and that the king was thereat so angry, that he threatened him with both exile and death. Whether the bishops consulted in a chamber apart or not, he does not say; but we must remember that in all such assemblies it was the constant custom of the prelates so to do. What took place in the conference of the bishops amongst themselves, Hoveden was in no situation to witness, he being merely one of the king's chaplains; but he goes on to tell us what took place at a moment when his very words show that Becket had separated himself, both from the general assembly, then sitting at Clarendon, and from his brother bishops. He tells us, that the Bishops of Salisbury and Norwich, the Earls of Cornwall and Leicester, and two Knights Templars, *went* to Becket, and prevailed upon him to come, and swear to receive the king's laws. This was evidently when he had separated himself from his brethren, as Foliot describes, and gone to consult apart; and the only thing that is here omitted, is what took place in the chamber where the bishops were alone, which Hoveden, not being one of them, could not be acquainted with of his own knowledge. Neither he, nor other historians of the time, except Foliot, describe the entrance of the armed men into the chamber where the bishops were assembled: but Hoveden himself says that there was good cause for alarm, and another contemporary relates the menaces used towards the bishops in such a manner as to confirm, perhaps more strongly, the truth of Foliot's letter upon this point, than even if he had repeated exactly the same words. He says, "There certainly were various officers rushing about the royal chambers, brandishing their shining battle-axes, as if prepared to smite the heads of the bishops." This is the account of Gervase, one of the best and most accurate historians of the day, connected with the Church of Canterbury, and possessed of every means of information; and it must be contended that this in the strongest manner corroborates the account given by Foliot. The only thing that now remains uncorroborated by collateral proof, are the words used by Becket, that it was the will of his Lord that he should perjure himself and do penance after. On this point we can surely have no stronger proof than his own actions. He had already perjured himself to a certain point—that is to say, broken his solemn promise to the king, given at Oxford, there can be no doubt; and that he again did so on the present occasion, in taking an oath to observe the customs, and then violating that oath, nobody has ever attempted to deny. The only question is, whether he did or did not, as the Bishop of London declares, meditate the perjury while he took the oath. Gervase says, "He, the archbishop, did certainly fall in *words*, but quickly coming back to himself, he rose again all the stronger in *works*;" and we find it proved beyond doubt, that Becket, immediately after having taken this oath, sought absolution from the Pope for so doing, and suspended himself from the service of the altar till he had obtained it; which is

It is certain, however, if such a fact may be received as any excuse for Becket's conduct on the present occasion,

surely very like *perjuring himself because it was the will of his Lord, and doing penance afterwards*. Thus then I assert in opposition to Mr. Berington, that the story which is told by contemporaries, several of whom were certainly present, confirms in every respect the letter attributed to Foliot Bishop of London; that Hoveden, Diceto, and Gervase prove that Becket first of all refused to consent to the king's views in London, then followed him to Oxford, and promised to receive the laws which he wished to enforce, retracted this promise at Clarendon, and being threatened with the king's anger, separated himself from the other bishops, and consulted apart. They prove also, that many of the king's friends and officers threatened the bishops with their brandished weapons, and that under these menaces Becket gave way, and took the oath to observe the customs, which he instantly violated, and sought absolution, and did penance for taking it. Foliot tells exactly the same story, and adds nothing but two facts which came more immediately under his own cognisance than under that of the historians—namely, that the officers, who were seen brandishing their battle-axes, as if about to dash the bishops' brains out, as described by Gervase, did actually enter the hall where they were assembled, and threatened them there, and that Becket, while he took the oath, had not the slightest intention of keeping it, which, indeed, his whole subsequent conduct would prove, even if the bishop had never made the assertion. Thus, instead of being unconfirmed by other historians, the letter is confirmed in every particular.

As far as we have hitherto gone, Mr. Berington seems not to have had a doubt of the authenticity of the letter. It is against Foliot that he fights in defence of his favourite, Becket, and nothing is too bad for the Bishop of London; his letter is declared to be libellous and false, and the bishop is declared never to have sent it to Becket, because he knew it could be refuted.

Rising, however, in his enthusiasm, Mr. Berington next proceeds a step further, finds out that he has done the Bishop of London wrong, declares that the letter is a forgery, written by some anonymous enemy of Becket, and attributed by him to the Bishop of London, in order to give it an appearance of authority. The assertion is a very bold one, but it is supported by an assertion bolder still. "The letter," he says, "must be a forgery, because the Bishop of London could not, in the short space of two years, forget the events that had happened at Clarendon;" and he goes on to say, "He, the writer, speaks of the bishops being shut up in one room at Clarendon, and of a third day of the meeting, and of the nobles violently entering their chamber, and of the primate's withdrawing. But none of these things happened at Clarendon. The bishops were not shut up, the meeting lasted but two days, the nobles did not enter their chamber, and the primate did not withdraw." Such is Mr. Berington's very bold assertion. Whether the bishops were or were not shut up in consultation together during a part of the time that they were at Clarendon, we have no evidence but probability to show; but in no other respect whatever is Mr. Berington justified, even by the absence of evidence, in making the assertions he has made. In two instances, indeed, he goes directly in the teeth of historical facts. It may be a difficult thing to prove how long the parliament of Clarendon did sit, but there is no difficulty whatever in showing that it sat more than two days. For its commencement, we will take the authority which Mr. Berington acknowledges to be the best—that of Diceto, who says that the parliament met on the eighth calends of February, in other words, the twenty-fifth of January. Thus the commencement is ascertained, but Diceto does not tell us when the session concluded. The constitutions of Clarendon themselves, however, were sworn to by the bishops on the fourth day before the purification of the blessed Virgin, that is to say, on the twenty-ninth of January; and thus, including the day that the parliament assembled, and the day of the swearing to the constitutions, there



that he was threatened in the most violent and angry manner by the king and by the barons; and it would appear that,

were five whole days during which the parliament sat. Such are the dates as given by the very best authority, the Dean of St. Paul's, who is known to have been present on the occasion, who is extremely accurate in his accounts, who had no motive whatever for falsifying the truth, and who was certainly favourable to Becket rather than to Henry—such, I say, are the dates given by him, and by the constitutions of Clarendon themselves. The words of Diceto are, “Concurrentibus episcopis et proceribus eput Clarendune VIII. kal. Februarii.” Now it is true, that the writers of those days did sometimes invert the Roman mode of counting the calends, and instead of counting back counted forward; but I cannot find that this was ever the case with Diceto: and if it were, it would only make the matter worse for Mr. Berington's argument, giving three days more for the sittings at Clarendon. But let us see what some other historian gives as the date. Gervase says, that the meeting took place on the festival of Saint Hilary—“In festivitatem sancti Hylarii.” This is carrying it still further back, and making the sittings of the assembly last more than a fortnight. By a great stretch, indeed, of the historian's language, one may suppose that Gervase meant that the meeting took place during the quindisme of Saint Hilary, which, though it would make the matter vague as to the precise day, would not give any support to Mr. Berington; as the very last day of the quindisme still allows three whole days for the sittings of Clarendon. Whence then is it that Mr. Berington derives his date?

Hoveden unfortunately does not give us any date, but he says nothing whatsoever to support the assumption of Mr. Berington. In regard to the two other points, the words of Hoveden show, as I have before demonstrated, that Becket did withdraw from the rest of the persons assembled at Clarendon. He says that the bishops, and the Earls of Leicester and Cornwall, went to him, and begged him to come with them to the king, in order to promise before the people to receive the constitutions. Gervase says, that some of the bishops, who were afraid of the king's anger, on account of old offences, *went* to the archbishop, so as to distinctly prove that he was not with the rest; and the words of this author would also lead one to believe that the king was not present when Becket first announced his intention of breaking his word in regard to the constitutions. Gervase says: “When it came to the knowledge of the king” that he intended to recede from his word, the king became furious. Now he would have never made use of this form, if the king had actually heard the prelate's declaration. He and Hoveden would both have used the words, *when the king heard*, if the king had been present. We know that the king was present with the nobles, but, from the words we have stated, there is reason to believe that he was not present with the bishops; and, therefore, we may imply that they conferred apart, as the letter attributed to Foliot asserts. No historian, except Mr. Berington, declares that during some part of the time at least, the bishops did *not* confer apart; and in regard to the threats used towards the bishops by the friends and attendants of Henry, I have already shown that Gervase completely bears out the statement of the letter, that armed men with naked weapons did pass to and fro through the chambers of the palace, as if ready to slay the bishops. Let me remark here that there is a little disingenuousness in Mr. Berington's translation of this phrase of Gervase. The historian says: “Discurrerunt certe quidam satellites per cameras regis secures splendidas vibrantes, succincti, et quasi in capita episcoporum irruituri.” Mr. Berington translates it, “with their garments tucked up and ready for execution,” leaving out all about the bishops. It would not, indeed, have suited his purpose so far to confirm the statement of the letter. That it does confirm it is evident; for who can doubt that these “satellites secures splendidas vibrantes et succincti” were the very same people who, according to the words of the letter, rushed into the hall where the bishops were, “rejectis palliis exertisque

while he was absent from the bishops on the occasion mentioned above, the Bishops of Norwich and Salisbury, and

brachiis?" No one who is in any degree capable of appreciating evidence. I have, I trust, now shown, that there is no foundation for Mr. Berington's assertion—"that none of these things happened at Clarendon. The bishops were not shut up; the meeting lasted but two days; the nobles did not enter their chamber; and the primate did not withdraw." I have shown that the bishops did probably confer apart, that the meeting lasted several days, that the nobles did threaten the prelates, and probably enter the chamber where they were, and that the archbishop did withdraw. I trust that I have proved, moreover, that Mr. Berington's assertion, that the account given in the letter is at variance with that of contemporary historians, is equally destitute of foundation; and that the three contemporary historians, Gervase, Diceto, and Hoveden, two of whom are known to have been present, confirm in every material point the statements of the letter. The only remaining objection which is urged against the epistle, is that neither Becket nor his friends replied to it. Whether this be really an objection or not, must be decided in the minds of every one by the opinion entertained of the merits of the question between Becket and the Bishop of London. Those who believe as I do, that the assertions of the Bishop of London, borne out as they are by the concurrent testimony of many independent persons, were perfectly true, that Becket knew them to be so, and that the primate was well aware also, that—though none of the bishops had ventured to reveal that speech which the Bishop of London now revealed in the height of his indignation—all of them could bear witness to his having spoken it, will very easily comprehend why he neither answered the charge himself, nor suffered his friends to do so.

It seems to me that in every respect whatsoever, the attempt of Mr. Berington to throw discredit upon this letter is one of the most lamentable and unsuccessful efforts which strong prejudice has ever made to pervert the course of history. It is utterly baseless, and every assertion by which it is supported, is found, upon examining the historians to whom that author refers, to be borne out in no degree by the real sense of the words that they used. Irritated by the violence and intemperance of Becket, it is very probable that the Bishop of London did give the very harshest form to his accusations; and we do know, from the friends of Becket himself, that when sent by Henry to the Pope, the Bishop of London commenced a series of charges against the primate, of so terrible a character, that the Pope stopped him, and would not suffer him to proceed.

Farther, I have only to state my own thorough conviction, that the letter is the genuine composition of Foliot, Bishop of London, that it was sent to Becket, and that Becket transmitted a copy of it to the Pope. My reasons for believing such to be the case, are these:

In the first place, the manuscript in which it is found is very ancient, probably the most ancient copy of Becket's letters extant; the handwriting leaves no doubt whatever of its antiquity. It forms then a part of one of the very earliest copies of Becket's correspondence.

In the next place, by a careful comparison of that letter with other letters of the Bishop of London, such as that to the Pope, I find a precise similarity of style, the same sort of figures of speech, similes of exactly the same character with each other, and especially a frequent reference to the likeness between the head of the Church and the head of the human body, and to the effects produced upon the limbs in the one instance, and the inferior members of the Church in the other, when anything affects the head. Besides this, as I have said, the concurrent testimony of three contemporary writers sustains the truth of every important point mentioned in this letter; and in the next place, when I am told that it is a forgery, I ask myself—first, why such a forgery should be committed? secondly, could it be committed, and remain undetected so long? In regard to the first question, I am answered: It was forged by some enemy of Becket to do his reputa-



the Earls of Leicester and Cornwall, together with the two Knights Templars, of whom we have before spoken, sought

tion an injury. It was forged, then, during the life of Becket. It must have been circulated very generally to do him an injury, or else it lost its effect. Did Becket himself, then, never hear of it? Did none of Becket's friends ever hear of it? Did the Bishop of London never hear of it? Did the Pope never hear of it? And if so, why did not the one party expose, if they could, the falsehood of the facts; and why did not the other expose the shameful forgery of his name? Why, at some period, did not Alexander himself, or the subsequent popes, or any of the papal scribes, publicly declare this charge against one of their great saints and martyrs, to be a notorious forgery? Why did they not call upon the Bishop of London to declare it to be such? It could not well have escaped the observation of the Bishop of London himself; for that bishop survived many years the contest between Becket and the king, and lived to see his opponent canonised. Why then did not he disown it? It did not escape the knowledge of the Pope, as I shall show hereafter.

But if the letter, on the contrary, were really written, and sent, and contained the truth, there was every reason on earth why Becket and his friends should pass it over in silence, should affect very likely not to have received it; and, moreover, there is every reason why the Bishop of London himself should not urge the subject home upon one, who, very soon after that letter was written, being supported by the Pope, and armed with all the thunders of the Church, returned to England but to become a martyr, and to be canonised as a saint. In regard to the popes, it was very wise of them to say nothing of the document, so long as the Bishop of London lived, and to suppress it as far as possible when he was dead. That he could not, and would not, deny that he had written it, they knew; and therefore let it slumber during his life; but by suppressing it, by banishing it from all the manuscripts of the Vatican, they judged, and judged rightly, that at some future period a document so condemnatory of their saint would either never be heard of, or would pass for a forgery. Unfortunately for this purpose, however, when they suppressed the letter in the manuscript, they forgot to erase the title from the catalogue; and the first line of Foliot's letter—of Foliot's genuine, indubitable letter to Becket—is to be found at full amongst the Vatican catalogues!! This would seem to be the only link wanting in the chain of evidence, to prove that the letter was written by Foliot, was sent, and was received.

After this, I have not the slightest hesitation in receiving the letter (Claudius, b. II., folio 92) as the genuine letter of the Bishop of London, and asserting that it is so beyond all reasonable doubt. Neither do I scruple to affirm, that it conveys the most important account of Becket's conduct that the world has ever received; inasmuch as it is shown to be fully worthy of credit by those contemporary historians who were not the professed advocates of the primate. Neither did Lord Lyttleton, nor will I, assert, that Foliot's evidence was to be received in opposition to any impartial testimony, for he was himself an opponent of Becket. But as the Pope himself bears witness to his integrity, as the primate before their quarrel gave the same testimony, as all the bishops of England were there to refute his statement if it was not true, I must contend that Lord Lyttleton was justified in receiving the authority of Foliot, as more worthy of credit than the accounts of the panegyrists and miracle-mongers in the primate's train. All the impartial historians of the time confirm the bishop's account in its chief particulars; and there are none directly opposed to it but those whose business was to raise the character of Becket, at the expense of every other consideration.

It may be asked—and I would wish to meet the objection at once—upon what principles I admit, a little farther on, that a papal bull to the Archbishop of York may very probably be forged? It is contained in the same collection of manuscripts, and is certainly of equal antiquity with the letter which I have proved to be genuine. Nevertheless, I say it probably may have been forged;

him out, and besought him on their knees, and with tears, to yield to the will of the king, and to receive the laws in dispute.

Some persons have asserted that the laws were not collected and written down till after the consent of the bishops had been given; but this can scarcely be supposed to have been the case, and, at all events, the question was simply, whether the old laws of the realm were to be maintained or not; the fact of their being the old laws and not new ones, being ascertained by reference to the memory of the eldest persons present. However that may be, Becket refused to put his seal to the laws that were then promulgated, although all the other bishops were induced to do so; and it would seem that he affected to abstain from the service of the altar, until he obtained absolution from the Pope, for the wrong he had committed in consenting to the constitutions of Clarendon. At the same time, however, he joined with various other prelates in beseeching the Roman pontiff to confirm the ancient customs of the realm, although there cannot be the slightest doubt that he well knew the request would be at once refused. The petition was of course rejected by the ambitious priest who owed his seat in the chair of St. Peter to the favour of the King of England.

The constitutions of Clarendon—the separate articles of which would occupy too much space for consideration in this place—being thus agreed to by the bishops, and disallowed by the Pope, Henry's next object was to deprive Becket—of whose character he had now become fully aware, and whom he hated with a degree of virulence which could only arise

though let it be remarked that I do not say positively it is a forgery—of that I am doubtful; but there was a great object for forging such a document; the great object of inducing the Archbishop of York, and the other bishops, to perform, and to be present at the coronation of the younger Henry. Here is a reasonable motive to be found for such a forgery; and it appears to have been pronounced spurious by Alexander at once. It is scarcely possible to believe that, if the Pope had really given that bull, and then punished the bishops for acting upon it, they would not have brought it forward in their own defence, had they not also been convinced very soon that it was not a genuine document. The double-dealing of the Pope, indeed, between Henry and Becket, is sufficiently proved by the letter which I have given in another place, the authenticity of which is universally admitted; but it is scarcely possible to conceive that any man would have the impudence to give two bulls directly opposite to each other within the space of a few weeks, and to punish those who acted upon the first. Besides, this has none of those collateral evidences of authenticity which place the genuineness of Foliot's letter beyond all doubt. No contemporary historians declare that the Pope really did permit the coronation by the Archbishop of York; neither does the title of the bull appear in the Vatican catalogues.



from mortified vanity added to disappointed affection—of a great portion of the authority which he possessed, by obtaining for the Archbishop of York, whom, it would seem, he had entirely gained, the legatine power over all England. His application on this point Alexander could not well refuse, after all the mighty obligations which he owed to Henry; but the politic pontiff qualified the concession in such a manner as to render it altogether impotent. He granted to Henry the legatine powers, to be delivered by him to the Archbishop of York whenever he should think fit; but with the condition that they should not be bestowed without the knowledge and consent of Becket. The latter prelate, however, became alarmed, notwithstanding the stipulation which the Pope had made, and he obtained from Alexander a promise to exempt his person, and the church and city of Canterbury, from the legatine power of the Archbishop of York. But Henry never made use of the commission entrusted to him, seeing that it would be useless in consequence of the condition with which it was clogged. His indignation towards Becket was not by any means diminished by that prelate's forced consent to the constitutions of Clarendon, and he now determined not only to proceed against the archbishop in another manner, but to use his whole power to punish and annoy him. To this undertaking he was greatly stimulated, there can be no doubt, both by the animosity which the barons entertained towards Becket, and by the daring attempts of that prelate himself to impede the execution of the laws which he had just sworn to observe.

Knowing the enmity with which he was regarded by the king and the nobles, and fearing, not unreasonably, perhaps, for his life, Becket endeavoured to make his escape from England without the king's consent, which act was in itself, as he well knew, contrary to the law of the land. He was driven back, however, by contrary winds, and returned to Canterbury just in time to prevent his temporalities from being seized by the king's officers. It does not appear that Henry proceeded any further against him for the attempt to quit the kingdom: but he had at this time another accusation to bring against the archbishop, of a more odious nature—namely, the having refused justice in his court to an English nobleman, whom we find named John the Marshal; and in order to try this cause, Henry called a great council at

Northampton, to which Becket was formally cited. It would seem that the king had previously called upon him to present himself before him on a day fixed, but that Becket had refused to come, some say without any excuse, while others declare that the king had taken possession of his lodging, and put horses and men therein, upon which the archbishop had refused to appear till the king's servants and horses were removed.

To Northampton, however, Becket came, and the monarch there laid his formal complaint against him, for having refused justice to John the Marshal, though all the proper forms had been gone through for obtaining redress, and for contempt of his court in not appearing at the royal summons. In regard to John the Marshal, Becket pleaded that instead of swearing before him upon the Evangelists, according to the law of the land, that nobleman had brought in a book of psalms or canticles, and sworn thereon; but the archbishop himself declared, that he knew not by whose advice John the Marshal had done this; and he only alleged that the oath taken on this psalter was that which it was requisite to take as a mere form before the cause could be removed from his court to that of the king. Henry, however, would not suffer this plea to prevail, as the gravamen of the charge was that he had not obeyed the king's first citation; and on this point the court adjudged the archbishop to lie at the *mercy*, as it was called, of the monarch, who agreed to accept five hundred pounds, which Becket offered to give, at the prayers\* and by the advice of the barons. This was an enormous sum in those times, amounting to several thousand pounds of our present money; and Becket, not having come prepared to pay it, found sureties amongst the bishops, with which the king was satisfied. But Henry had evidently arranged beforehand a cruel plan for persecuting the archbishop, and reducing him to resign his dignity; and the moment that this question was settled, he made another

\* The words of Hoveden, whom Lord Lyttleton cites, are as follows: "Tamen prece et consilio baronum posuit se in misericordiâ regis de quingentis libris." Lord Lyttleton says: "And it being understood that a fine of five hundred pounds would be accepted by Henry, Becket submitted to pay that sum." This does not seem to me to give sufficient weight to the words of Hoveden, who certainly meant to imply that Becket only yielded to pay it at the earnest entreaty of the barons. Let it be here remarked, that Hoveden asserts that the first demand made by Becket on his arrival at Northampton, was for permission to go to France, in order to confer with the Pope.



demand upon Becket, alleging that he had lent him five hundred pounds in the wars of Toulouse. Becket acknowledged having received the money, but declared that it was a gift, and not a loan. Henry maintained that it was merely a loan; and the parliament having to judge whose assertion was most worthy of credit, took, as a matter of course, the word of the prosecutor, the defendant acknowledging that the money had been received, but being unable to show by evidence that it was a gift. Had Becket foreseen what was to follow, he would in all probability have pleaded in regard to this demand, as he afterwards did in reference to others, that the king's justiciary, acting in the monarch's name, and confirmed by the voice of Prince Henry, had at his consecration set him free from all secular engagements whatsoever. This immunity, however, did not seem to come to his recollection at the time; he pleaded to the charge that the money was bestowed as a gift, and not being able to establish the fact, was condemned to pay the amount. Sureties for this second sum not being to be found amongst the bishops, some of his vassals pledged themselves for the payment, and were accepted.

All this, however, was but a prelude to the chief blow, which was intended to crush him. On the third day of the sitting of the parliament of Northampton, it was stated on the part of the king, that while Becket was chancellor of the kingdom, several abbacies and bishoprics had become vacant, and the incomes thereof, of right belonging to the king, had been left in the hands of his chancellor, together with various other small branches of revenue, whereof no account had been given for many years. The king alleged that there was a deficiency of forty-four thousand marks, and demanded that Becket should give an account of the sums he had received.

The prelate, as he well might be, was astonished and confounded. He replied, that this inquiry never having been mentioned to him before, he had not come prepared, even in thought, and he required time to consider, and draw up his reply. The request was one that could not, without the most flagrant injustice, be refused; but Henry demanded sureties on this point also—a demand which might have appeared harsh, if not unjust, inasmuch as it could not be supposed that anybody could be suddenly found to be security for so enormous a sum, but that Becket had, unfortunately for himself, given a plea for such precaution, by attempting

to flee from the land, without the king's knowledge or permission.

The archbishop next requested to be allowed to confer with his brethren, the bishops; and to this Henry acceded. The bishops, however, gave the primate but small comfort; they all saw and knew that the king's determination was to crush him. He had disgusted them by his tergiversation, falsehood, and hypocrisy, very nearly as much as he had disgusted the lay peers by his pride, his covetousness, and his ambition. The Bishop of London, and almost all the other prelates, strongly advised him to cast himself at the king's feet, and to resign the archbishopric into his hands; but the Bishop of Winchester, on the contrary, a man very similar in various points of character to himself, recalled to his mind that the king's justiciary had in the most solemn matter set him free from all obligations to the court, and recommended him to plead that fact, and to deny the power of any one to call him in question after his consecration for anything that had taken place before. The opinion of the rest of the bishops was against the plan of Henry of Winchester, reasonable as it was; and after some debate, and some silence, Becket sent for the Earls of Leicester and Cornwall, and begged them to inform the king that he would give his answer the next day, as God might direct him.

After a good deal of misunderstanding, in regard to the meaning of this somewhat ambiguous message, the king gave Becket until the next day to consider; and the primate, returning to his abode, found himself almost deserted by the immense train of knights and nobles who had accompanied him to Northampton.

Even this sign of fallen fortunes did not suffice to cast down his haughty and determined spirit. Resolved to imitate with blasphemous minuteness the supper of the king described in a parable of our Saviour, he sent out and filled his table with all the poor and the beggars that could be found in the neighbourhood of Northampton; judging, shrewdly, that the only shield which could guard his head from the indignation he had called upon himself, was the affectation of superior sanctity. Nevertheless, the anxiety and perturbation of his spirit produced a fit of sickness, which reduced him to keep his bed; and certainly a knowledge of the profuse and extravagant manner in which he had squandered the very sums he was now called upon to account for, was not calculated to



restore him to health of body or peace of mind. Still the absolute impossibility of attending the court on the day appointed, gave him time to arrange his plans, and also afforded an opportunity of employing means to intimidate or to gain over a part of the many who were arrayed against him; for although it was at first believed by every one that his sickness was feigned, yet upon its being proved to be real, by the visit of two noblemen, the investigation was once more put off till the following day, when he promised to appear.

We are told that his resolution now wavered, and that at first he proposed to proceed barefoot to the palace, to cast himself at the feet of the king, and to beseech him, in memory of their old friendship, to consent to a reconciliation. There can scarcely be a doubt that this plan would have proved successful. Henry, though passionate to a degree of insanity, was by no means tenacious of his anger: having humbled the archbishop so far as to prevent him from becoming dangerous for the future, he might have been contented with his submission, and moreover the king might then perhaps have recollected, what he should have recollected long before, that Becket had expended enormous sums in his service; that he had obtained for him peace, and great extension of territories; that he had captured towns and fortresses, judged impregnable, for his benefit and for his interest; that he had marched to his assistance in Normandy with twelve hundred knights and four thousand men-at-arms, all of whom were paid by himself, and maintained at his expense.

On the other hand, however, it is not impossible, that the very consciousness of such services rendered, acting upon a proud and self-confident spirit, might tend, in combination with ambitious feelings, to make Becket resolve upon resistance to one whom he considered an ungrateful master. Certain it is that after brief reflection, he laid out his plan with that mixture of hypocritical cunning and ambitious daring, which had distinguished his opposition to the constitutions of Clarendon. He determined to affect a belief that his life was in danger, to baffle Henry's artifices by bringing forward boldly the real cause of the king's indignation against him, rather than the matter immediately under discussion, to overwhelm all considerations of the account required of his stewardship in the question of his opposition to the constitu-

tions of Clarendon, and to resume the high ground of a defender of the clergy's privileges, rather than to remain in the low position in which the king had placed him as an insolvent, nay, a fraudulent debtor. In accordance with this view, when a number of the bishops visited his sick chamber, he reproached them bitterly for having abandoned his cause. He told them that he appealed from them to the Pope, he commanded them on their duty to him and the Church to abstain from taking any part in the proceedings against him, he threatened them with all the papal thunders if they did not obey, and he directed them to launch an anathema at the head of any one who should dare to employ the secular power in his case.

The bishops were legally bound to take part in the proceedings of the parliament; and Becket now openly refusing to submit to the highest tribunal of the land, in reality committing a breach of his oath of fealty, and brought himself under the law of high treason, as it then stood. Still his menaces and exhortations were not without their effect upon the bishops, the more perhaps from the very aggravated nature of his offence, which rendered him obnoxious to very severe punishment.

Becket, having now chosen his part, proceeded to enact it, in a manner the most offensive and the most criminal. Affecting to believe that in presenting himself before a high court of parliament, where all the lay peers and a great body of the clergy were assembled, he was absolutely going to martyrdom, he prepared himself for it in an ostentatious manner, celebrating the mass appointed for Saint Stephen's day at an altar dedicated to the first martyr, and carrying a consecrated wafer upon his person. He proceeded with such demonstrations of alarm to the great council chamber, at the door of which he took the archiepiscopal cross from the hands of the cross-bearer, and carrying it himself, entered alone into the hall.

The king having notice of his coming, and of the extraordinary and indecent manner in which he came, and probably having heard also that he had that morning caused to be sung "The princes sat and spoke against me, and the wicked persecuted me," together with the psalm, "The rulers take counsel together against the Lord and against his anointed," retired from the hall on the approach of the man who had thus insulted him, and gave way, it would seem, in an inner cham-



ber, to one of the wild and extravagant fits of fury which so frequently disgraced him.

In the mean while, the bishops arose at the approach of Becket; but, astonished at his appearance in parliament waving his silver cross in his hand, the Bishop of Hereford, as his chaplain, advanced and offered to relieve him of the crosier. But this Becket would by no means permit, asserting boldly, that he required it for his defence, and to show under the banner of what prince he fought. The Archbishop of York, however, reproved him severely for presenting himself in a manner so insulting to every one there, and more especially to the king; and the Bishops of London and Hereford still strove, somewhat violently, to take the cross from him. The commotion lasted some time; and it would seem that the Archbishop of York was neither very temperate nor considerate in his words, telling the primate that the sword of the king would be found sharper than the staff with which he came armed. Becket replied with great readiness, "If the weapon of the king carnally can slay the body, my sword can spiritually cut through the soul, and cast it into hell;" and still refusing to give up the cross, he sat down and waited the result, taking care, however, to announce to all the prelates present, that he appealed his cause to the Pope, and strictly forbade them to take part in any proceedings against him.\*

In the mean while, Henry, after giving way to the first burst of his fury, sent a herald to require the presence of all the peers, both lay and spiritual, who had remained in the first hall, and complaining with much indignation of the insult that had been offered to him and them, demanded their opinion as to the further proceedings against Becket. It would appear, that the reply generally made by the assembly was, that on account of his present conduct and breach of his oath of fealty, the primate should be impeached for high treason.

The king, however, did not suffer them to pursue this course; but sent out, in the first place, to demand of Becket whether he would give a full account of the revenues received during his chancellorship. To this message Becket

\* Hoveden says, that before he thus publicly notified to the bishops his appeal, information had been secretly given to him that his death was resolved upon; and the same writer declares, moreover, that it was at this time that the bishops eagerly pressed him to resign his archbishopric into the hands of the king.

replied that he had often given to the king an account of all these things before he was archbishop, and that at his election, Henry, the king's son, then custos of the realm, with all the barons of the exchequer, and Richard de Lucy, Justiciary of England, declared him free to God, and to holy Church, from all receipts and computations, and from every secular exaction on the part of the lord king. Farther, he refused to plead.

The king, on this answer being brought to him, demanded that instant justice should be done on Becket, his liegeman, who refused to recognise the authority of his court. The bishops, however, moved by the menaces which Becket had addressed to them in the morning, besought the king's permission to absent themselves from the judgment against the primate, on the condition of their appealing in their clerical capacity to the Pope against him, and soliciting his deposition. Although they were bound by the laws of the land, and by the various feudal estates which they held, to attend the judgment of the king's court, Henry weakly gave way to their request; and they went out to announce to Becket their solemn appeal to the supreme pontiff.

The laudatory historians of Becket declare that the Archbishop of York and the Bishop of Exeter preceded the other prelates in their retreat from the hall, the one telling his clerks to follow, that they might not see the effusion of blood, and the other informing Becket that the king had threatened to put the first man to death who should speak in his favour. But this statement is quite contrary to more impartial and reasonable accounts. There could not be the slightest fear of effusion of blood in the king's presence; such a thing had never taken place even in the most turbulent times of Stephen, or during the tyrannical reign of Rufus. All that the king demanded was, that the archbishop should give an account of certain sums received, or be tried for contumacy in refusing it; and these tales of his personal danger at this time were evidently manufactured afterwards to give an excuse for Becket's conduct. At length the great body of the bishops appeared, and the Bishop of Chichester, acting as speaker for the rest, thus addressed the archbishop:

"You were formerly our primate, and we were bound to obey you; but because you have taken the oath of fealty to our lord the king, that is to say, an oath to preserve, in the utmost in your power, his life, limbs, and royal dignity, and



to keep his statutes, which he requires to be maintained, and because you do now, nevertheless, endeavour to destroy them, especially those which immediately concern his dignity and honour, we therefore declare you guilty of perjury, and henceforth own no obedience to a perjured archbishop, and putting ourselves and all that appertains to us under the protection of the Pope, cite you to his presence, there to answer these charges."

It would appear that this solemn condemnation of his conduct by his episcopal brethren took Becket by surprise, and for a moment overwhelmed him. His only reply was: "I hear what you say," and the bishops seating themselves on the other side of the hall, the whole body remained in expectant silence for the result of those proceedings which they knew were taking place within. In a few minutes, the doors opened again, and the Earls of Cornwall and Leicester appearing, addressed the primate, once more commanding him to come before the king, and ending "Or otherwise\* hear your sentence."

Here Becket interrupted the speaker, having recovered his presence of mind, and prepared himself to act vigorously.

"My sentence!" he exclaimed, starting up. "Nay, my son, the earl, first hear you me! You well know how faithfully I have served the king in the matters of this world, on account of which he was pleased to raise me to the archbishopric of Canterbury—God knows much against my will!" He then went on to repeat what he had said regarding the declaration of the justiciary and Prince Henry at his consecration, and ended by the following extraordinary declaration: "Attend, my son, to what I say. Inasmuch as the soul is more worthy than the body, so are you more strictly bound to obey God and me, than any earthly king. Neither does justice or reason permit children to judge and condemn their fathers; therefore I do not own the judgment of the king, of yourself, or of all the other peers of the realm, being

\* I have combined the account of Hoveden with that of other writers, thinking it probable that the king did send a summons to Becket from the inner chamber, where he himself was sitting, to the hall in which the archbishop had remained, before he called upon the peers to pronounce any judgment at all. That the summons was repeated by the Earl of Leicester before he proceeded to announce the sentence after it was given, is proved by the concurrent testimony of many. It will be seen, however, that I have rejected almost entirely the authority of Fitz-Stephen, whose testimony, if he had been unbiassed, would have been invaluable, but whose determination to elevate Becket in the eyes of his readers, often reaches the burlesque.

only to be judged, under God, by our lord the Pope. To him, before you all, I here appeal, leaving the church of Canterbury, my order, dignity, and all things appertaining to it, to his protection, and to God's. Moreover, I cite you, my brethren, the bishops, because you obey man rather than God, to the presence and judgment of the supreme pontiff; and relying upon the authority of the Church and the Holy See, I depart from this place."

Thus saying, he rose to go forth; and the hall being filled with a vast number of Henry's nobles, as well as with many of the inferior clergy, a great noise was made, and the archbishop was assailed with gross and threatening language. Some called him perjured traitor, and some offered him other insulting names, which roused the proud and irritable spirit within him; and turning round, he reviled his enemies in turn with the foulest and most disgraceful language. He declared, in the first place, that if his ecclesiastical station did not prohibit it, he would repel the charge in arms; and then singling out two of the most conspicuous of his adversaries, he accused the one of having had a relation who was hanged, and calling the other a bastard, accused him of a monstrous and horrible offence.

In this manner the future saint made his way out of the hall, amidst evident marks of hatred and derision on the part of those within it. On coming to the outer gates, however, he found them locked and the porter absent, and it is probable, as the judgment of the court was that he should be taken and imprisoned, he would have been arrested in this situation, had not one of his attendants observed the keys hanging near, and given him egress. The mob which was round the door, and which consisted principally, it would seem, of the very lowest classes, with a few of the inferior clergy, received him with shouts and congratulations, and thus conducted him home; and the king, to whom his conduct was represented with much anger by the barons, became alarmed lest the nobles should carry their indignation to too great a length, and published a proclamation forbidding all persons on pain of death to do any injury to the primate or his retainers.

This was a very wise and prudent measure, for it deprived Becket of any real cause for apprehension. That prelate, however, as I have shown, had applied previously to the trial for permission to leave the kingdom, and he now renewed his



application through the Bishops of Hereford and Worcester. The king replied, that he would consider of his request till the following day; but it is probable, Becket knowing that his sentence was pronounced, imagined that Henry sought for a favourable opportunity of securing his person, which would have been utter ruin to all his hopes, and he therefore determined to fly immediately. It is true that none of his biographers have assigned such a reason for his flight, seeking to make us believe that his life was in danger. Everything, however, shows that the sentence of parliament was pronounced, and Hoveden declares that sentence to have been incarceration, which to Becket perhaps would have been worse than death: so that we may well suppose his purpose was to avoid such a fate, although he himself affected to apprehend a violent death, and his partisans have taken care to assert that such a fate was likely to befall him. Being at the time within the walls of a religious house—that of the regular Canons of Northampton—he dared not assume that the king would attempt to arrest him there; but affecting to fear the remorseless arm of assassination, he caused his bed to be removed into the church, and placed between two altars, covering by these outward shows his real intentions, as he did by the assumption of zeal for the Church his views of personal ambition. He supped, however, and went through all the usual forms of clerical life, as if about to retire to rest; but as soon as everything was still, he quitted the convent by a back-door accompanied by two monks, with whose aid he got out of the town of Northampton, by the only gate which was left open and unguarded.\* Taking such a course as was most likely to deceive his pursuers, he fled to Lincoln, and thence, disguised and suffering great inconveniences, he made his way to Sandwich, and a boat being procured with some difficulty, he was conveyed to the coast of Flanders.

The sovereign of that country was bound by so many ties to Henry, that Becket dared not cast off his disguise; and consequently in the dress of a monk, he entered the town of Gravelines on foot, and took up his abode for the night at an inn. The report of all that occurred in England, however,

\* The fact of the gate being open and unguarded, is taken from Hoveden, though Herbert de Boscama, one of the writers combined in the *Historia Quadripartita*, who accompanied Becket in his flight, does not mention by what means they got out of the city.

had already reached Flanders, and Becket soon perceived that the landlord and his wife both served him with greater demonstrations of respect than were likely to be shown to a poor travelling monk in a common inn. In order, therefore, to do away any suspicions which might be entertained regarding his real name and character, he treated the host familiarly, and bade him sit down to table with him; but the good man, whose penetration was not to be baffled, sat himself down at Becket's feet, saying, "I thank God, my lord, that I have been thought worthy to receive you under my roof."

The prelate, judging wisely that any further attempt to deceive his host might show a want of confidence which would be dangerous, acknowledged his station, and was not betrayed. He succeeded in making his way into France, through various perils and difficulties, and was received with joy and distinction by Louis, although Henry, to whom that monarch was under such vast obligations, had sent ambassadors to him to notify the flight of the archbishop, and to require that he might not be harboured and protected in the French territory. Those ambassadors met with nothing from Louis but coldness, and we may say insult, for the comments which he thought fit to make upon Henry's conduct amounted to no less than insult to an independent sovereign.

Becket then joined Alexander at Sens, where he was also welcomed with much satisfaction by the Pope. There his conduct was applauded, the constitutions of Clarendon publicly examined, ten out of the sixteen heads thereof condemned, and Henry's ambassadors were treated with harshness, severity, and reproof, by the pontiff who owed his station more to the English monarch than to any other man on earth. All that the king required was, that the archbishop should be sent back again to England, accompanied by legates, empowered to judge between him and Henry without appeal. This Alexander positively refused, upon a plea not the most creditable to his court. He was afraid, we are told, that the legates might be either convinced by Henry's eloquence, overawed by his power, or bribed by his money.\* The latter, indeed, was not improbable, if the

\* The words employed by the historian are:—"Sed dominus Papa nullum cardinalem, nec aliquem legatum mittere voluit: sciens quod rex Angliæ potens erat in opere et sermone, et quod legati ex facili possent corrumpi, utpote qui plus aurum, et argentum sitiunt, quam justitiam et æquitatem."



accounts given by some of Becket's own friends, regarding the integrity of Alexander's papal court, may be relied on. Whatever might be his motives, the ambassadors retired from Sens, angry and disappointed, and marked their indignation by not demanding the blessing of the supreme pontiff.

Such was the beginning and progress of that lamentable dispute, which terminated in the murder of an archbishop in his cathedral church, and in the abasement of an English monarch before the pontiff at Rome. If we regard impartially the conduct of Becket and Henry, both in the commencement and the prosecution of this unhappy affair, we shall find, that though there be some excuses for each, both deserve great censure, though certainly not in an equal degree. That Becket's opposition to the statutes of Clarendon constituted a conspiracy with a foreign power against the laws of the land, and contrary to his allegiance, thereby amounting absolutely and distinctly to high treason, no unprejudiced person at all acquainted with the codes of those times can at all doubt. The case was one of resistance, not to any arbitrary decision of the king, but both to the received and customary laws of the land, and to the same laws collected into statutes and sanctioned by the great council of the nation assembled in parliament. Such, then, was the head and front of Becket's offence; and in pursuing his object, he was guilty, beyond all doubt, of repeated perjury, of gross hypocrisy, and of a frequent violation of the laws of the land. It was not indeed that he wished to secure to the clergy a monopoly of rape, murder, and robbery; but it was, that he sought to abstract them altogether from the secular power, in consonance with the universal efforts of the Church of Rome, to establish an empire of its own within all other empires, and render all the crowns of earth, by one vast system of superstitious privileges, tributary and subservient to the tiara. In following this object, there may be a question, whether Becket was influenced merely by the spirit of his order and the peculiar character of his age,\* which might lead him to strive in every way for the promotion of the power of the clergy, or whether he was actuated by personal ambition, which

\* This epoch may be considered as one of the great days of battle between the power of the Roman see and its opponents, of which any one may convince themselves by examining the struggle which took place a little before this period between the popes and Frederic Barbarossa, and that which followed shortly after between Philip Augustus and the Roman pontiffs.

could only be fully gratified, after his elevation to the see of Canterbury, by extorting such privileges in favour of the priesthood, as might serve him for steps to rise above the sovereign who had raised him, and either make him totally independent in England, or perhaps, enable him to attain the supreme rule of all, and seat himself ultimately on the papal throne. Either supposition is quite sufficient to account for the primate's conduct; and perhaps both motives concurred, for Becket could scarcely have entered so fully into the encroaching views of the see of Rome in that age, without having felt the spirit; and yet every step of his course is so marked by personal ambition, that it is impossible to doubt the design of self-aggrandisement had its share also in all his proceedings.

Henry, on his part, had a great advantage over Becket, namely, that his object was just, reasonable, and worthy of every effort; but, on the other hand, he was embarrassed by this disadvantage, that though supported by his own people, and by the peculiar institutions of his kingdom, he was opposed by the general ignorance and superstition of the age. It was in the means he employed to attain his object that he erred, carried away by the peculiar weakness and impetuosity of his own character. His vanity had been hurt by being overreached by Becket, his indignation had been excited by that prelate's ingratitude and insolence, and he therefore suffered a great contest for principles to be affected by selfish animosity, and deviate into a personal quarrel. Becket made his great stand upon principles; and he very well knew, that however unjust those principles might be, the whole army of monks and priests, who were interested in their maintenance, would support him as their general and their leader. Henry's first error was the forcible\* intrusion of Becket into the see

\* How comes it that Doctor Lingard, in his laborious defence of Becket—for the part of his history of England which touches on this subject can only be considered as such—how comes it that he entirely overlooks the testimony of Alanus in the *Historia Quadripartita*, and affirms that the primate's reply to the Bishop of London in regard to the regularity and propriety of his election "is *satisfactory*?" See *Lingard*, vol. ii. p. 205. Becket's reply might be looked upon as satisfactory, if a person who was with Becket when he joined the Pope at Sens, did not tell us, even in the midst of his praises of that prelate, that Becket had himself acknowledged to the Pope, "I went up into the fold of Christ, not by the true door, not having been called to it by a canonical election, but obtruded into it by the secular powers." Becket's answer is not satisfactory; it is the answer of a man defending himself as best he may before the eyes of the world, whereas his acknowledgment to the Pope was made in a very different and more private



of Canterbury; for though the favourite had always been subservient to him as long as the objects of ambition were in his hand, the king should have known very well that by the prelate's elevation he opened a new path before him, leading in a direction immediately opposite to that in which his own views were turned

All these errors were committed by Henry; but he also committed wrongs, and the just repression and correction of the archbishop's resistance to the constitutions of Clarendon soon deviated into persecution of the man: the punishment of a prelate's tergiversation and perjury was lost sight of in the assumed peculations or defalcations of a chancellor, and the king entered into the arena with a subject in the character of a rapacious, if not an unjust, creditor. At the same time, the lamentable and disgraceful display of passion to which he occasionally gave way, mingled scorn with the opposition of his enemies; his furious gestures, flashing eyes, and indecent words, showed how much personal hatred shared in his proceedings against the archbishop; and the looks, tones, and language of the King of England became matter for reprehension and comment through half the refectories in Europe. Besides all this, if we may credit the testimony of the best writers of that day, Henry was most unjust as well as unwise. Whether Becket did really owe him the sums that were demanded, must ever remain uncertain; but there can be no earthly doubt—for Henry and his ministers never denied it—that the king's son and his justiciary both declared Becket free from all obligations to the court, at the time of his consecration; and Hoveden, who would not have dared to say such a thing had it not been true, asserts that the barons of the Exchequer joined in the proceeding.\*

manner, and was never, in all probability, intended to be published, but that the indiscretion of one of his friends luckily gave to the world what ought not to be suppressed.

\* It is my firm conviction that the five hundred pounds, or five hundred marks as some call it, which Henry demanded of Becket as a debt, had been *given* to the prelate, and not *lent*; and in regard to the claim of exemption made by Becket, I see no reason whatsoever why we should not take the words of Hoveden in favour of the primate, as well as against him. He especially names the barons of the Exchequer; and in speaking of the Prince Henry, he says, "*Cui regnum adjuratum fuit*," which I conceive can only be translated, that he was *custos* of the realm during his father's absence. This office was very often bestowed upon mere children, as was the case with Edward, the son of Edward the Third. They acted with a council, such as the barons of the Exchequer could very well represent in the present instance; and I do not know the legality of any public act performed by the *custos* and council was ever called in question, unless

The only objection urged on the part of Henry is, that Becket could not prove the king had given authority to his justiciary to do that act; but this was surely a pitiful evasion. Prince Henry was undoubtedly present at the consecration as *custos* of the kingdom. The justiciary was there with full and extraordinary powers from the king in regard to the election—powers even sufficient to threaten the bishops with proscription and exile if they did not elect the chancellor. The barons of the Exchequer were there consenting; and it must be remembered that those officers possessed at that time much more important functions than they do at present. All this would seem to prove that the emancipation of Becket on his election from all pecuniary obligations to the court was full and sufficient, though Becket should undoubtedly have pleaded it in a more orderly and formal manner. At the same time, it must be remembered that more than two years had elapsed since his election, and yet the king had urged no such claim during that period; and there is also much reason to believe that Richard de Lucy, who alone could have proved the orders which Henry had given him, was sent out of England into Flanders about the time of the parliament of Northampton. It is certain that he was in Flanders before the end of the year 1164, the parliament of Northampton having taken place in the month of November of that year. This is a very suspicious circumstance; especially as we find the Earl of Leicester acting the part of justiciary at Northampton. At all events, it is evident that Henry brought against the primate very doubtful charges of a personal character when he had the fairest opportunity of urging against him other offences of a grave nature, by the proof and punishment of which the great principles for which the king struggled would have been fully established.

Such was the state of the contest between Becket and Henry, in the early part of 1165; but the King of France, besides his support of the fugitive primate, had committed another offence against the monarch to whom he owed so much, by bestowing upon the Count of Blois, who had married his daughter, the office of Seneschal of France, an office which was hereditary in the house of Anjou, and which Henry himself had exercised in the disputes regarding Brittany. The anger of the King of England was so much

there were other circumstances to vitiate it besides the want of the king's express orders.



excited by these acts, and the language that he used on the subject was so vehement, that his mother Matilda, seeing nothing but the prospect of a sanguinary war between her son and Louis, besought the Pope, it appears, to interfere in order to preserve peace. Alexander undertook with some success the office of mediator, though it is clearly proved that Henry at this time proposed to withdraw his support from that pontiff and his alliance from France, and to unite with Frederic Barbarossa for the purpose of raising a new pope to the chair of Saint Peter, Victor having died in the year 1164.

Henry having gone over into France, a meeting took place between him and Louis, at the town of Gisors, in Easter 1165. This conference left matters much as they were before. War was indeed averted for the time, but that result was produced more probably by the terrible ravages which were committed on the English possessions by the Welsh, than by any satisfaction which Henry received from Louis, who declined to abandon the cause of Becket, and delayed restoring to Henry his due hereditary right of Seneschal of France. The insurrection of Wales had taken place before the meeting of the parliament of Northampton, and troops for suppressing it had been raised by that assembly; but the flight of Becket and the events which followed had interrupted the king's proceedings, and called him into France, while Rees ap Gryffyth at the head of the revolt was gaining strength hourly; and the other Welsh princes, believing Henry to be inextricably entangled in a contest with the Church, and perhaps in a war with France, appeared day by day more boldly in the ranks of the insurgents, and asserted more loudly their national independence.

These embarrassing circumstances might induce Henry to temporise with the French king; and as soon as the conference at Gisors was over, and the province of Normandy secured as far as possible, Henry returned to England, leaving his wife Eleanor to command in Aquitaine and Maine during his absence. As speedily as possible the king hastened towards the scene of strife, and increasing as far as he could the numbers of the force which had been collected at Northampton, he marched on into Wales, and directed his arms against Flintshire. His first expedition would appear to have been little successful, the enemy having retired before

him into the vale of Cluyd; but he had now acquired a sufficient knowledge of the extent of the insurrection to perceive that the forces at his command were by no means sufficient, and he returned into England in order to raise a more imposing army. Levies were made in his continental dominions as well as in England; and at length he took the field, and marched to Oswestry with a body of troops, the numbers of which we do not exactly know; but to describe which, the greater part of the annalists of the time employ all the most high-sounding words at their command. The Chronicle of Mailros, using more moderate terms, merely calls it a great army; but we know that it was by far more numerous than any that had ever been led into Wales. The Welsh princes, not intimidated, however, prepared to meet the English monarch, with a force scarcely less in number than his own. Almost all the princes of North and South Wales and Powisland were now collected, determined to struggle with desperation, as they fought without any hope of mercy from their enemy. The strength of the country, their knowledge of all the advantageous points, and the fitness of the ground for their peculiar mode of warfare, were greatly in favour of the Welsh; but they were inferior in arms, in skill, and in discipline, to the English and Normans, and they remained wisely in their mountains, without venturing to dispute with Henry the more open parts of the land.

That prince, warned by what had taken place on a former occasion, did not advance so rashly as before, but ordered the woods to be cut down as he marched on, to guard against surprise by the enemy. The pioneers on whom this duty fell, were supported by the advanced guard of Henry's army, in which were all the picked troops of England and Normandy. Some of the Welsh, however, ventured to attack this force, we are assured, without orders from their superiors; a general battle ensued upon the banks of the river up which Henry was advancing, and, though the inhabitants of Wales fought with desperate valour, and left a number of dead upon the field, the English king slowly forced his way forward till the pass was gained, and the Welsh retreating took up a position at the top of a high mountain while the English army encamped at its foot. Scarcity of provisions, however, the sudden swelling of the rivers, and violent rains, forced Henry to decamp in some confusion,



and with the loss of his baggage; but the Welsh did not venture to take advantage of his retreat, and he reached the city of Chester in safety.

Anger and mortification now induced the king to commit an act disgraceful to his character as a man and a Christian, and opposed to his general policy, which was mild and humane. His grandfather, Henry the First, had committed some acts of shocking barbarity; and hostages and prisoners were frequently treated ill, when those with whom they were connected either violated faith or proved very difficult to subdue. But nothing of the kind had hitherto taken place in Henry's reign; a milder spirit was growing up, and I am inclined to believe, from the manner in which the act is marked in all the chronicles of the time, that the mutilation which Henry now inflicted upon the hostages which he had formerly received from the Welsh princes, excited both surprise and horror throughout the country. These hostages were the children and near relations of the princes of Wales; and he had the barbarity to put out the eyes of all the males, and to cut off the ears and noses of the females.\* As may well be supposed, such an act but increased the hatred of the Welsh; and not only gave matter of triumph to the king's enemies, but in some degree justified the belief which Becket seems to have entertained himself, that to his counsels and restraining influence was owing much of the wisdom and moderation of Henry's earlier years.

While this tragedy was in execution, Henry was busily making preparations for renewing that course of operations which had once before proved so successful against Wales. This was to proceed with a large force along the sea coast, supported and supplied by his navy; but, while the king was waiting for the arrival of a sufficient number of vessels to put this plan in execution, he suddenly, from some cause unknown, dismissed his fleet, broke up his camp, and retired from Chester with precipitation. This unaccountable proceeding was immediately taken advantage of by the Welsh princes. Rushing forth from their strongholds, they poured

\* Lord Lyttleton, in one of the notes upon his work, seems to have entertained some doubt as to his cruelty being exercised upon the female hostages, from having found no other authority than Hoveden, who is not confirmed by Powell. But Hoveden is fully supported by the Chronicle of Mailros, at the year 1165, which would appear to have been very regularly and accurately kept by the abbots of that monastery.

into the country still possessed by the English ; the whole of Cardigan, and the greater part of Pembrokeshire, were subdued by Rees ap Gryffyth, while the castle of Basinwark, the great stronghold of the Norman power in that quarter, was captured by Owen Gwyneth. The friends of Henry mourned to see such a change come over his fortunes, and Becket rejoiced in the reverses of his master.

The conduct of Henry in this transaction was, indeed, unaccountable. It is true that, while he was thus busily engaged in Wales, the French king, though not actually attacking his Norman dominions, was exciting his subjects in Maine to revolt, and fomenting the troubles in Brittany, the malcontents of which duchy now leagued themselves with the rebels in Maine. But the peril was by no means so imminent as to call for the presence of the English king, to the detriment of his reputation, and to the danger of the counties bordering upon Wales ; and yet no more reasonable cause whatsoever has been assigned for his extraordinary abandonment of all his plans and purposes at that moment. Whether such was his motive or not, Henry did not return to his continental dominions immediately after quitting Wales, but passed some time in England, occupied by various transactions, only one of which seems to have been of any very great importance. This was the reception of ambassadors from the Emperor Frederic Barbarossa, whose envoys acted also on the part of Henry the Lion, Duke of Saxony. Both those princes having acknowledged Victor the antipope, were held by the English and French Churches to be schismatics ; both were also already deeply engaged in the cause of Wido or Guido of Crema, a new rival to Alexander. Nevertheless, indignant at the support shown to Becket, and the ingratitude displayed towards himself, Henry received the ministers of Frederic Barbarossa with joy and satisfaction, entered into strict alliance with the emperor, and contracted his eldest daughter Matilda, not yet ten years old, to the Duke of Saxony. At the head of the emperor's embassy was the Archbishop of Cologne, a prelate of great powers of mind and determination of character, who possessed vast influence with Frederic, and who had taken a very decided part in the schism which had desolated the Church. With him, Henry now contracted a great intimacy ; and, notwithstanding the position in which he stood towards the pontiff recognised by the Anglican Church, he was received by the



English king, by the bishops, and by the nobility of the realm, with distinction and honour, such as had never been shown to any ambassador before.

It is probable, by this conduct towards a prelate who had been excommunicated by Alexander, that Henry wished to give the Pope an intimation that he had not so far committed himself in his favour as not to abandon him, and join the party of his opponents if he thought fit. Indeed, it would appear that, either by the persuasions of the emperor, or at the suggestion of some of his own counsellors, Henry was led to contemplate a complete rupture with Alexander, and even went so far as to threaten that pontiff, in no very doubtful language, with the loss of British support. He wrote to the Archbishop of Cologne too, after the ambassadors from Frederic had quitted England, to announce his determination of sending ambassadors to Alexander, with a demand that he and the cardinals should abandon their support of Becket, and recognise the ancient customs of the English realm, with the alternative of losing his assistance and support. He even went so far as to send the ambassadors named in this letter, who, on their way to Italy, reached Wurtzburg, where they found a diet of the empire assembled, at which the emperor and all his princes formally recognised the antipope Pascal the Third, swore never to obey Alexander, and bound the German empire to oppose that pope and any other who at an after period might be elected by his party in the conclave. The emperor even asserted openly that Henry had pledged himself by his ambassadors to abandon Alexander, and no longer to give him his countenance. Whether such was the fact or not, upon the angry remonstrances of Alexander, Henry only so far retreated from this promise, if it really was made, as to say, that he would always recognise and obey Alexander so long as he showed him fatherly affection, saving his own royal dignity and the rights of his kingdom. But Henry was not steady in his purposes—not sincere in his menace. Had he determined fully and firmly to persevere in the course which he pretended to have adopted, and to abandon Alexander in case of his attempting to maintain the unjust authority which he had usurped, or support the ambitious pretensions of Becket, it might have been wise to make the threat, and to take such preparatory steps as those displayed in the negotiations with the emperor. Nor can it be doubted that

the apprehension of such conduct, and of the utter destruction which was likely to ensue to him and his party in consequence of a strict alliance between Henry, Frederic, and the Duke of Saxony, might have induced Alexander to abandon the cause of Becket, and to desist from his opposition to the English customs. But there is an energy and a simplicity about truth, which to the eye of experience is not to be mistaken. Alexander saw clearly that all these negotiations with Frederic implied a menace, but did not display a determination, and consequently they produced no effect. He still supported Becket, temporising indeed with Henry, and, from time to time, yielding more than he ultimately intended to concede; but he never gave up any important points; and yet the King of England was weak enough to leave his threats unsupported by his actions, to suffer the menacing envoys whom he had sent to the Pope to pause by the way, and not even to make that denunciation to Alexander, which he had assured the Archbishop of Cologne should take place without delay.

It may be well supposed that such conduct greatly decreased that proud reputation with which the King of England had at first set out in his royal career. The character of Becket, and his firmness, seemed to rise by the contrast; and other people, as well as that prelate himself, might believe that Henry had lost his wisdom when he lost his minister.

In estimating the motives of the King of England, one fact is to be remarked which has not been sufficiently noticed by any one, and which in Lord Lyttleton's anxiety to elevate the character of this monarch, he has attempted to controvert, as it seems to me, without just grounds. Henry was by no means without his share of the superstition of the age. Reverence, or the capability of conceiving great veneration for any being, he probably did not possess. His whole words and actions indeed show that such was the case. His various blasphemous expressions testify that he wanted respect for the Almighty himself; and he certainly was not likely to entertain any for a body of men, who were daily convicted, as were the English priests in those times, of all sorts of crime and wickedness. It was not probable, therefore, that he should pay any great respect to their pretended privileges; but this is a very different thing from being free from superstition; and in an age when saints and popes were supposed



to work miracles, Henry might very well apprehend evil consequences arising to himself, ill success attending his arms, or danger threatening his kingdom, from the excited indignation of that representative of Saint Peter, whom he had acknowledged, and whose personal character, as well as holy office, rendered his authority more than usually impressive.

In the early part of Henry's reign, while visiting the town of Lincoln, he had resided in the suburbs, from a superstitious dread, it would appear, of the fulfilment of some old prophecy menacing to the king who should be crowned in that city; and in this very year, we have another instance both of how great was the superstition of the age, and how completely Henry shared therein. I allude to the apprehension of some unfortunate heretics, and the cruelties to which they were subjected.

These unfortunate beings are said by some writers to have fled from France into England,\* where, it would appear, they remained some time unmolested. Their chief or leader, we are told, had some portion of learning, but the rest were rude and illiterate, and we are assured that they had only contrived to make one convert in the kingdom. Nevertheless their fame had spread abroad, for we find that it had reached the remote abbey of Margan, improved by the wonders with which the superstition of the age generally decorated every novelty in religion. The annalist of that abbey describes these heretics as praying often, preaching continually, going about with bare feet, refusing to receive money of any one, eating no meat, drinking no wine, and partaking but frugally of any other sort of sustenance. The same annalist tells us, that they imitated the Apostles; and they certainly met with the fate of many of those whom they had thus adopted as types. William of Newbury furnishes an account of the principal errors into which they had fallen. They were Christians, he says, venerating the doctrine of the Apostles; but they repudiated all the sacraments, baptism, the eucharist, and marriage, and entertained other notions derogatory to the faith. They would not dispute upon their tenets, nor would they yield them either to admonition or to threats.

Having been examined before Henry at Oxford, these un-

\* The *Annales de Margan* say, they came "*Petragoricæ regionis*," but others again declare that they were Germans, and of the sect called Publicans. This is the name given to them by William of Newbury, who also says that they were Germans, though he implies that the sect had its origin in Gascony.

happy people were condemned as heretics, and delivered over to the secular arm. The monarch, without remorse, ordered each to be burnt in the forehead, their leader being burnt likewise in the chin; and then all but their English convert, who abandoned them, had their clothes cut down to their waist, and their backs scourged till the blood flowed. They were thus driven out of Oxford, bearing the horrible cruelty of their persecutors with the utmost fortitude, singing, "Blessed are ye when men hate you," and rejoicing in their sufferings. Death of the cruelest kind, however, was to be their ultimate fate; for an express proclamation of the king forbade any one to receive them into a house or to give them support, and they perished miserably of cold and hunger, having no shelter but the open fields in the midst of an inclement winter. The annals of Margan, indeed, inform us that these heretics worked miracles, changed water into wine, and performed wonderful feats, which the saints of the Roman Church had rendered somewhat too common in those days.

We find the record of another prodigy about the same period in the Chronicle of Mailros, which being made with perfect gravity, may serve to show the general superstition of the age almost as strongly as Henry's treatment of these unfortunate persons, although it does not exactly bear upon the character of the monarch. A tremendous tempest took place in the province of York, "and the old enemy," the chronicler says, "was seen by many to go before the tempest on a black horse of immense size, and to fly still towards the sea; while the thunder, and the lightning, and the hail, destroying all things, pursued him with a horrid noise. Moreover, footsteps of an enormous size are remaining from the aforesaid horse of the wicked one." These were most plainly to be seen about Scarborough, we are told, where Satan took a spring into the sea from the hill.

In the same year, 1165, two comets were seen, from which portent many evils were anticipated; but the apparition the most baneful to England which that year witnessed, was in the birth of a son to the King of France. He received the name of Philip at his baptism, to which was afterwards joined, not undeservedly, that of Augustus; and in him appeared one of the most successful enemies that the kings of England ever encountered. Henry, indeed, could not anticipate the greatness of the future sovereign, nor the evils



that he would inflict upon his posterity; but with his birth vanished the hope which it would seem the English monarch entertained of seeing his son ascend the throne of France, by his marriage with the daughter of Louis. As some compensation for this disappointment, however, about this time another great acquisition was made by Henry. This was no less than the duchy of Brittany, which gave the King of England command of the whole French coast from the Pyrenees to a spot near the mouth of the Somme, with an extent of territory compact and united, which left the King of France scarcely an equal share of his own dominions. How this was brought about must now be related, especially as a very false view of the acquisition of Brittany has lately been put forth.

We have seen how Henry the Second acquired possession of the town and county of Nantes; and we must not forget that Brittany, as a fief, was claimed as a feudal dependance of Normandy. During the absence of the English monarch from his continental possessions, he had left the government of Maine and Aquitaine in the hands of Eleanor, his queen; and although Louis of France did not think fit actually to attack the Queen of England in her husband's absence, yet there can be no doubt that he caballed with the nobility of Maine, prompted by that inimical spirit which he had conceived towards Henry, since that monarch's quarrel with Becket. Neither did he fail, it would appear, to promise the malcontents in that province assistance, and they had the weakness to trust to the assurances of a monarch so fickle and faithless. They had not actually taken arms against Eleanor, but they had shown such a disposition to resist her authority as to cause her great uneasiness, and probably to disquiet Henry himself in his warfare with the Welsh. Previous to this time, however, the dissensions which had at one period kept Brittany in a continual state of agitation and alarm, had been renewed by the reassertion of the claims of Eudes, Viscount of Porhoet, although his only title to the duchy had been totally extinguished by the death of his wife Bertha. He nevertheless formed for himself a considerable party in Brittany, and that party he contrived to increase by marrying the daughter of Guiomarck of Leon, a distinguished leader, who, with his father, now attached himself to the faction of Eudes, although he was

bound by strong ties of gratitude to Conan, the legitimate duke.

One occasion on which Conan, by rendering a vast service to the house of Leon, might imagine that he had gained that family for ever to his cause, must be mentioned here, not simply to show their ingratitude only, because that was and is too common a vice to require any remark, but in order to display the barbarous state of the duchy of Brittany at that time. The nobles of that province maintained, in its full force, the ancient feudal right of private warfare, which existed, indeed, with various restrictions, throughout the greater part of France for many years after this period, but had been nearly extinguished in England and Normandy. Every petty lord, as opportunity served or passion dictated, declared war against his neighbour, ravaged his lands, slew his serfs, and attacked his castle; and a feud of this kind existing between the Lords of Leon and Fou, the latter laid an ambush for Hervé, Viscount de Leon, and his son Guiomarck, into which they both fell, and were taken.

The Bishop of Saint Paul, son of the one and brother of the other, instantly raised the vassals and retainers of the family, and marching to attack a castle in which they were confined, called Chateaulin, despatched at the same time a messenger to the duke, informing him of the condition of his relations, and beseeching some reinforcements. Conan, without a moment's delay, put himself at the head of his forces, marched to the attack of Chateaulin, took it with great bravery, and, delivering the Viscount de Leon and his son Guiomarck, made prisoners the Viscount du Fou, his brother, and his son. These three were immediately shut up in the castle of Daoulas, where they were left to perish with hunger and with thirst, offering to the barbarians of a later epoch an example of cruelty, which was followed almost to the letter. This event took place in 1163; and early in the following year, we find that the Viscount de Leon and Guiomarck, whose daughter was by this time married to Eudes, were arrayed in favour of that prince against their benefactor and deliverer. At the same time, and acting on the same side, appears Raoul de Fougères, who had previously shown himself one of the firmest friends of Conan.

Thus deserted by some of his most powerful supporters, Conan had no resource but to seek some foreign aid; and in



1164 he applied to Henry, to whom indeed he had a right to appeal for assistance as to his feudal superior. Henry, then embarrassed by the disputes with Becket, and by the insurrection in Wales, could do no more than order one of his officers in Normandy, named Richard of Humieres, to raise some forces in the duchy, and march to support the Duke of Brittany. This was done with some success, and the towns of Combour and Dol were taken from the enemy in the autumn of 1164.

The nobles of Brittany, however, were by no means subdued; and accustomed to resist all authority, they were probably but the more inclined to cast off the yoke of Conan, from his having called upon the King of England for aid. This disposition of the barons of Brittany was encouraged by the promises of Louis; and the revolt of Maine would appear to have been planned between the discontented lords of that province itself, the King of France, and the insurgents of Brittany. According to the usually received rules of policy, Louis was undoubtedly better advised in this instance than in any of the steps he had taken since the death of Suger; for Henry was by far too powerful in France; and to give occupation to his activity in his own territories, if it could be done without actually calling his arms into French territory, was the best course that the sovereign of that country could pursue.

Henry, however, warned of what was going on, and eagerly entreated by the Duke of Brittany to put down the rebellion, returned to France early in the year 1166, and directed his first efforts against the malcontents of Maine, who were soon reduced to obedience, and were punished by the loss of their strongholds, and in many instances by the imprisonment of their persons. He next marched into Brittany at the head of a large force, and instead of wasting his vigour in desultory efforts against the inferior insurgents, he turned his arms at once against Fougères, which was at that time a place of very great strength. This town was in fact the key of the duchy; and, built upon a hill, with the two small rivers Nanson and Cœsnon wandering through the plains at the foot, it commanded the whole country round, and was at all times extremely difficult of attack. Into it the lord of Fougères had thrown himself, having had time to collect a large force, to strengthen the place as far as possible, and to cut down the green corn, and all the forage for many leagues

around. Thus, at the approach of Henry in the end of June, 1166, that monarch found the fortress filled with troops commanded by an able general, amply supplied with provisions, ammunition, and every implement of war, the country round it completely desolated, the roads blocked up with stockades and thorn-bushes, and the plains and fields, in which his cavalry might have acted, pierced with innumerable pitfalls, which rendered every movement dangerous.

His honour, however, and reputation, were now completely at stake, and he felt that he must not only capture Fougères, but must do so in a brilliant and notable manner. After having overcome the first difficulties, which impeded his near approach to the town, he determined rather to hazard much to gain much, than to wait the slow progress of a lengthened siege, during which the King of France might rouse himself into activity, and attack some other part of his territories in order to withdraw him from Brittany, or else the other insurgents in the duchy itself might be encouraged by the slowness of his progress, and assemble sufficient force to raise the siege of Fougères. He determined, therefore, upon the bold, perhaps the rash measure, of attempting to take a town so situated by storm. The assault, however, succeeded completely; the English and Normans poured in sword in hand, and the insurgents within were forced to throw down their arms, after a gallant but ineffectual resistance. I do not find that any cruelty was committed. The chiefs remained prisoners of war, and the castle was pillaged and rased to the ground.

It would appear that before the capture of Fougères, an understanding, if not an actual treaty, existed between Conan and Henry, regarding the possession of the duchy of Brittany. In the year 1160, Conan had married the sister of Malcolm, King of Scotland, by whom he had only one daughter, Constance, afterwards celebrated for her own misfortunes, and for the tragic fate of her son Arthur.

The Duke of Brittany himself, though he had shown some activity in the earlier part of his career, and still from time to time exerted himself for a brilliant effort, was fond of ease, and was of a ductile and not very vigorous mind. The turbulent state of the duchy, the frequent necessity of contesting the possession with his stepfather Eudes, the persuasions of the English monarch, and very probably the influence of his own wife, who, like her brother Malcolm, was strongly



attached to the house of Plantagenet, easily induced Conan the Less to consent to a treaty of marriage between his daughter Constance and Geoffrey, the third son then living of Henry the Second. It was arranged between the Duke of Brittany and the English monarch that the young prince and princess should be solemnly affianced to each other, and that the duchy of Brittany should be given up to them on the consummation of their union. In the mean while, however, the custody of the heiress of the duchy, together with all power and rule therein, was to be vested in Henry, Conan only reserving to himself the county of Guingamp, which was sufficient for that prince's ambition.\*

At what precise point of time this treaty was entered into, I do not know; but it is certain that before the capture of Fougères, Henry levied a sort of contribution or tax in Brittany for the support of the Christians in Palestine. He had also levied the same in Normandy; but there it was done with the full consent, or rather by a vote of the nobles of the province, which does not appear to have been the case in Brittany. After the fall of Fougères, the greater part of the barons of the duchy, intimidated by his brilliant success, submitted, and did homage to the English king, but Henry did not remain long to secure his newly-acquired possession. Indeed, the extraordinary rapidity of this prince's movements almost leaves the slow march of history behind. At one hour we find him in the heart of Brittany, the next he is making war in Auvergne.

The county of Auvergne was a fief of the duchy of Aquitaine, but the bonds between the two were very slight, and I do not find any act by which the feudal connexion was marked during the lapse of many years before the present time. William VI., Count of Auvergne, left two sons, Robert, who succeeded him, and William. Robert died, leaving another son named William VII., who was almost immediately dispossessed of the county by his uncle, and sometimes took the title of Count du Puy, though both princes are more usually called Counts of Auvergne. The two were reconciled after a certain time, and appear to have

\* It is certain that such a treaty did take place, and that in virtue thereof Henry exercised sovereignty in Brittany, and received the homage of the Breton nobles; and yet I find in the curious old Chronicle of Nantes, usually called the *Chroniques Annaulx*, under the year 1170: "Conanus in Leone cum Guihomaro congregitur," as if Conan was still recognised as duke, and waging war with one of his revolted vassals.

been amongst the most notorious plunderers of the age. To put a stop to their malefactions, Louis King of France marched into their territories, defeated them, made them both prisoners, and kept them in confinement for a considerable time. From their prison, they applied for aid to the King of England as their feudal lord, and he, in return, claimed their deliverance from the French monarch. After some delay, in order, apparently, to save the dignity of Louis, the two counts were set at liberty; and almost immediately their ancient quarrel concerning the succession of Auvergne broke out afresh, upon which Henry was appealed to as their sovereign. Henry accordingly advanced into the county, ordering the two counts to meet him on a day which he fixed; but the elder, not trusting to his right of possession, did not appear, appealed to the court of the King of France, and, it would seem, sought the protection of that monarch in person. Henry, in the mean time, decided the cause in favour of the nephew, whose just right the county was, and very shortly after the siege of Fougères, attacked some territories of the usurping Count of Auvergne as a punishment for the violation of feudal law which that nobleman had committed in carrying the cause between himself and his nephew to the court of the King of France. Louis, it would appear, contrary to the legal rights of Henry, had thought fit to act as judge; and the war which the latter now waged in Auvergne thus personally affected the King of France, who, instigated by his nobles, immediately pronounced it an injury to himself, and in retaliation attacked the Norman Vexin, and ravaged a considerable part of that territory. Henry returned in haste, and held a conference with Louis in the hope of adjusting their claims amicably. But the jealousy or the patriotism of the French king's courtiers, the instigations of Becket, and the great preparations which had been made for the war, all combined to render Louis obdurate and difficult to be satisfied. The conference broke up, without producing any pacific result, and hostilities were almost immediately renewed.

In the early part of 1167, the French forces continued their ravages in the frontiers of Normandy, and the Andelis were burnt by the troops of Louis. Henry, however, carried hostilities into the French Vexin, and knowing that Louis had established his chief magazines at Chaumont, a place considered almost impregnable, he attacked, took, and burnt



the town to the ground ; destroying or seizing all his enemy's stores, as well as his military chest, which act in fact put a stop to the war, as Louis's means of protracting it were lost in Chaumont ; and a truce was agreed upon in August, to last till after Easter in the following year.

In the mean time, circumstances had arisen in Brittany which rendered this suspension of hostilities a very seasonable relief to the King of England. I cannot discover whether the Viscount de Leon, and his valiant son Guiomarck, had been amongst those who actually did homage to Henry after the fall of Fougères, though there can be but little doubt that they affected submission ; but taking advantage of the dissensions between the King of England and Louis, they were already in arms before the end of the year 1167. The name of Guiomarck stands at the head of the list of insurgents ; but Eudes, Viscount of Porhoet, was also a party to the revolt, as well as almost all the noblemen of any consequence who had formerly given him support, except indeed the Lord of Fougères. Henry immediately marched from the Vexin into Brittany, and following his usual policy of always striking first at the chief of his enemies, he advanced into the territories of Leon, attacked and took, one after another, the castles and fortresses of Guiomarck and the viscount, and reducing them both to submit, demanded and obtained hostages from them, and from the other insurgents,\* one of the hostages given by Eudes being Alice, his daughter by Bertha, and consequently half-sister of Conan. Henry was called into Normandy by the death of his mother Matilda, before he had time to complete his measures for maintaining the peace of the duchy of Brittany ; and the instigations and promises of the King of France once more had their effect upon the discontented nobles of that province and Aquitaine. The revolt in the latter district we shall have to notice hereafter ; but in Brittany the unfortunate Eudes again conspired and leagued himself with the Viscount of Thouars and various discontented nobles of Poitou, not without some prospect of success. The truce with the King of France was soon about to expire ; and though Henry endeavoured to make it the basis of a solid peace, the French king took advantage of every accident to

\* The historians of Brittany leave no doubt that Henry was in that province in 1167, and gained the advantages here stated over the Breton insurgents. Lord Lyttleton passes over the events of this expedition in silence, or confounds them with those of the preceding year.

avoid such a result, sought every occasion of offence, and in a conference at Bourges, Louis and the insurgents mutually bound themselves not to make peace separately with the King of England.

The affairs of that monarch wore a very formidable aspect towards the commencement of 1168; a sentence of excommunication hung over his head in consequence of his quarrel with Becket; Brittany, Aquitaine, and Poitou, were either in actual insurrection, or on the eve of a general revolt; and the King of France had so positively pledged himself to support the insurgent barons of all those provinces, that it was impossible for him to recede with honour. About the same time two events occurred, which still further incensed the King of England against his continental nobles, and those nobles against the king. The Earl of Salisbury, who had been left by Henry in Poitou, as his lieutenant, was treacherously murdered by Guy of Lussignan, afterwards more famous in history; but on the other hand the English monarch exasperated his adversaries to the highest pitch of fury, by an act of the most brutal and shameless kind.

As is well known, the moral character of Henry, throughout life, was anything but pure; but at this period there appears a charge against him of so foul and base a nature, that we may wish for the honour of human nature there was any means of disproving it. It must be remembered that the daughter of Eudes had been given as a hostage for her father's faith and submission, and that, unmindful of the brutality which Henry had displayed towards the Welsh hostages, he had again broken out into revolt. In revenge for her father's perfidy, Henry is said to have forcibly violated the person of the unfortunate girl.\* The king's former treatment of his hostages was certainly cruel, although it has been defended upon the grounds of necessity; but this was an act of baseness scarcely paralleled in the history of modern Europe. The effect was, of course, but to aggravate the rancorous animosity of Eudes, and he was busily taking measures to render his insurrection successful, when all his plans were frustrated by the extraordinary activity of the English monarch.

Without giving himself any time for repose, Henry, after having chastised the insurgents and criminals of Poitou, as

\* The historians of Brittany assert that force was used, though the English and Normans are silent on that point.



will be shown hereafter, marched at once into Brittany, and attacked Eudes in the midst of his own territory. With a rapidity truly wonderful, he reduced almost every castle and town belonging to the viscount, and then turning to the inferior insurgents, he took the high fort of Becherel, and many other small places, meeting with no check or repulse during the months of May and June. At the end of the latter month he hurried across the country to confer with the King of France at La Ferté Bernard, where a meeting, which had with difficulty been concerted, was to take place between them. The Breton nobles, as well as others whom I shall have occasion to mention in another place, appealed to Louis more as a judge than an ally, and Henry could of course only act towards the French king as monarch with monarch. The bonds were drawn closer between Louis and the insurgents, the breach between Henry and the French sovereign was widened; and, as we shall see hereafter, the meeting did not take place, though the parties approached within a few miles of each other.

The two kings returned to their territories with the intention of immediately resuming hostilities, and carrying them on with greater activity than before. The effect, however, was not such as might be anticipated from the enmity of two powerful monarchs, and the strife of two mighty nations. Little was done on either side; and at the festival of the Epiphany, in the following year, a more satisfactory arrangement of their differences took place between Henry and Louis, in which the English monarch's skill and perseverance obtained many objects which he sought, even while he appeared to be making concessions.

In the mean time, however, Henry had continued unshaken in the exercise of sovereignty in the duchy; and the possession thereof was secured to him and to his son Geoffrey, by the treaty of peace which was soon after entered into between him and the King of France, and of which I shall speak when I proceed to notice more fully the events that had been taking place in Poitou.

To all the particulars, indeed, of that treaty I shall have to return shortly, in order to notice various clauses contained in it, which have an especial reference to this history; but it may be necessary, for the purpose of showing the exact position in which the English monarch was placed, to give an account of several other events which occurred during the

struggles of Brittany, and the desultory warfare with France, before I turn to the affairs of Poitou and Aquitaine.

In the midst of the difficulties and embarrassments which surrounded Henry at this time, while in open hostility with the archbishop, with the thunders of Rome hanging over his head, with his subjects in revolt in many of his hereditary territories on the continent, his newly-acquired possession of Brittany shaken by the resistance of some of the most distinguished nobles of that country, his Welsh vassals waging a successful warfare for the recovery of their independence, and the French monarch repaying his great services by ravaging his territories and supporting all his enemies, Henry suddenly found two princes, who had ever been friendly towards him, join the party of his foes, and prepare to invade his dominions. These were the Count of Flanders, and his brother, the Count of Boulogne, one of whom had been under Henry's guardianship, while the other was indebted to him for the very territories that he possessed. Nevertheless, the present enmity of the Count of Boulogne and his brother was not without some cause, to explain which, it may be necessary to go back, for a few particulars, as far as the reign of Stephen.

It will be remembered that on the conclusion of the treaty between Stephen and Henry, which secured the succession of the crown to the latter, the only surviving son of Stephen, named William, was assured possession of the county of Boulogne, and all the other hereditary territories of his father Stephen, comprising the county of Mortagne in Normandy. Besides these, various estates in England, which had been given to him by his father, were also secured to him by Henry. I am not aware whether there were or were not also some hereditary lands in England granted by William the Conqueror to Eustace, Count of Boulogne, and conveyed to Stephen by that count's daughter, whom he married. Neither do I know whether the territories which Stephen had granted to his son were secured to him by Henry as hereditary possessions or not; nor upon what terms the manor of Pevensey, and some other estates which Henry spontaneously added, were conceded to William. However that may be, the son of Stephen not only enjoyed the whole of these territories during his life, but seemed perfectly contented with the treatment he received from Henry, attached himself much to that prince, and accompanied him during the



campaign against the Count of Toulouse. In returning from that expedition, William of Blois died childless. The hand of his widow, together with the large estates she had inherited from her father, Henry conferred upon his own natural brother Hamelin; and the county of Mortagne he gave to his own younger brother William. The English estates also were, I doubt not, bestowed by the king upon some of his faithful followers, being considered as escheats, in which point of view Henry indisputably regarded the county of Mortagne.

So far all was well, and no one could complain of the king's acts; for the legitimate posterity of Stephen was now extinct, with the exception of one daughter, Mary, who might be considered as dead in the eye of the law, having taken the veil in the abbey of Romsey, in Hampshire. The county of Boulogne still remained to be disposed of; but that being a fief of the county of Flanders, Henry had now no power over it; and it might have become a subject of contention amongst the collateral relations of William of Blois, as the Count of Flanders could not bestow it except according to the feudal law, had not Henry consented, and probably suggested, a measure very gratifying to the count, but which now ended in producing enmity between his son and Henry. As we have seen, a great friendship existed between the King of England and Thierry, Count of Flanders, whose son was for some time under the guardianship of the monarch; and towards the beginning of the year 1160, which was a few months after the death of William of Blois, it was arranged between the two princes that Matthew, a younger son of Thierry, should marry Mary, the nun of Romsey.

A papal dispensation could have been obtained easily, had not a schism existed in the Church, which rendered it dangerous for Henry to apply to either of the rival popes in a manner that might be considered as a recognition of his authority. To obviate this difficulty, Henry permitted Matthew to carry off Mary of Blois from the abbey of Romsey; and the princess gave her hand, very willingly it would seem, to her young deliverer in the month of May, 1160. By her he obtained possession of the county of Boulogne; but I do not find that he asserted any claim, either to the county of Mortagne, or to William of Blois's estates in England, till after the death of Henry's brother, which took place in 1164.

The embarrassing situation in which Henry was now

placed, certainly offered a favourable moment for making such a demand, though expediency, that great enemy of all that is noble and just in the dealings of states and princes, was opposed by both gratitude and generosity. It is probable, however, that Matthew was instigated to claim all the possessions of William of Blois by the eager counsels of the King of France, who was now paying great court to the Counts of Flanders, and had invited Philip, on whom his father Thierry had devolved the cares of government, to act as godfather to his son, in the year 1165.\*

At all events we find, that in 1166 the applications of the Count of Boulogne to be put in possession of Mortagne, and of the English estates which he now claimed, became urgent; and upon Henry's refusal to accede to his demand he and his brother Philip collected an immense fleet and army, and prepared to invade England, while Henry was in the midst of contentions with the King of France.

Six hundred vessels are said to have been engaged; but luckily, the assembling of such forces could not take place upon the coast of Flanders without being known both in Normandy and England. Every freeman in the land was, in those days, bred to the use of arms; and the Saxon obligation of realm-defence was, as I have shown in another place, in full force, notwithstanding the changes produced by the complete introduction of the feudal system.

Richard de Lucy, the high justiciary, was entrusted by Henry, who was detained in France, with the protection of England; and drawing out the whole of the array of the maritime counties, he made such a formidable display of native strength, that the Counts of Flanders and Boulogne did not dare to land, and turned their arms to another quarter. In the mean while, however, Henry had entered

\* I have given a somewhat different account of these events from that afforded by Lord Lyttleton, who says, I cannot help thinking by mistake, that the county of Mortagne "was on the decease of that monarch (Stephen) considered as an escheat." Now there cannot be the slightest doubt that William of Blois had possession of Mortagne till his death, which took place five years after the decease of his father. This is clearly established by the date of the gift of the county to William Plantagenet, which did not take place till after the death of Stephen's son in 1159. I have also ventured to state, that Philip of Flanders was invited to the baptism of Philip Augustus, in direct opposition to one of the commentators upon D'Oudegherst, who quotes Suger's History of Louis the Seventh, to show who were the sponsors of Philip Augustus, when it unfortunately happens, that Suger was dead fourteen years before Philip Augustus was born.



into negotiations with those princes concerning an amicable arrangement of the claims of the Count of Boulogne; and in the end, that nobleman agreed to compound all his demands for the sum of one thousand pounds sterling per annum, which has been supposed equal to about sixteen thousand pounds of our present money. The treaty by which this agreement was concluded was extremely beneficial to Henry; for the Count of Boulogne, by the terms thereof, bound himself to receive this annuity as a beneficium, for which he engaged to do military service, and to render homage and fealty to the King of England, so that thereby he was changed from an enemy into an ally; and a new hold was obtained by the crown of England upon the Counts of Flanders.

It may be necessary, however, to notice here, that previous to this period, namely, in the year 1163, Henry had entered into a subsidiary treaty with Thierry and his son Philip, shortly before the former departed for the Holy Land, by the terms of which Henry granted an annuity to the count upon the condition of military service; and it is not easy to discover upon what plea the sovereign of Flanders so far broke the engagements of this convention, as to appear in arms against England in 1166.

A brief summary must now be given of the progress of the dispute between Becket and the king, from the period of the unsuccessful embassy which Henry sent to Pope Alexander at Sens; though we have already noticed some of the principal facts, and need not trace the course of this affair very minutely during Becket's exile, as but few events affecting greatly the general course of this history present themselves in that space of time.

The death of Victor, the confederation of several Italian cities in favour of his opponent, and other circumstances of a similar kind, had induced Alexander to try his fortunes once more in Italy, and he had succeeded in establishing himself in Rome. We have seen, that Henry's indignation towards Becket had in no degree decreased; and that he had even extended that indignation towards Alexander, in the menaces written to the Archbishop of Cologne, and pronounced by Henry's ambassadors at Wurtzburgh. Neither, on the other hand, had Becket or the Pope in the least receded from their pretensions; and the acts and threats of the King of England only irritated, without dismaying, them.

All the relations and dependents of Becket were driven out of England; and we are told that an oath was exacted of them to join the exiled prelate at Pontigny, whither he had gone, after leaving Alexander at Sens. Near four hundred persons, men, women, and children at the breast, were comprised in this proscription, their lands and goods were confiscated, and they were thus sent to Becket in misery and want. But this base and cruel act did not produce the effect that Henry intended; for the very name of the prelate had become a recommendation to the princes and nobles of Europe, and in general his relations and friends thus banished, found plenty to support them and promote their fortunes. About the same time, or a little before, the payment of Peter-pence to the Pope was stopped, the revenues of Becket himself, and of all the ecclesiastics who followed him into exile, were seized, and the clergy were strictly forbidden to pray for him in the churches.

In return, Becket thundered forth denunciations against the monarch, wrote to him letter after letter of an insolent and a menacing character, and loudly announced his determination of excommunicating his king, and persecuting, to the utmost of his power, the bishops and clergy who had supported Henry. The bishops again appealed to the Pope; and Alexander, embarrassed with his own dangers and difficulties, left many of their addresses either unnoticed, or very briefly answered; but in the mean while he gave Becket full power to try and punish, by ecclesiastical means, all those inferior persons who had done him or his friends any injury, thereby making him judge in his own cause. In regard to the King of England, the Pope left to Becket the discretionary power of acting in whatever way he might think his archiepiscopal station justified; and that prelate instantly determined to proceed, without remorse, to the excommunication of his sovereign and his benefactor. He was preparing for the execution of this resolution in the manner that he judged most likely to produce a great effect upon the minds of men, visiting shrines, and holding vigils by the tombs of saints, when a change took place in the fortunes of the Pope Alexander himself, which brought about an alteration of measures very unfavourable to the views of Becket.

The news of this change, indeed, would not have reached the exiled archbishop in time to prevent him from fulminating his sentence of excommunication at Henry himself,



had not that monarch been seized with a dangerous illness, which induced Louis King of France to entreat or to command the prelate to suspend his purpose for a time. There can be little doubt that but for the intercession of the French monarch, no pious considerations would have caused Becket to pause in the course of his revenge; and, in order to sate himself as far as possible, he proceeded at once to excommunicate a number of the king's most faithful friends and servants, using the legatine power with which the Pope invested him in October, 1165, in the service of his angry passions.

In the mean time, however, Henry, before he was seized with the illness we have mentioned, had called an assembly at Chinon, and in consequence of the advice he received from the bishops and nobles present, had interposed an appeal to the Pope against the authority of Becket. This was an inconsistent act, as he had himself forbidden his clergy to have recourse to the same expedient, and Becket's friends triumphed in proportion; but Becket himself did not receive intimation of the appeal till after he had suspended the sentence of excommunication which he had been about to pronounce. At the same time, negotiations were going on between Henry and Alexander, which wrought an extraordinary change, for the time, in the position of both parties. The Marquis of Montferrat, anxious to increase his power, which was already very great, by an alliance with a monarch of such authority as the King of England, sent ambassadors to Henry, beseeching him to give one of the daughters of the house of Plantagenet in marriage to his heir; and it is moreover asserted these ambassadors were instructed to promise the king, that if the request were granted, the marquis would take such measures as to lead to the deposition of Becket from the archbishopric of Canterbury.

What assurances the Lord of Montferrat could give Henry in regard to his power of performing so mighty an undertaking, we cannot now tell; but that he possessed some strong influence over the mind of Alexander there can be no doubt. Henry immediately acceded to the request of the marquis, and, apparently at his suggestion, sent three ambassadors to treat with Alexander, the chief of whom was no other than that John of Oxford, who, in execution of the king's commands, had already been excommunicated. Henry must have been very well assured that his ministers would

meet with a favourable reception, before he chose so obnoxious a person as one of his envoys to the Pope. The embassy was undoubtedly successful in a much greater degree than could have been expected; the pontiff received the present representatives of Henry with far more kindness than he had displayed towards the king's former ambassadors. John of Oxford surrendered into his hands the deanery of Salisbury, which Becket had declared uncanonically conferred, and immediately received it back again from the pontiff, with absolution for that and all his other sins. Presenting letters from the English monarch to the Bishop of Rome, in which Henry declared that he would preserve to his clergy the liberty they had possessed from the time of his grandfather, Henry the First, the ambassadors obtained a distinct promise that two legates should be sent to examine and judge both between Becket and the English bishops, and between him and the king. Their sentence was to be definitive, and one of the legates named was William of Pavia, who had always shown himself devoted in his friendship towards Henry.

This was even more than the King of England had demanded at first by the ambassadors sent to Sens; but probably the dangerous situation of Alexander himself, against whom the tide of fortune was once more beginning to turn, and who varied his conduct towards Henry according to the fluctuation of the stream, was one of the chief causes of the placability of the papal court.

The Emperor Frederic Barbarossa had, in the commencement of 1166, assembled a sufficient force to recover his power in Lombardy, and to threaten the security of Rome itself. Alexander had done the worst that he could do by the thunders of the Church, and had produced little or no effect either in reducing Frederic to obedience, or in detaching his subjects and vassals from him; and thus nothing remained for the defence of the reigning pontiff, but an inferior faction in Italy itself, and the support of France and England. The friendship of the latter power was already terribly shaken. Not only had Henry himself held out threats not to be misunderstood of abandoning the party of Alexander and going over to Pascal, but the bishops had at various times informed the Pope, whom they recognised, that such was very likely to be the case. The present then was the moment when Alexander had most to fear that Henry, taking advantage of



Frederic's first successes, would join the emperor in his operations for the elevation of Pascal, and render his power irresistible.

Many other causes might combine to affect the papal policy. The authority of the Marquis of Montferrat was very considerable, and his influence in the north of Italy great. Henry also might—and the friends of Becket asserted that he did—once more use the potent eloquence of gold to gain the pliant cardinals; but whether any secret motive combined with those which are apparent to influence the Pope in Henry's favour, a greater change was certainly effected in the views of the pontiff, than could be brought about by anything but a very powerful cause. Not contented with the concession he had at first made, he sent back by John of Oxford the papal dispensation for the marriage of Henry's son Geoffrey with Constance of Brittany, they being within the forbidden degrees of consanguinity; and he, moreover, prohibited Becket from troubling Henry or his kingdom in any manner, and declared null and void any sentence of excommunication or interdict which the archbishop might have pronounced before the receipt of his letters. He promised the king, also, that the legates should absolve all his friends and servants from the excommunication under which they already lay, and at once authorised them to receive absolution from the hands of any bishop or priest in case of illness producing apprehension of death.\*

\* The Pope's letter upon this subject is so extremely curious, that I cannot refrain from transcribing it as it appears in Hoveden: "Alexander Episcopus servus servorum Dei, illustri Anglorum regi Henrico salutem et Apostolicam benedictionem. Magnificentie tue nuntios, scilicet dilectos filios nostros Johannem Cumin et Radulfum de Tamwerde nobis, et Ecclesie Dei deuotus, et regie sublimitati (sicut credimus) per omnia fidelissimos, et literas, quas excellentia tua nobis per eosdem transmisit, tanto benigniori mente suscepimus, et tanto eos majori gratia prævenimus, et honore, quanto plenius scivimus ipsos à magnifico principe, et rege Christianissimo fuisse transmissos: cui utique omnem, quam cum Deo possumus, gloriam cupimus et honorem, et ad cujus incrementum modis omnibus quibus honeste poterimus, nos et fratres nostri ac tota Ecclesia quanto devotissimæ sinceritatis tuæ affectum in majori sumus necessitate experti, tanto ardentius intendemus aspirare. Non enim tuæ devotionis insignia nobis tempore tam opportuno exhibita à nostra in posterum memoria, ulla poterit ratione divelli, vel in conspectu Ecclesie aliqua desuetudine inumbrari. Petitiones quoque tuas, quas nobis per jam dictos nuntios misisti, in quibus cum Deo et honestate nostra potuimus, sicut iidem magnificentie tuæ nuntii viva voce plenius enarrabunt, curavimus executioni mandare. Personas siquidem de latere nostro, juxtaque rogasti, licet nobis gravissimum, ac difficilimum hoc tempore maxime videatur aliquos à nobis emittere, cum fratrum nostrorum et eorum præsertim quos tu desideras præsentia et consilio opus habeamus, illius tamen recordæ, ac magnificæ devotionis tuæ, ut diximus, non immemores existentes, ad

These provisions were indeed very necessary, for before they arrived, Becket had received from the Pope, as I have before shown, a commission, giving him the complete legatine power over the whole of England, except the diocese of York, which authority Becket had immediately proceeded to employ in the most intemperate and furious manner.

Henry, on his part, had done all in his power to guard his kingdom against the vengeance of Becket armed with the artillery of Rome; and, in this respect, the insular situation of England gave him some facilities. He ordered that a strict watch should be kept upon all the ports, lest persons bringing over anything in the shape of an interdict should find their way into the country. If any one were detected in the attempt, various punishments were denounced against the offender according to his profession: if he were one of the regular orders of monks, his feet were to be cut off; if a priest, his eyes were to be put out, and he was to be castrated; if a layman, he was to be hung; if a leper—and numbers of these unfortunate beings were at that time wandering about Europe—he was to be burnt alive. If, in consequence of an interdict, any priest were to refuse the services of the Church, he was likewise to be emasculated.

These were terrible denunciations; but nevertheless it must be admitted that the very fact of aiding to produce in any country the horrors of an interdict was also a terrible crime. Nevertheless, notwithstanding these severe laws, and all the care that Henry's officers could employ, some persons found means to bring into England, not indeed an interdict,

sublimitatis tuæ præsentiam duximus destinandas cum plenitudine potestatis, Ecclesiasticas causas, quæ inter te et venerabilem fratrem nostrum Archiepiscum Cantuariensem hunc inde vertuntur, et illam que inter eundem Archiep. et Episc. regni tui super appellatione ad nos facta movetur, necnon alias causas terræ quas noverint expedire, cognoscendi judicandique et prout sibi dominus administraverit, canonice terminandi. Eidem quoque Archiepiscopo ne te aut tuos seu regnum gubernationi tuæ commissum, donec causæ illæ debitum sortiantur effectum in aliquo gravare vel turbare aut inquietare attentet, omnimodis inhibemus. Verum si præfatus Archiepiscopus in te, aut regnum tuum, vel personas regni interim aliquam sententiam tulerit, nos eam irritam esse, et non te tenere censemus, ad indictionem autem hujus rei, et argumentum nostræ voluntatis, literas præsentis, si articulus ingruerit necessitatis ostendas. Alioquin serenitatem tuam rogamus et attentius commonemus, ut literas ipsas, aut earum tenorem à nullo sciri permittas, sed eas habeas omnino secretas. Illos autem familiares et consiliarios tuos, quos jam dictus Archiepiscopus sententiæ excommunicationis subjecit, personæ de latere nostro transmissæ, domino auctore, absolvent. Si autem aliquis illorum interim metu mortis laboraverit, præstito secundum Ecclesiæ consuetudinem juramento, quod nostro si convaluerit debeat parere mandato, ipsum ab aliquo Episcopo vel religioso, et discreto viro, absolvi concedimus."



but letters from Becket to various prelates, and the Pope's mandate appointing him legate for England. The mandate, and a copy of a letter from Becket to all the bishops of England, with the exception of those of the province of York, commanding them in his quality of legate to appear before him within forty days, were delivered to the Bishop of London at the high altar of Saint Paul's Church, as he was performing the mass of that saint, on the day of his conversion. There were various other injunctions contained in these letters; and so alarming was this display of power, even to such a strong-minded man as the Bishop of London, that he besought Henry's permission to execute all Becket's commands, and notwithstanding an express prohibition, prepared to obey the summons he had received to appear in the presence of the legate, and even proceeded to Winchester, for the purpose of going over into France. At Southampton, too, the Bishop of Hereford was waiting for a fair wind to accomplish the same object, when by one of those extraordinary coincidences that occur from time to time to affect the fates of men, the wind which detained him wafted to the shores of England, and to the same port, John of Oxford, the king's chief envoy to the papal court. He announced to the glad ears of the Bishop of Hereford the tidings which he brought from Rome; but that prelate would not be satisfied till he was fully assured of the contents of the papal letters; and, as John of Oxford had sent them on with his baggage to Winchester, the bishop's chaplain was despatched to read them there. This quite satisfied the bishop, and he turned upon his steps with joy, doubtless very grateful to the wind, which had stayed his progress into France.

Henry rejoiced and triumphed; but Becket burst into fury and the most indecent expressions of indignation when informed of what had taken place. He reproached the Pope loudly amongst his friends; but whilst he declared openly that Alexander had strangled the Church of England, he addressed to him a load of blasphemous adulation, which might well have disgusted a wise man, and horrified a pious one. The King of France, too, indignant at the Pope's concession to his enemy the King of England, made his anger loudly known; and it is probable that this intimation, on the part of Louis, had more effect than the invectives or supplications of Becket. Alexander, whose policy was rather to temporise with Henry than to yield to him, limited the

powers of the legates by the way, and sent them on their journey with a commission totally different from that which had been first granted to them at the solicitation of John of Oxford. There can be but little or no doubt, also, that they received instructions to spend as much time on the road as possible;\* for although the north of Italy was infested by the troops of the emperor, who was on his way to Rome, so that some time might be wasted in avoiding the dangers of the way, yet the extraordinary delay which occurred ere the legates entered even the territory of France, can only be accounted for by the supposition that they were directed not to make more speed than necessary. The conduct of Alexander, indeed, through the whole of this business, offers a contrast to that of Becket, very favourable to the latter. Becket was at least consistent after he quitted England. He never varied; he uniformly maintained the same doctrines, he always kept up the same fiery zeal in their support; his tone, his conduct, and his object were the same; and one might well believe that the great motive of all his actions was an enthusiastic and superstitious veneration for the Church of which he was a member, did not passages in his own writings and the evasion of any sacrifice on his own part, which would have restored peace to England, as well as the very objects which he pretended to seek, prove incontestably, that pride was the grand principle of his conduct, and self-elevation, whether as priest, saint, or martyr, the object of all his endeavours. Nevertheless, in contemplating his conduct at this time, and also his demeanour on the day of his death, one cannot help feeling a certain degree of admiration mingle with our thoughts, and perhaps pervert our judgment, at the sight of such powers of mind, such strength and firmness of character, such resolution, and fearlessness of heart, although the high qualities that we may justly venerate were employed for an unworthy and evil purpose, and subservient to selfish passions and individual ambition.

On the other hand, Alexander displayed a temporising policy, which, however successful, can never be carried on without some loss of character, either by men or by states. As soon as fear seized him or danger threatened him, he made concessions to Henry, which he rendered impotent, or revoked altogether, either as soon as the peril was passed, or

\* We know that they received orders not to enter England till the dispute between Henry and the archbishop was adjusted.



the risk of conceding became, through the anger of the King of France, greater than that of resisting. Whenever he was powerful and triumphant, he showed himself arbitrary and imperious, but he was always as ready to stoop for the purpose of rising again, as he was to ascend at first. We thus see various changes of policy on the part of Alexander towards Henry and Becket very discreditable to the pontiff, and which can hardly bear any other name than that of dishonesty, when joined with those injunctions to secrecy which his letters display. In fact, Becket was the lion of the struggle, Alexander the fox, and what between the sagacity of the one, and the vigour of the other, Henry's whole power was unable to resist them.

Alexander, however, had not yet reached the point to which his fortunes were once more to descend; and while the legates were slowly pursuing their way towards France, Frederic advanced, subduing as he went all things in the north of Italy before him. The people of Tusculum and Albano had always shown themselves favourable to the emperor, and were looking for his approach with gladness, when a Roman army marched out to ravage their territories, contrary, we are assured, to the wishes and exhortations of Alexander, although one of the assigned causes of the attack was their refusal to pay the papal tribute. Frederic was at this time besieging Ancona, and to him the people of Tusculum applied for immediate aid. After some delay, owing either to the incapacity or neglect of Frederic's officers, during which the partisans of the general father of the Christian world ravaged in the most brutal manner the lands of his unfortunate children of Tusculum, cutting down the wheat, the vines, and even the trees, and straitening the city closely, a force consisting of picked troops marched to the relief of the besieged town, and a battle took place between the Germans and the Romans. The former were not many more in number than a thousand; the latter, between cavalry and infantry, Muratori states to have amounted to well-nigh thirty thousand armed men. To the former, however, must be added, the garrison of Tusculum, which sallied out during the battle, and attacked the Roman rear. Thirty thousand of the children of those who had conquered the world were utterly defeated by a handful of barbarians, and, as usual, all sorts of statements remain regarding the number of killed and prisoners. The most probable account is, that six thousand

were killed, and that a great number were taken, though one of the papal writers makes the loss amount to two-thirds of the whole, and declares, that since the field of Cannæ, there had not been so great a slaughter of Roman troops.

Alexander, we are told, burst into tears at these tidings, and in vain endeavoured to collect such a force as might defend Rome. So marked a success, however, gave new energy to the Emperor Frederic. Instead of pressing the siege of Ancona to a surrender at discretion, which he probably intended, he received the submission of the people of that city, upon their paying a large fine and giving hostages; and, marching on with the utmost rapidity towards Rome, he led the way himself at the head of his cavalry and accompanied by the empress. Coming up with some of the troops of the King of Sicily, who had advanced to the aid of Alexander, he drove them before him, making a number of prisoners, and with uninterrupted success he hastened on to Rome itself, at the gates of which city he arrived about the middle of the year. It was not without a struggle, however, that he gained possession of Rome itself; but that object was effected at length, and he caused himself and the empress to be crowned in the church of Saint Peter, by the hands of Pascal the antipope.

Rome was at that time full of fortresses; and, in fact, the house of each of the great barons was in itself a castle. Alexander remained in Rome, at the fortified house of the Frangipani family, after Frederic was in possession of the greater part of the city; but, finding the neighbourhood dangerous, and the people of Rome anxious to be freed from his presence, he made his escape in disguise to Terracina, and passing by Gaeta, found refuge in Beneventum. The Emperor Frederic remained in Rome for some time; too long, indeed, though by so doing he extended his influence far around him in Italy; for a pestilential fever broke out in his army, which, in a very short space of time, diminished it in a terrible degree. The Archbishop of Cologne, the Bishops of Liege, Spire, Ratisbon, and a number of other prelates, with some of Frederic's near relations and principal officers, died in the space of a few days. As is common with fevers in Rome and its neighbourhood, the disease attacked the strangers and spared the inhabitants; and Frederic, obliged to fly from Rome and the Campania, took his way back towards Lombardy, carrying with him numerous



hostages, taken from the principal inhabitants; but bearing with his army the fever which it had contracted in the imperial city. Alexander rejoiced at the news of the unexpected destruction of such a number of the enemy; and he, as well as Becket, taking the pleasantest view of the year's history, ascribed the pestilence to an immediate judgment of God on the head of Frederic.

To what cause they attributed the capture of Rome by the emperor, and the terrible reverses that Alexander himself had met with, does not appear; but they certainly never thought of ascribing those evils to pride, ambition, or corruption on their own part.

It is necessary now to leave the affairs of Italy, and to turn once more to what was passing in France, in order to bring the affairs of Aquitaine and Poitou, which we have slightly noticed in speaking of Brittany, up to that point where we have left the other affairs of Henry the Second.

I have shown that after the suspension of arms in 1167, Louis had taken advantage of some causes of discontent which existed amongst the barons of Brittany, Poitou, and Aquitaine, to urge them into revolt against their sovereign. It is probable Louis intended that the flame should not break out till the truce had expired, and till he himself had recovered from the capture and destruction of Chaumont. But the wary eye of the King of England was upon the insurgents; the rebellion of Aquitaine and Poitou assumed a tangible form towards the end of the year 1167, and, in the midst of the winter which succeeded, Henry marched into those provinces at the head of a considerable force, took and burnt the castle of Lusignan, and reduced the whole to apparent subjection.

As soon as this was done, the king returned to the north of France, and resumed the negotiations which were going on with Louis regarding a treaty of peace. Those negotiations had already continued some time; and, in order to bring them to a definitive issue, Henry had commissioned the Count of Flanders to confer with the Count of Champagne, and to draw up such conditions as, without being derogatory to him, might be acceptable to the King of France. The paper thus drawn up was laid before Louis at Soissons, shortly before Easter, 1168. Though desirous of war, the terms proposed were so reasonable that the French monarch consented to receive them as the basis of a treaty of peace;

and he sent the Count of Champagne to meet Henry at a place appointed, in order to receive the King of England's signature to the treaty.

In the mean time, however, new signs of revolt had appeared in Poitou, and Henry had hurried thither to prevent the mischief in the beginning. Louis, taking the absence of Henry at the place of meeting as an insult, hastened, as I have before said, to Bourges, and pledged himself to the revolted nobles of Aquitaine and Brittany that he would never sign a treaty of peace with the King of England till all they had forfeited had been restored to them. This might seem an insurmountable bar to any pacific arrangements; but Henry found means to renew the negotiation, and yielded so much, that the King of France was ashamed to remain obstinate. It was accordingly again agreed by Henry and those who treated for Louis, that a treaty of peace should be drawn up, very nearly on the conditions proposed at Soissons. At this period occurred the assassination of the Earl of Salisbury; and while Guy of Lusignan fled to the Holy Land, his accomplices, whom Henry had punished for that offence by confiscating their property and ravaging their estates, took refuge at the court of Louis, and loudly complained of the punishment they had received, as if Henry had exceeded his power as sovereign. Louis was very ready to assert their cause; and, in truth, he only sought for an opportunity of breaking a promise he had made to meet Henry at La Ferté Bernard for the purpose of concluding the peace which had been before arranged. He therefore insolently demanded not only that the English monarch should suffer the revolted barons of Poitou and Brittany to be present at their meeting, but should give them hostages for their safety in coming and going. With this, also, Henry complied; but before the expiration of the truce, he had, as we have shown, punished the fresh revolt of Eudes in Brittany, both by the very justifiable means of confiscation, and by the infamous act of dishonouring his daughter.

The complaints and solicitations of all the insurgent nobles who now thronged about him from the territories of his rival, the instigations of Becket, and the insinuations of many members of his own court and family inimical to Henry, sent Louis to the proposed meeting at La Ferté in a state of fury, which made him forget all kingly moderation. On arriving at the town of Chartres, on his way to the place



of meeting, a new dispute arose between him and the King of England, both in regard to the murderers of the Earl of Salisbury, and to some clerical lands, respecting which Louis made unjust pretensions. Henry yielded more perhaps than was either just or prudent; and at length, in regard to the lands, he sent back a message that, for the love of God, of the Count of Flanders, and of the good cardinal, William of Pavia, who was then at his court, he would not contest the matter, though he still denied the right of the King of France. On receiving this message, and hearing that William of Pavia was in the camp of Henry, the King of France fell into a new fit of passion, vowing that the Pope abetted his enemies, and that he would not receive any concession on such terms.

Thus the conference seemed unlikely to take place, as Henry would not of course acknowledge the right of the French king; but Louis suddenly sent messengers, requiring the King of England, more in the tone of a sovereign than an equal, to come immediately to the place of meeting, which was upon the banks of the small river Huisnes, between Chartres and La Ferté, and about two miles from the latter town.

Many circumstances might render Henry unwilling to obey this imperious order. The camp of the King of France was filled with his enemies; and he had reason to know that besides his revolted subjects, Louis had with him at that time envoys from William the Lion, King of Scotland, who had succeeded his brother Malcolm, and had shown himself as hostile as his brother had been friendly towards the English monarch. The very messengers which that prince had now sent to the King of France came with views inimical to the King of England; and at the same time envoys from the insurgent Welsh were eagerly soliciting protection and support from France. A just consideration of the dangers which might arise from an unprepared meeting with a monarch so fickle, violent, and easily led as Louis, has been assigned as the reason why Henry did not obey his summons; but I find no record to guide me to the real cause of the conduct of the King of England. It is certain that he did not make his appearance during the greater part of the day; and the French monarch having washed his hands in the stream, called every one to witness that he had kept his appointment, and that Henry had broken faith; and sending away the

greater part of the force which had accompanied him thither, he remained on the banks of the river with the rest, having despatched a messenger to require satisfaction of Henry for the breach of his engagement. Before night, the English monarch suddenly appeared, armed and at the head of a considerable body of knights. The French king and his companions seem to have been really alarmed at this sudden display of force, and catching up their arms in haste, they prepared for battle rather than for conference. But Henry, perceiving the apprehensions that he had caused, and that night was coming on, retired quietly to La Ferté. Louis returned to Chartres; and some sharp but tedious disputes took place in regard to the conduct of the two monarchs on this occasion, each accusing the other; and Louis, as was natural, justifying the alarm he and his nobles had experienced by asserting the existence of a real danger. The negotiations for peace were broken off in consequence of these events, and war was immediately renewed.

The French king, on his part, effected but little; for the burning of a few villages, and the ravaging of a few fields, which was the extent of his success on this, as on other occasions, could not be considered as very glorious. Henry, on the other hand, carried forward the same savage and iniquitous system on a larger scale; for having summoned the Count of Boulogne to do him feudal service according to treaty, and the Count of Ponthieu having refused to give a passage to that nobleman's troops, Henry marched into the territories of the latter, and lighted the whole land with the flame of forty villages and small towns.

The success of his enemy, the misfortunes of his vassal, and the impotence of his own efforts, all tended to discourage the King of France; and about the same time, the reputation and even power of the English monarch was greatly increased by a new embassy which he received from the emperor, of so splendid a description that the report thereof ran through Europe. At the head of the mission was Henry the Lion, Duke of Saxony, one of the most powerful, if not the most powerful, of the imperial electors. He was, at this time, son-in-law to the King of England, having now consummated his marriage with the daughter of Henry, who had been escorted to his dominions by the Earls of Arundel and Pembroke, though little more than twelve years of age. The



embassy was in every point of view agreeable to the English monarch; for besides the effect produced by such a testimony of respect, other results might be anticipated from an offer on the part of the emperor, which was soon made known, to support Henry in arms, should he need it, in his war with the King of France.

An alteration, however, soon came over the counsels of the last-named monarch. It would appear that the Count of Champagne had laboured sincerely to promote a peace, and that Henry had found means to change, in some degree, the disposition of the house of Blois towards himself. The contest regarding the office of Seneschal of France between Henry and the Count of Blois, might indeed have protracted their enmity; for it was a point which the English monarch could not give up with honour; but a compromise of the matter suggested itself, which Henry eagerly seized; and though I do not discover at what period the arrangement which was afterwards adopted first occurred to either, yet it is evident that between the conclusion of the truce in 1167, and the rupture of the conferences of La Ferté, the views both of the Count of Blois and the Count of Champagne were turned from war to peace. With these dispositions in his principal counsellors, with his adversary's arms far more successful than his own, and with a new league ready to be formed against him, Louis in the end of 1168 began to listen with complacency to the proposals for peace, which Henry did not fail to renew from time to time; and at Montmirail in January, 1169, a definitive treaty was signed, one of the most important articles in which had for its object the endowment of Richard, the second son of Henry, with the territories which his father intended to constitute his portion for life. These dispositions, it is true, were altered entirely by many unexpected events; but nevertheless, the clause regarding Richard affected the whole course of his after life, and was productive of results the most opposite to those which might have been anticipated.

The stipulations of the treaty were briefly these:

First, it was agreed that Henry should renew his homage and fealty for Normandy in the accustomed form.

Secondly, that he should give up the provinces of Anjou and Maine, and the fealty of the vassals thereof, to Henry, his eldest son; who should do homage for them to the King

of France, and owe nothing more either to his father or brother,\* with respect to those provinces.

Thirdly, that Henry's second son, Richard, should in like manner pay homage and fealty to Louis for the duchy of Aquitaine, and should espouse Adelais, the youngest daughter of that king. It is to be remarked that no precise dowry was settled upon her, but it was left to her father to fix its nature and amount at an after period.

Fourthly, it was agreed that the office of great seneschal of the kingdom of France should be given up by the Count of Blois, on whom Louis had bestowed it some years before, and restored to Prince Henry, in right of the county of Anjou, to which it belonged.

Fifthly, that the King of England should hold Touraine as a fief from the Count of Blois.

Sixthly, that the hostages given to Louis by the insurgent nobles of Poitou and Bretagne should be given up by him to Henry; and that they themselves should return to their former allegiance, upon condition of pardon for their revolt, and the restitution of all the castles and lands which had been taken from them since the troubles in those countries began.

It will be seen, that in entering into this treaty, Henry still kept in view the chance of one of Louis's daughters succeeding to the throne of France; and although he dis-severed the various provinces which he had united in his own person, it evidently appears that he did not intend at once to give up all rule therein, probably trusting to contingencies, as was very frequently the case with him, to obviate any inconveniences which might arise from the arrangements now made.

Richard, to whom he transferred the duchy of Aquitaine, was not yet twelve years old, and Adelais was still younger; so that several years were to elapse ere the government could possibly be entrusted to that prince. It might well happen also that in the succeeding years, relieved from Becket's pretensions, and having subdued his other internal enemies, he might follow the example of Louis himself in regard to the cession of the Norman Vexin, and object to the fulfilment of the covenant he now made.

\* This clause would seem to relate to some claim which his brother Geoffrey might have upon a part of Maine.



However that may be, the treaty was extremely gratifying to the French nobles, who had long beheld with reasonable alarm the consolidation of such immense territories in France in the hands of the English monarch. The Count of Blois, too, who had undoubtedly no small share in promoting the treaty of peace which was now signed, had every reason to be satisfied with the result; as in return for the sacrifice of an office to which he had no right, and which must always have proved a matter of strife between him and each succeeding Count of Anjou, he obtained, as a voluntary act from Henry, a feudal honour, which might at an after period be turned to much greater advantage. To Richard, Henry gave nothing, in fact, but that which had been before promised when, in order to secure the alliance of the Count of Barcelona, a marriage had been negotiated between the young prince and the daughter of the count. The promised bride of Richard had died in infancy, and Henry could hardly do less in betrothing his son to the daughter of the King of France, than he had done on the former occasion. Perhaps, too, he might hope that the barons of Aquitaine, who had never shown themselves well pleased with their subjection to the crown of England, might be more submissive to his rule, as well as that of his son, when they had the full assurance of being ultimately governed by a prince of their own.

If such was his hope, the very first proceedings that took place in Aquitaine must have shaken those expectations, for dissensions almost immediately ensued between the monarch and a number of the former insurgents, regarding the restitution of the lands that had been promised. The barons insisted that the terms of the treaty were not fully and properly observed towards them, and they consequently remained in arms, with the powerful Lords of Angoulême and La Marche at their head. From the grasping character of Henry, we might be led to suppose that the charge of the barons was not unfounded; but the silence of the King of France, to whom recourse was open, and from whom every favour was to be expected, affords a strong motive for believing that justice was on the side of the English monarch. Henry, however, whose activity knew no pause, marched at once into the south, invaded the territories of the Lords of Angoulême and La Marche, captured several strong places, and succeeded in reducing the whole province to obedience. He then returned to Normandy, where he employed himself

in the more beneficial works of peace; and to this period of his reign are ascribed various public buildings of importance; amongst which was an immense dyke of thirty miles in length, constructed with a view to restrain the Loire from overflowing the lowlands in the neighbourhood of Angers. The frontiers of Normandy, too, he strengthened by lines and fortifications, in order to guard, as far as possible, against those desolating incursions which had so frequently occurred during the late war.

In the mean while he had sent his son Henry to Paris, in order to take possession of the high office of seneschal, in right of the county of Anjou; and at a great banquet the English prince served the King of France at table in that capacity. Nor had he neglected the affairs of Brittany, although the resistance of the barons of Aquitaine had called him sooner than he probably intended from that duchy. He had, nevertheless, very shortly after the signature of the peace of Montmirail, taken his son Geoffrey into Brittany, and caused the nobles of the land to do homage to him in the town of Rennes.

In the south of France he had still some embarrassments to contend with, as his claims upon the county of Toulouse had been in no degree affected by the late arrangements. The count remained virtually unsubdued, and Henry resolved to bring him to do homage. We find that his intention of so doing must have been openly avowed; for, at a meeting that took place between the English monarch and the King of France at the abbey of St. Denis, in November, 1169, the affairs of the county of Toulouse came under discussion between him and Louis; and, in order to counterbalance the evil impressions which that prince had received from some late transactions regarding Becket, Henry promised to treat the Count of Toulouse leniently, out of regard to the French monarch. The ostensible motive of Henry's journey to Saint Denis was to accomplish a pilgrimage, or to perform some religious vow; but the real object was to recover, as far as possible, the good-will of the French king, and apparently to diminish, in some degree, the influence of Becket. Amongst other concessions or promises which the English sovereign made to Louis, was an engagement to send his son Richard to be educated at Paris by that king; but Henry was always liberal of promises which could be evaded, and this was certainly one which he did not intend to keep unless



compelled to do so. At this meeting with Louis, other transactions took place regarding Becket, which will be noticed shortly hereafter. But it is worthy of remark, that kings and princes in that day, notwithstanding the barbarism of the age, and the frequent acts of violence committed, trusted themselves in the hands of other monarchs whose amity was very doubtful, with a degree of frankness and confidence which the progress of civilisation unfortunately banished too soon.

After the meeting at Saint Denis, Henry's attention was turned once more towards Brittany; and, proceeding thither, he held his court in the town of Nantes, celebrated the festival of Christmas with the greatest splendour, received with hospitality and magnificence a number of the principal nobles and ecclesiastics of the duchy, and then made a complete tour through the whole of Geoffrey's possessions, causing the nobles to do homage to the prince who accompanied him, and preparing the province as far as possible for his own return to England, which was now about to take place. It would appear that he was followed by a considerable force, for his progress through the country is marked by an act, most of the circumstances attending which are left in darkness, but which—whatever was the necessity—must have been painful to Henry, if he had any human feeling left. It is evident, from the words used by all the historians of the time, that the unfortunate Eudes, Viscount of Porhoet, must have still been in arms against Henry at this period, or that he refused to do homage to Geoffrey; for it is certain that early in the year 1170, Henry entered his territories, destroyed almost everything that he found therein, forced Eudes to surrender at discretion, and had him tried and condemned to lose the whole of his possessions. Various historians of Brittany censure Henry's conduct in this instance, and declare that he violated the articles of Montmirail; but, as they throw no light upon the causes of Henry's conduct, and as the King of France, to whom any infraction of that treaty was both an injury and an insult, did not, that we can discover, either remonstrate against Henry's proceedings, or support the cause of Eudes in any manner, we are bound to suppose in this instance, as we did in regard of the barons of Aquitaine, that Henry was justified in the course he pursued.

The whole of Brittany being reduced to obedience, the

indefatigable King of England set out for his insular dominions in the first week of March. He was accompanied by a considerable armament; but a terrible storm overtook him in the Channel, and for many hours he was in danger of being wrecked. His whole fleet was dispersed, and one of the best of the ships by which he was escorted, and which contained his physician, several other officers of his household, and some noblemen of the highest distinction, perished, with more than four hundred persons on board. The number of persons this vessel contained is worthy of remark, as the size of the ship itself, which does not call for any particular observation on the part of the contemporary historians, must have been much larger than we are accustomed to ascribe to ships of that day.

Henry himself escaped from the storm, and arrived in safety at Portsmouth. His presence in England was greatly wanted; for peculation to an immense amount had taken place in this country during the long period of his absence, and one of his first acts after his return, was to call a parliament at Windsor during the festival of Easter, when, with the consent and authority of his council, he appointed an ambulatory commission of some of the most dignified and respectable men of his realm, for the purpose of inquiring into the malversations which had taken place during the absence of the king. This commission is one of the most extraordinary on record, and was probably modelled on that appointed by William the Conqueror for the purpose of compiling the famous Domesday-book. The commissioners in this instance, as in that, were empowered to examine all persons upon oath, of whatsoever rank they might be, regarding the subject of their inquiry; and the result was, the discovery of a mass of fraud and villany which induced the king to have recourse to another measure of a very extraordinary kind, namely, to dismiss almost all the sheriffs in the kingdom, with their inferior officers, and to take measures for punishing those persons who, holding hereditary jurisdictions, were not dependent for office on the king's pleasure.

The immediate object of the monarch, however, in returning to his kingdom, was to cause the coronation of his son Henry to be performed. It was a frequent custom\* in those days, when hereditary succession, either to estates or to the

\* The last time that this was done in Europe, was, *I believe*, in the case of Philip Augustus, which took place not long after.



royal dignity, had not been clearly and firmly established upon the basis of long and indisputable habit, for monarchs to guard against the caprices of their subjects, the pretences of ambitious relations, and all the many accidents which might occur to prevent a son from inheriting his father's throne, by causing the heir-apparent to be crowned during his father's lifetime, and thus to render it impossible for after opposition to take place, without the clear commission of treason. This act by no means implied either an abdication of the crown on the part of the father, or an association of the son to the royal authority. As far as I can discover, it only gave to the prince the name of king, and enabled him to rule, of right, in cases of his father's absence or incapacity.

But Henry had many motives at the present moment for performing a ceremony which was scarcely necessary in order to render the succession of his son secure. In the first place, he loved that son with a degree of weakness, which in all probability nurtured in him many of those gross faults and failings which rendered him an undutiful child, and which would have made him, there can be but little doubt, a cruel and tyrannical monarch. To do this favourite son honour, and to gratify his pride by the title of king, was certainly one of Henry's objects in his present proceeding. We find that he had entertained this purpose a considerable time before he put it into execution; but it is very clear that the design was renewed and carried rapidly forward, in order to obviate some of the evil consequences which might ensue from the peculiar position of the king and Becket.

To that part of the affairs of Henry which refers to the prelate we must once more turn; for the disputes with the archbishop now become so complicated with all the other events of the day, and have so great an effect upon the history of the years which follow, that they can be by no means omitted here.

I have mentioned the mission of the legates from Pope Alexander, during the time that his fortunes were at a low ebb; and I have shown that the Pope falsified his word to Henry, by diminishing, at the request of Becket and the French king, the powers which he had strictly promised to give, and which, indeed, he had actually given at the setting-out of the legates. He had promised in a most decided manner to furnish them with power to inquire, judge, and terminate, and he reduced that power to a mere shadow, only

permitting them to inquire and mediate. For this conduct, Henry reproached him in a bitter manner in the year 1169;\* but Becket, of course, rejoiced, treated the power of the legates with contempt, showed the utmost virulence and malignity towards William of Pavia, and endeavoured to sow divisions between him and his colleague by courting the one while he abused the other. It may be easily supposed that the mission was ineffectual; though, had the legates proceeded with the powers which had been first entrusted to them, the dispute would have terminated in the only way in which it could end with safety to any of the parties concerned; namely, by the abasement of the stubborn pride of Becket.

Thus failed the negotiation of the legates; and, although we do not find it positively stated, yet there is reason to believe that about this time the protectors of Becket began to be somewhat weary of his ambitious resistance. When the two Kings of England and France met at Montmirail, Becket was brought thither by the mediators, and was in some sort forced by the King of France to kneel to Henry and make submission; but the wily prelate contrived so to frame his speech, as to leave himself a reserve, which the king perceiving, refused to receive such an ineffectual act of submission. The monarch proposed other forms, but Becket refused to adopt any without conditions derogatory to Henry's dignity. On one occasion, the king suggested that the archbishop should promise to do for him what the greatest and holiest of his predecessors had done for the least of the kings of England; but Becket would not agree to this, even though the French monarch exclaimed with some indignation: "Would you be greater and wiser than all those holy men?"

Thus these dissensions remained unabated; and from that time, it would seem, the dispute between Henry and Becket assumed the form of a struggle of wits, both striving to prove which, by the cunningest and best covered artifice, could devise such a form of words as would bind the other to more than he meant, without his perceiving it. Fairly viewed,

\* In Rymer, the words he makes use of to the Pope are: "*Qui cum in potestate sicut Nuncii vestri ad nos reportaverunt, et litteris vestris continebatur expressum, quas adhuc penes nos habemus, quod missi fuissent, sicut per eosdem legatos, cum ad nos pervenissent accepimus, potestas illa, ad injuriam nostram, illis subtracta est.*"



there is not perhaps in the whole course of history such a display of meanness and duplicity, as that which is afforded by the conduct both of Henry and Becket at this period. Becket, however, had this great advantage, that the Pope, now rising again in power and authority, was driving on the King of England to hear new proposals every day by threats of using all the thunders of the see of Rome against him. It is true that all the terrors in which the Roman Church armed itself in the middle ages were ideal; but when ideal terrors, by the power of superstition, become influential with great masses of mankind, they are rendered substantially dangerous to those superior minds who understand them and abstractedly condemn them. Henry was himself superstitious; and though his contemporary, Frederic, would not have entertained the slightest apprehension of his own salvation, if all the popes and bishops of the last thousand years had anathematised him for what he knew to be right, yet the King of England might feel some dread. But had such not been the case, he might well and reasonably fear that the papal condemnation would gain power from the superstition of his people and his clergy, and that his authority might be shaken—even if the very bonds of society in his dominions were not dissolved—by the full expression of the indignation of Rome. He endeavoured, indeed, to keep the furious mandates of the archbishop out of England, but even in that attempt he was not successful; and he knew that at any time a sentence of excommunication or interdict could be diffused over the whole of his continental possessions. He had soon to learn to what an extent the clergy of England would be affected by the conduct of the Roman see. Becket, in spite of remonstrances even from the Pope, excommunicated at once every man who was inimical to him: the king's officers, the king's servants, the Bishop of London, the Bishop of Salisbury. In regard to the latter, Becket would not hold his hand nor recal the blow, even though Alexander himself entreated him to do so. Indeed, for that pope he seemed every day to be losing respect, in consequence, probably, of Alexander's tergiversation and double-dealing; and from some of his furious epistles, when Alexander did not do exactly what he wished, as well as from the account given by John of Salisbury of various letters that he wrote, but did not send, there is every reason to believe that he would have excommunicated the Pope himself, if he had dared. I write

these words without levity ; for the extent of his wrath and pride was such as to involve him in contradictions to the tenets of his Church fully as extraordinary ; and, on one occasion, referring to the Bishops of London and Salisbury, when the Pope absolved them, he forgot altogether the very foundation of the supremacy which he claimed for Rome, and declared that St. Peter himself, if he were on earth, could not absolve such sinners.

The bishops whom Becket excommunicated appealed to Rome, and on the appearance of new danger renewed their appeal. To pursue the whole course of the efforts made to bring about a compromise between him and Henry would occupy too great a space in this work ; suffice it to say, the Cardinals Gratian and Albert were sent to negotiate once more between the king and Becket, threatening the former with excommunication of his person and interdict upon his realm, if he did not grant peace to the archbishop within a certain time. The conferences were renewed frequently, but still without effect. Henry employed those means which he knew to be so effectual with the court of Rome : bribes, promises, and advantages ; but Louis was once more eager in the cause of Becket, and the Pope did not think fit both to sacrifice a great principle for which Rome had so long struggled, and the friendship of the French monarch. The danger of the interdict being pronounced thus became imminent.

Once more Henry renewed his prohibitions in regard to the introduction of the interdict, or any mandate of the kind, into England ; and the terms of the king's orders now show him at open war with the Church of Rome. Not only are those who introduce the interdict or obey it, threatened with the most severe punishments of the law, but those also who "favour the Pope or the archbishop ;" and the officers of counties and of towns are commanded to assemble the inhabitants, and to swear them to obey the king's mandate. This was done without the slightest resistance or opposition, and there cannot be any doubt that the whole laymen of the kingdom were universally in favour of Henry. The clergy, however, resisted. None of the bishops would take the oath ; Becket's mandates and denunciations found their way freely into England ; many of the high beneficed ecclesiastics retired into monasteries, declaring their resolution of obeying both the Pope and the Archbishop of Canterbury ; and everything



showed Henry that, should the interdict be passed, and sentence of excommunication pronounced upon himself, the whole clergy of his realm would not only resist his authority, but would use every means which superstition supplied, to induce the laymen of the kingdom to disregard the oath they had lately taken.

Under these circumstances, by causing his son Henry to be crowned king of England, he gave the nation a sovereign who had in no degree offended the Church of Rome, or merited her censures—from which substitution much obvious good might arise—while he retained to himself all the real power of the state, and only interposed the shield of his son's innocence between his realm and the papal thunders. But a difficulty existed: it had been held a prerogative of the see of Canterbury—though not without frequent dispute—that the primate should anoint the kings of England. No Archbishop of Canterbury was in the kingdom to perform this office; and Henry determined that it should be executed by the Archbishop of York, who had from the first shown himself inimical to Becket. The exile himself had ever been most anxious to perform the ceremony; and having gained some information of the king's design, he obtained hastily from Alexander a mandate, forbidding any other bishop than himself to consecrate Henry's heir, and declaring the coronation of the kings of England to belong of right to the see of Canterbury. This mandate, however, he was not able to make known in England till long after Henry's object was accomplished; and in the mean time a letter from the Pope, bearing every appearance of authenticity,\* was given to the Archbishop of York, directly opposed

\* It has been loudly asserted by Catholic writers that this letter was a forgery. It would seem improbable, indeed, that Alexander would so far commit himself as to give under his hand, within the space of a few weeks, two mandates perfectly contradictory of each other, and always to mention the one opposed to this as the only one he had given. Neither have we any proof that Henry, even in the slightest degree, attempted to justify his own act, or that of the Archbishop of York, by authority given to him by the Pope on this occasion; though he refers to an ancient mandate given before Becket was raised to the see of Canterbury. On the other hand, in support of Lord Lyttleton's view of the genuineness of this document, is the fact of the Pope acting at that very time similar double-dealing in regard to other matters. It will be seen, by the letter that I have transcribed regarding the legates, of the genuineness of which there is not the slightest doubt, that Alexander was playing an insincere game with Becket, entering into engagements obnoxious to Becket's views, and beseeching Henry to keep his promises profoundly secret, and to suffer his letter to be seen by no one. The same was also the case in regard to that negotiation which ended in the nominal reconcilia-

to that which was shortly afterwards received by Becket. By this the Archbishop of York was authorised to perform the ceremony, and the coronation of the prince accordingly took place at his hands.

Henry's fondness for his son is said to have led him on this occasion into acts unbecoming his dignity, both as a father and a king. During the banquet which followed the ceremony, he placed a dish with his own hands upon the table of the prince; and if we may believe the accounts of a writer not exactly contemporary, but very nearly so, the younger Henry, on the Archbishop of York noticing the honour which was paid him, replied that "it was no great honour for the son of a king to be served by the son of a count." But as this was written after the prince had displayed his haughty and ungovernable temper, it is not at all improbable that the saying was manufactured to suit the character. The coronation took place in June; and it is particularly remarked, that all orders of the state gladly consented to the act that was now performed.

Scarcely was the coronation of Henry completed, however, when the act produced consequences of a disastrous nature. The King of France, indignant that the ceremony had been performed without that of the Princess Margaret of France, the prince's wife, instantly took arms to avenge the insult which he thought had been offered to his daughter, and attacked the frontiers of Normandy with his usual furious intemperance. As soon as Henry was informed that such had been the case, he hastened back with all speed into France, to soothe by fair words, rather than to oppose by arms, the French monarch. It was not difficult for him to show, that, if he had not proceeded with some degree of secrecy,\* he might have encountered opposition from Becket, which would have greatly embarrassed his proceedings; and he assured the King of France, that the ceremony should be repeated, as soon as the pageantry of royalty could be prepared for the princess.

tion of Becket and the king, Alexander having settled the whole with Henry, even to the very form of words to be used, keeping it profoundly secret from Becket. In addition to these facts, the letter is to be found in the two best manuscripts of the correspondence in regard to this dispute; and its exclusion from the castrated manuscript of the Vatican is no impeachment of its authenticity.

\* This would appear from the manner in which the prince was suddenly called to England, Richard of Ivelcester being sent for him suddenly to Caen.



The Count of Blois would appear to have been the mediator on this occasion; and Henry's excuse was probably the true one; for there is some reason to believe that the young prince himself was not made acquainted with his father's intention till within a short period before his own coronation.

As soon as this matter was fully explained, Louis consented to meet Henry in a meadow at Freteval,\* in the neighbourhood of Vendôme, where peace was restored between them, and where Henry was prevailed upon to receive Becket upon an agreement in regard to his submission, which specified distinctly the terms of their reconciliation. These terms were no other than those which Henry himself had shortly before proposed to the Pope; but the English monarch having made up his mind to a disagreeable task, in his effort to overcome his repugnance, went beyond the point at which he ought to have stopped; and he displayed much greater familiarity and good-will towards the refractory prelate than was dignified or safe. He received him in the midst of his court, surrounded by a number of French and English nobles, though the King of France himself was not present. As soon as he beheld the archbishop, he advanced some way to meet him, spoke to him familiarly, promised to restore all things which had been taken from the church of Canterbury, as they were set down in a schedule drawn up by Becket, and to give peace and security to all his friends. Perhaps the king was a little elated by the triumph which he had gained, in causing his son to be crowned in opposition to all the efforts of Becket; for the archbishop had written mandates to the other English prelates, forbidding them to be present at the coronation of the young king upon pain of anathema. These letters, indeed, as well as one formerly mentioned from the Pope, the terror of Henry's late proclamation, and the fact of the king's presence in England, prevented from being delivered, or at least published, till the coronation was over; but the king was undoubtedly aware that they had been sent,

\* The name of this place has been wrongly written, and the place itself mistaken. Dr. Lingard calls it Freitville, but I am rather inclined to believe that there is no such place upon the face of the earth. I know of none such in France. Freteval is situated very near to Vendôme, on the Loir, which in that neighbourhood is employed in the various purposes of paper-mills and cloth manufactories. This river, be it remarked, is not the Loire, though the similarity of name has probably caused some of the many mistakes which have been made regarding Freteval.

and was also informed of various other measures which Becket had taken to prevent or delay the ceremony. He now, however, took Becket apart, conversed with him for some time, and seemed to have forgotten almost entirely their long enmity, and all the mortifications which he had received from the archbishop.

Notwithstanding these demonstrations of a full reconciliation with Becket, Henry refused, on the present occasion, to give him the kiss of peace, as was usually done in such circumstances. On this point Becket had insisted with great determination, but it had been left open in the agreement between Henry and the Pope, whether Henry was to do it in person, or to command his son the young king to perform that ceremony. It was indeed but a ceremony; yet we may easily conceive that it was a very distasteful one to the English king after all that had passed, especially if any portion of the insolent triumph which Becket displayed in his letters now appeared in his demeanour. The gracious behaviour of the king, however, so far elated the presumptuous prelate, that, if we may believe his own statements, he ventured in bold language to harangue his sovereign on this very first meeting, in regard to the faults which he thought fit to attribute to him. Henry received his admonitions with hypocritical meekness, though there can be little or no doubt that he was indignant at them in his heart. We have indeed no account but Becket's of the conversation that took place; and there is every probability that in his letter to the Pope, he employed no slight exaggeration regarding both his behaviour to the king and the king's demeanour towards him; for it is very natural that such should be the result of success upon a proud, and triumph upon a vain, man. He says, that the king spoke upon the subject of their late disputes with tears in his eyes, and calling those who had advised him traitors, promised to cast them off. If Henry did do all this, his weakness was as inexcusable as his hypocrisy was disgusting; but, nevertheless, we have great reason to suppose, as I have said, that there was a good deal of exaggeration in all this statement; for we find that in various substantial points the king, by Becket's own admission, would not at all give way, even in a matter where the archbishop evidently considered refusal as painful and humiliating. Henry thus forced Becket to make a petition to be received into grace



and favour, in the presence of all the bishops that surrounded him; and though the prelate took advantage of the favourable circumstances of the occasion to make a variation from the words which had been originally agreed upon, and softened the task by inducing the Archbishop of Sens to speak for him, he evidently considered the act a great humiliation. The king, it would appear, did not think it worth while to renew the dispute on account of the change which Becket had made in the terms of his petition; and the meeting concluded without any unpleasant circumstance, except a discussion in regard to some of Henry's friends and servants, with whom the archbishop, notwithstanding the urgent prayers of the Bishop of Lisieux, refused to be reconciled, and who in return treated him with contempt and reprobation.

From the demeanour of the archbishop at this meeting, Henry might very well judge that no concession on his part would ever make his former courtier his friend. In fact, he had armed the pride of his servant against himself, and the rebellion of pride is never to be quelled. A number of absurd stories were propagated, both at the time and afterwards, regarding Henry's private feelings towards Becket, and the monarch's words and actions in his own court. Some of these were reported to the prelate, and probably believed by him; but some have certainly been manufactured since, for the purpose of blackening the character of Henry. Thus it was said that the king had sworn, immediately before the meeting with Becket, never to give him the kiss of peace; and William of Nangis declares that he caused a mass for the dead to be celebrated, on his pretended reconciliation with his archbishop. The latter tale is certainly false, and the former probably so, though Henry had undoubtedly sworn long before not to give him the kiss of peace, from the obligations of which oath he had been absolved by the Pope.

The first proceedings of the monarch promised fairly for the fulfilment of all his engagements towards the archbishop. He immediately sent messengers into England, bearing letters to his son, with an express command to restore to the see of Canterbury, and to all Becket's friends, the lands and possessions which had been taken from them, exactly as they had enjoyed them three months before they had quitted England. Becket indeed sought to obtain more—namely,

compensation for all that had been received by the king during his absence; and, though the Pope prevented him from urging this point at the time, the prelate never pretended that he would ultimately give it up. Thus the King of England and the archbishop parted, with the seeds of fresh dissensions ready to burst forth, and bear bitter fruit. Henry returned hastily from Freteval into Normandy; but scarcely had he arrived, when—perhaps in consequence of the suppression of his feelings and the struggle with himself which must have taken place during his meeting with Becket, he was seized with a violent fit of illness, and for some time his life seems to have been despaired of. In this state, the king made a disposition of his territories by will, leaving to his son Henry Normandy and Touraine, in addition to Anjou and Maine, confirming the gift of Aquitaine to Richard, and putting the solemn sanction of his last act to the establishment he had formed for Geoffrey in Brittany. For his youngest son John, who was yet in infancy, he made no provision of any kind, but left him to the generosity and affection of his eldest brother;\* and with this exception, his will would seem to have contained very nearly the same disposition of his property, as might have been made at present under our existing laws and customs. The eldest son enjoyed the whole hereditary estates of his father, the second son inherited the portion of his mother, and the third received that which had been obtained for him by marriage with an heiress, together with the territory which his father had acquired—namely, the county of Nantes, which Henry had reannexed to Brittany, as soon as that duchy was assured to his son Geoffrey. Another point in this will I must notice, as marking that superstition which I have before mentioned as one of the prominent inconsistencies in the character of Henry the Second. Looking forward to his death, he ordered himself to be buried in the abbey of Grammont, and at the feet of one of the abbots. It is also to be remarked, that during his illness Henry made a vow to Notre Dame de Roque Madour in Quercy, to perform a pilgrimage to her shrine if he recovered; and, on his fever

\* Hoveden differs from this statement; but if anything was left to John, it was of little importance. I am inclined to believe that, in the passage of Hoveden, which reports the king's will, an erroneous transposition of some words has been made by the copyist.



taking a fortunate turn, he attributed that event entirely to the beneficent influence of the saint, and fulfilled his engagement with the utmost devotion.

In the mean time, however, it is probable that both the insolent triumph which Becket displayed in all his letters, and the exertions which that ambitious prelate employed to gain from the Pope such unlimited authority as must have brought all the clergy of England to his feet, and left the king, as far as clerical power could go, entirely at his mercy, had been fully exposed to Henry; and it is very clear that much was made known, which showed the monarch more distinctly than ever, that Becket was determined still to pursue that course of exaction and menace by which he had already succeeded in carrying so many points of importance. The king, however, committed a great error in neglecting to enforce the restitution which he had already ordered. That this neglect was wilful, there can be no doubt; and when, some time after his recovery, Becket visited him, and accompanied him to a meeting with the Count of Blois, Henry received him coldly. In answer to the prelate's remonstrances regarding the non-restitution of the sequestered estates, he retaliated by a charge of ingratitude, and bade Becket return to England, that he might see how he would behave in that kingdom. He added, however, a renewal of the promise, that full restitution should be made to him. On a second visit, made by Becket to the king at the town of Caumont, no such bitter discussions took place, and Henry received him with more affability and kindness. Still the restitution was shamefully delayed; and Becket prepared to return into England, having engaged the Pope once more to insist that the estates should be restored, which was only ultimately done in consequence of a renewed threat of excommunication and interdict.

However factious and turbulent was the conduct of the prelate, that of Henry was certainly mean and unworthy. He suffered himself to be driven slowly to fulfil his promises, and even in accomplishing them he permitted his servants and ministers to commit disgraceful acts towards Becket and his friends, which they dared not have done, had he not connived at their proceedings. Ranulph de Broc, into whose custody the estates belonging to the see of Canterbury had been given, pillaged and wasted the lands in a disgraceful

manner; and there is every reason to believe that in many other instances where the friends of Becket were concerned, the same conduct took place. Instead of giving back the estates as they had been three months before the exile's departure, De Broc swept them of the whole produce on the tidings of his return, and laid up the stores in his own castle; and Henry, who had certainly given Becket reason to suppose that he would furnish him with a sum of money to pay his debts and defray the expenses of his journey, pitifully withheld the supply, and left him to find his way back without assistance.

At the same time, warning after warning poured in upon Becket that his life was in danger, if he set foot in England without having taken means to effect a more sincere reconciliation with the king. It was represented to him, and truly, that the friends and servants of Henry, knowing that their master was in reality as inimical to him as ever, would not hesitate to insult and injure him. Ranulph de Broc had been heard to swear that he should never eat a loaf of bread in England; and it is evident from Becket's own letters, that on the present occasion he entertained serious apprehensions of the consequences which would ensue from his return to his native country. He was resolved to do so, however, at all risks; for there can be no doubt that personal ambition was now so thoroughly blended and intermingled with clerical enthusiasm and superstitious devotion as to be perfectly inseparable from them, and that he was sincere in his belief, that in labouring for his own purposes, he was labouring also for the Church; that his own heart in fact deceived him, and that he was not aware of the real motives on which he acted. In these circumstances, he wrote a letter to Henry, taking leave of him before he went, in a totally different style from any of his other epistles, mild and benevolent, though calm and dignified; and, had the rest of his actions, even at this time, been consistent with the tone of that letter, he might have averted the fate that befel him, and have deserved, if he had not obtained the name of Saint.

Such, however, was by no means the case. What prompted him to write that letter it is scarcely possible to tell; but nearly at the same period he was engaged in instigating the Pope, by gross misrepresentations, not only to suspend the



Archbishop of York and all the suffragans of Canterbury who had taken any part in the coronation of the young King Henry, but to renew the excommunication of the Bishops of London and Salisbury. When he found, however, that the Pope mentioned openly in his mandate the false reports on which his sentence was grounded, and even carried his indignation further than was prudent, Becket took credit to himself for beseeching him to alter his severe decree, without, however, confessing that the basis on which it had been pronounced was not a just one. He most artfully contrived to assume the character of mediator, and at the same time to solicit the discretionary power either of suspending, or merely admonishing the suffragan bishops, and of threatening or actually excommunicating the king, the Bishop of London and the Bishop of Salisbury, which, had it been conceded, would have given him the most enormous authority in England that was ever possessed by one prelate.

The Pope did not in every point grant his request; but he sent him letters of excommunication and of suspension, to be despatched by him to the Bishops of London and Salisbury, as he might judge expedient. Alexander also furnished him with various other powers, enabling him to recal the sentence upon those two prelates when he thought fit; though the sentence of suspension which the Pope himself pronounced upon the Archbishop of York he reserved altogether in his own hands.

One of the remarkable points in Becket's letters at this period is, that while he was writing to Henry in a strain with which a Christian prelate might well address his sovereign, he was, in his letters to the Pope, comparing his master to a wild beast, requiring a strong chain and a hard stick to keep him in order; thus at once insulting the person and assailing the authority of one whom he had sworn to honour and defend.

Henry was not deceived by the apparent humility and charity of Becket's letter to himself; and, indeed, it is very probable that some of his emissaries at the court of the Roman pontiff furnished him with a copy of all that the archbishop wrote to the Pope. We know that shortly before this period, a complete transcript of all the correspondence had been brought over from Rome by one of his envoys; and it is not to be doubted that he obtained rapid information of all that

was said or done by Becket himself or his agents at this time also. Indignant, therefore, as he well might be, he made an excuse not to give the archbishop a last meeting before he went over, but sent one of the prelate's bitterest enemies, John of Oxford, to accompany him to England, on the pretence of doing him honour. This was malevolent and unworthy; but, at the same time, Henry on essential points demeaned himself with greater generosity. We have reason to know that John of Oxford was commanded to provide strictly for Becket's safety, and to guard him against any insult or injury at his landing; and he also bore a letter from Henry to his son, who had remained in England, directing him to put the prelate into possession of all that belonged to him, and to amend all that had been left undone which ought to have been done.

This, if not as much as could have been expected of the king, was certainly a great concession; but on Becket's arrival at Whitsand, on his way to Sandwich, he was informed that Ranulph de Broc, Reginald de Warrenne, and others, instigated, he was told, by the Bishops of London and Salisbury and the Archbishop of York, were waiting on the opposite shores of England to search his baggage on his landing, and take from him the mandates of the Pope. He was already furious at those prelates, not only on account of their opposition, but on account of a plan which they had drawn up for the king, in regard to filling up the vacant bishoprics, which would have diminished the archbishop's influence, or have brought him into opposition with a great number of the most respectable members of the clergy. The tidings which he received at Whitsand, acting upon a mind already highly irritated, induced him to take that step which ended fatally for himself. He contrived to find emissaries to carry over the mandates the day before he himself crossed the water, and to deliver them immediately to the Archbishop of York and the two bishops. He then proceeded boldly to Sandwich, where Ranulph de Broc and his companions were waiting, though the threats which the first of those gentlemen had used was not unknown; and some of the prelate's informants had told him at Whitsand, that it was the intention of De Broc and his comrades to put him to death on his landing. No sooner, however, did John of Oxford perceive them in arms with a large body of followers, than he ad-



vanced, and prohibited them, on pain of the king's utmost displeasure, to offer either insult or injury to Becket or any of his followers, and he obliged them to suffer the prelate to proceed without any search whatsoever.

The lower orders of people received the exile on his return with demonstrations of the utmost joy and satisfaction; and both at Sandwich and at Canterbury acclamations and gratulations greeted him as he passed. The inferior clergy came forth to meet him with banners and crucifixes; the monks of his own abbey followed; and hymns and psalms, and texts of Scripture, found a new and somewhat blasphemous application to the return of the archbishop.

The close of all, however, was now near at hand, and Becket seems to have felt that fate was pressing him hard on every side; yet still he went on in the same course, probably believing that he was serving God, when in truth he was serving only his own pride and resentment. The bishops whom he had excommunicated sent to notify to him their appeal to the Pope;\* but at the same time it would appear that they had applied for protection to the young king, for he also sent messengers to Becket, commanding him strictly to absolve the archbishop and the two bishops, inasmuch as the act of excommunication was injurious to the king and subversive of the laws of the kingdom.

The young king, however, informed him, at the same time, that the two bishops, after having received absolution, should come to him and submit themselves to the canons of the Church, *saving the honour of the kingdom*. Becket now made a double and deceitful reply. It is proved beyond all doubt, that although he had no jurisdiction in the case of the Archbishop of York, he had authority if he thought fit to revoke

\* The tremendous sentence of excommunication was pronounced upon these prelates, solely upon the charge of their having been present at the coronation of the young King Henry, a ceremony which Becket claimed a right to perform as Archbishop of Canterbury; and in regard to which, the Pope himself was so very uncertain as to where the right lay, that the terms he makes use of in one of his undoubted letters are "contempto eodem archiepiscopo, ad cujus hoc officium de antiquo jure *dicitur* pertinere;" and in another part of the same letter, he marks it as doubtful, whether the Archbishop of York would not have had a right to perform the ceremony in his own province. Yet merely upon the charge of what he only judges on hearsay to be a fault (*ut dicitur*), he permits Becket to fulminate the severest sentence that the Church could inflict upon two prelates, on one of whom, the Bishop of London, he had himself passed the highest eulogium, and to the other of whom he was bound by old friendship and affection. The tender mercies of his holiness were certainly somewhat sharp, as well as somewhat capricious.

the sentence upon the other two prelates; but he replied, that an inferior judge had not the power to release from the sentence of a superior judge, and that no man could undo what the apostolic see had done. Had he added the words "without the authority of that see," he would have dealt more honestly.

A vehement discussion ensued between Becket and the officers of the young king, in which very violent threats were used towards the archbishop, who was at length induced to offer to absolve the bishops upon their taking a certain oath, which the Archbishop of York pronounced to be unlawful and contrary to the king's dignity. Sharp discussions were renewed upon this subject; and at length the bishops determined to proceed to Normandy, and inquire the will of their sovereign. At the same time they sent messengers to the younger Henry at Woodstock, telling him that the Archbishop of Canterbury was endeavouring to *tear the crown off his head*.

Much has been said about this expression by writers on both sides; but in the only sense in which it could be understood at that time, it was perfectly correct. Becket's view in the whole of these latter proceedings, was at once to take vengeance on the bishops, and to prove the coronation of the young king null and of no effect, thus virtually taking the crown off his head. His object was self-evident; and the imperious youth with whom he had to do was indignant and enraged in proportion. With this result, Becket was much mortified; for he had reason to believe that the younger Henry was friendly towards him, and he accordingly set out to make his peace at Woodstock, followed by a large train and three fine horses, which he intended to offer to the prince as a propitiation. In London, however, he was met by messengers from the young king, commanding him in severe terms to retire immediately to the precincts of his church with all that belonged to him. The prelate returned a haughty answer, but obeyed the order; and seeing that no measures would now be kept, he determined to commence the war himself, and on Christmas-day anathematised a number of persons attached to the court, at the same time telling the congregation that his dissolution was near. It is probable that he really felt the probability of the event he predicted: for the higher classes of the country, in whose hands reposed the power of the realm at that time, held aloof from him, and



few, if any, visited him in Canterbury. He stood unmoved however, and firm, with a constancy and courage worthy of a better cause, showing no fear, or doubt, or hesitation.

In the mean while, the excommunicated bishops had joined the king in Normandy; and on hearing what had taken place, Henry burst into one of those fearful and frenzied fits of passion which too often assailed him; he vowed with blasphemous oaths, that he would not be omitted in the number of those who were excommunicated solely because they had been present at his son's coronation; and in the madness of his rage he said, "I am very unfortunate to have maintained so many cowardly and ungrateful men in my court, none of whom will revenge the injuries I have sustained from one turbulent priest."

Henry probably forgot the words as soon as they were spoken, but they were taken up by others; and four gentlemen of his bed-chamber engaged to do away the reproach which the king had cast upon them, binding themselves by oath one to another, either to force Becket to absolve the bishops, to carry him out of England, or to slay him if he resisted. Thus resolved, they set off instantly for England without the king's knowledge, and after a speedy passage and short journey, arrived at the castle of Ranulph de Broc, where they found an adviser of no very scrupulous or tender nature. With him they took council during that night, and prepared to execute their determination on the following day.

In the mean while, Henry's anger against Becket assumed a more rational and definite form than at first; and finding that no peace was to be kept with that prelate, he determined at all risks to deal with him as a sovereign correcting a subject.\* Before he could take measures in consequence of this resolution, however, it was discovered that four noblemen of high family† and gentlemen of his bed-chamber, William de

\* I cannot suppose that Henry's determination to arrest Becket merely proceeded from a desire to place his person in security, as Lord Lyttleton has supposed. I have no doubt at all that his purpose was formed very soon to arrest the prelate, and not to suffer him to escape so as to hold communication with the see of Rome; and that his words that *if all were excommunicated who had attended his son's coronation, he would not be exempt*, referred to this design.

† It is always particularly noticed by the historians of that period, that the four murderers of Becket were persons of the highest distinction, both by birth and military renown. Thus William of Newbury says: "Tunc quatuor assistentium procerum viri genere nobiles, et militiæ actibus clari." And Hoveden calls them "Viri quidem generis præminentia conspicui."

Tracy, Hugh de Moreville, Reginald Fitzurse, and Richard Brito, had suddenly left the court without leave, and were said to have gone to England. Henry might recollect that it was in the presence of these gentlemen that he had spoken the rash words which implied a wish that some one would chastise his enemy Becket; and fears lest they should meditate the death of the prelate seemed at once to have taken possession of his mind. It is probable that many accidental circumstances attending the mode of their departure tended to confirm these apprehensions, and the king sent forth messengers to all the ports of Normandy to stop the four knights ere they could cross the Channel. At the same time, he despatched Richard de Humet, the Grand Justiciary of Normandy, into England with all speed, bearing a message to the young king, to the effect that he should cause the primate to be arrested without loss of time. Richard de Humet arrived in England almost as soon as Fitzurse and his companions. He was accompanied by a number of noblemen of the king's household, and immediately on landing he despatched two of them to the young king, in order to obtain the assistance and countenance of that prince's officers in executing the commands of his father upon the archbishop; Humet himself remaining, to take measures for guarding the coast, lest Becket should obtain information of the orders issued for his arrest, and once more escape to the continent, where he had already done so much mischief. By this time, however, the prelate was under the arrest of a more powerful arm.

In the castle of Ranulph de Broc, the four conspirators found every assistance that they could desire for the execution of their purpose. Their host had been entrusted by Henry with the defence and guardianship of the coast of Kent; and he had consequently at his command a considerable body of soldiers, which he placed immediately at the disposal of the four knights. How many of these they took with them in their further proceedings does not appear; but, at all events, they were so strongly accompanied, that they could have overpowered any resistance which was likely to be made.

Concealing their arms, and dividing their force, so as not to alarm their victim before the object was effected, they approached Canterbury in the morning of the 29th of December, 1170, and the four leaders proceeded unarmed



to the archbishop's palace. They there sent in an attendant to inform Becket that they bore him a message from the king, upon which they were immediately admitted to a chamber where he was conversing with several clergymen. The knights, with threatening looks, and without answering his salutation, demanded if he would hear the king's message in private or in public. He replied, as they pleased; and Fitzurse accordingly bade him dismiss the clergy. Becket thereupon requested his friends to retire into another room; but some one kept the door open; and the fierce tones and angry gestures of the knights soon caused Becket to call the clergy to his side again. In their presence Fitzurse then commanded him in the king's name to absolve the excommunicated bishops. Becket replied at first in the same deceitful manner that he had done once before; saying that the sentence was the Pope's, not his, and that he could not revoke it; but the moment after, he boldly and more honestly acknowledged that the punishment of the bishops was not displeasing to him. Thereupon Fitzurse burst forth into furious invectives, and a long dispute ensued between him and Becket, regarding some words which the primate asserted the king had spoken in the presence of Fitzurse, and which he construed into a justification of what he had done in respect of the bishops. Fitzurse told him repeatedly that his assertion was false, and in the end commanded him in the king's name to depart, with all who belonged to him, out of the kingdom of England, as he had broken the agreement by which only he obtained peace from the king. In reply, Becket declared positively that he would not obey, and they in return informed him that it would be at the peril of his head if he did not. The archbishop then asked, "Have you come to kill me?" adding, that their swords were not more ready to strike than he was to suffer martyrdom.

It is evident that the four knights had not yet fully made up their minds to the terrible act which they ultimately committed; for they now turned to the clergy in Becket's presence, commanding them to secure the person of the archbishop, and telling them that they should be answerable for him if he escaped. Becket, however, scoffed at the idea of flight; and the four noblemen leaving him, commanded the knights of his household, as they passed out, to follow them

in the king's name, which would appear to have been executed without resistance.

In the course of the day proclamation was made in the town of Canterbury for all persons to remain quiet, waiting the execution of the king's will upon the archbishop; and, though an awful apprehension of what was coming was general throughout the city and neighbourhood, yet, strange to say, no measures were taken to prevent it. Becket himself seems now to have been perfectly prepared for, and ready to meet his fate. When some of his companions reproached him for the sharp and angry terms with which he had answered Fitzurse, and said that he should have taken counsel, the archbishop replied, "There is no need of more counsel now;" and when told that his enemies were arming, he said, "Well, let them arm; what matters it?" His servants, however, barred the doors of the abbey; and at the hour of vespers his friends led him into the cathedral by his private way, thinking that security would be found in the house of God.

The four knights in the mean time had consulted long together, and we find that at this period Robert de Broc was with them. There was evidently some hesitation remaining in their minds, and they afterwards declared that even when they returned to the abbey their design was merely to arrest the archbishop, and carry him in chains to the king; but it is not unlikely that they suffered the vague idea of killing him to mingle with their purposes, as a thing that might happen in the course of events, rather than as a definitive purpose; for men very seldom allow their mind to form a clear picture beforehand of the crimes they are about to commit. They go to the scene not unwilling to commit them, but without forming any intention, leave accident to produce the impulse which carries them on to the extreme.

The knights, however, armed themselves, and followed by the soldiery, proceeded to the abbey a little after three o'clock in the evening. On finding the doors closed, they prepared to break them down; but Robert de Broc, who was with them, and who seems to have known the locality well, pointed out a window by which they could enter more easily, and of this they immediately took advantage. They then ran hastily through the palace, searching for the archbishop; but not finding him there, they hastened to the cathedral, from which was proceeding the sound of the evening service. By this



time, the monks had become aware that the knights and their followers were in the palace, and they hastened to lock the door which led thence to the cathedral. Some of the monks, it would appear, even placed themselves on the outside of it, probably with the generous view of interposing between the archbishop and his pursuers. Becket himself, however, unlocked the door, saying, "You must not make a fortress of the church; I did not come hither to resist, but to suffer." He then called in the monks who were without, and walked calmly up to the high altar.

It was now twilight; and the knights with twelve followers rushing in, demanded loudly, "Where is the traitor?" Becket made no reply; but when Fitzurse exclaimed, "Where is the archbishop?" he turned towards him, saying, "Here am I—a priest, but no traitor; what would you with me?"

The knights thereupon, in the king's name, commanded him once more to absolve the bishops. Becket replied, that they had not made satisfaction for their offence, and that he would not absolve them. His murderers then told him that he should die if he did not; and he replied firmly, "I am ready to die that the Church may obtain liberty and peace by my blood; but in the name of God, I command you not to hurt any of my people."

The barons and their followers now rushed forward and seized him, endeavouring to drag him out of the church, most probably with the purpose of killing him in a less holy place; but Becket resisted; and being a strong man, they could not force him from one of the columns of the choir, to which he clung. The struggle excited the passions of all; and unhappily, Becket, at that moment, once more forgot the high and dignified demeanour which had characterised his latter actions, and as Fitzurse pressed harder on him than any of the rest, the archbishop thrust him violently from him, and called him by an opprobrious name. The baron, furious at the insult, drew his sword, and aimed a blow at the head of the prelate. All the archbishop's followers had fled but one devoted friend, his cross-bearer, who, seeing the descending blow, while Becket crossed his hands and bowed his head to receive it, weakened its force by interposing his arm, which was broken, and nearly severed from his body. So heavy was the stroke, however, that, notwithstanding this obstacle, it dashed off the archbishop's cap, and wounded him on the

head. No murmur broke from his lips; and only recommending his soul to God, he remained firm in the same position, with his hands clasped and his head bent, till, after enduring a second blow unshaken, a third laid him upon the pavement without a groan.

The butchers then mangled the dead body with repeated wounds; and one Hugh of Horsea, a subdeacon who had joined the other conspirators at Canterbury, had the horrible brutality to scatter his brains about with the point of a sword.

This done, they left the body, and hastened to the palace, which they searched strictly; and gave all the papers that they found to Ranulph de Broc, with directions to carry them to the king. They are said also to have pillaged the archbishop's dwelling; but there is no reason to believe this; and it is certain that they made their way speedily out of Canterbury, and passed the night somewhere without the walls. It must have been an awful moment for the murderers, when they first awakened from the delirium of fury and excitement in which they had committed their great crime—when they recollected that it was done—that the seal of fate was upon it—that they had slain, without any lawful warrant, without even the excuse of battle or strife, a priest at the altar, the consecrated servant of the God they themselves worshipped, in the very act of offering adoration to his divine Master. All their after acts show how great was the effect of remorse upon them. They seemed bewildered and confused, not knowing what was to be done next—not knowing which way to turn their steps—where to seek an asylum, where to find repose. On the morning of the following day they again appeared before the gates of Canterbury in arms, but did not enter the city; pausing for some time under the walls, and then withdrawing again. It would appear that they remained in Kent for some days; but in the end they retired to the north of England, and took refuge in the castle of Knaresborough in Yorkshire, belonging to Hugh de Moreville, where they remained for some months, not daring to present themselves at the court of the king, and not attempting to justify in any way the act they had committed.

In the mean while, the monks of Canterbury and friends of Thomas Becket, but more especially John of Salisbury,



whose impudent invention the scheme probably was,\* determined to gain for their murdered pastor the reputation of a saint; and scarcely was he laid in the tomb, ere a number of fictitious miracles were enacted to confirm the holy reputation of the archbishop. Ignorance and superstition, from a very early period, not contented with making others share with our Saviour and his immediate disciples in the glory and power of working miracles during their lives upon earth, have claimed for persons to whom it was thought right to attribute particular holiness, the posthumous privilege of sanctifying the spots where their bodies are inhumed; and by some extraordinary influence, performing wonderful cures, and other marvellous acts, in favour of those who visit the places of their mortal repose. The greediness of superstition, however, is never satisfied; and not only the spot where Becket lay, and the spot where he was buried, were claimed for the working of miracles, but also the pavement before the high altar; and, in progress of time, the dead archbishop obtained a retrospective effect for his sanctity. Thus we find, from Hoveden and others, that after-historians discovered miracles which Becket had even performed in his lifetime, almost at the very period when he was perjuring himself at Clarendon, and breaking his oath at Northampton. It is really painful to read the accounts of water being turned into wine, and of the other blasphemous parodies of our Saviour's miracles, which were attributed to this prelate, by the knavery of some, and the superstition of others.

The struggle between Becket and Henry was now over, but not the consequences, either of that struggle itself, or of the event with which it terminated; and well might Henry be both horrified and alarmed, when the murder of the archbishop was communicated to him. We are assured by the Bishop of Lisieux that, when the news was brought, he burst into the most frantic expressions of despair. He then seemed for a considerable time perfectly stupified and overwhelmed by the intelligence, though no one but himself could tell what were the feelings which agitated his bosom at that moment. Whether horror of a deed so black and infamous

\* No assertion seems to have been too gross and barefaced for this very elegant writer, but false and malignant man. He has the impudence to declare, that of *his own knowledge* the most extraordinary miracles were performed, both at the spot where Becket's blood was shed, and the tomb where he reposed.

was not crossed with other sensations of various kinds, and what those sensations were—whether some degree of rejoicing at his deliverance from a strife that had appeared interminable, gleamed through the darkness which Becket's death brought upon his mind—and whether some memories of old affection did not in any degree make him regret the man whom he had loved as a friend, before he hated him as an adversary: these are questions that now never can be answered; but the prospect of the future was quite sufficiently dark and ominous to account for the agony of grief into which the king was plunged. He remained for three days as it were stupified, scarcely interchanging a word with any one, paying no attention to the affairs of state, and neglecting to give even the most necessary orders. At length, however, on the fourth day he was roused in a degree from this sad condition by the urgent representations and arguments of some of his best friends; and the good Bishop of Lisieux now undertook to write an exculpatory letter to the Pope, setting forth Henry's abhorrence of the crime that had been committed, mentioning the means that the king had taken to stop the murderers in their progress into England, and at the same time displaying in forcible language the profound grief and agony of mind which he suffered when the fatal result was known. An embassy was also appointed to proceed at once to the pontifical court, comprising a number of distinguished persons, and having the Archbishop of Rouen at its head. The latter, however, was prevented by age and infirmity from going on into Italy, though he set out for that purpose.

While taking these measures to modify the Pope, Henry did not fail to employ means for exculpating himself in the eyes of the clergy. He sent messengers into England to confer with the monks of Canterbury, to express his grief for what had occurred, and to do honour to the remains of Becket, should his body not have been buried before their arrival. But at the same time, the two chaplains who were entrusted with this mission, were instructed to speak of the provocation which the king had received from the prelate, in a manner more firm and decided than might have been expected from the circumstances.

Active enemies, however, were now using every effort to counteract all that Henry was doing. The malignant John



of Salisbury was employing all the means that presented themselves to prejudice his master's cause. Two monks who had been chaplains to Becket, were sent to Rome, in fact, as accusers of the English monarch. Furious letters and messages were despatched to Alexander, by Louis King of France, by the Count of Blois, and by the Archbishop of Sens.\* Every one judged the cause of Henry without hearing his defence; every one condemned him before they really knew what had taken place. The Archbishop of Sens, indeed, went further than any of the rest; for, by virtue of a power given to the Archbishop of Rouen and to himself as apostolic legate, he pronounced a sentence of interdict against the king's continental dominions. But in this sentence the Archbishop of Rouen refused to concur, and the clergy of Henry's territories in France seemed to have paid no attention whatsoever to the unsupported denunciations of the Archbishop of Sens.

In the mean time, the monarch's messengers repaired to Italy; but difficulties, dangers, and inconveniences of various kinds impeded them on their way; and ere they could reach Frascati, where the Pope then was, he had received a thousand contradictory statements in regard to their coming. At first they had great difficulty in obtaining a hearing; when admitted to a public audience, their voices were drowned in clamour; and when afterwards they were indulged with a private hearing, they could draw no favourable answer from the pontiff. They were subsequently admitted to another public audience, in which the two chaplains of Becket pleaded against them; and they were ultimately informed, even by the cardinals most friendly to England, that it was the Pope's intention on the Thursday before Easter to pronounce sentence of excommunication against the king, and of interdict against the realm of England, as well as to confirm the decree of Becket in regard to the bishops.

Three of Henry's ambassadors had stayed behind at Sienna, on account of the dangers of the road between that place and Frascati; but those who had gone on were so terrified by the

\* The letters of this prelate are not a little abusive; the following are the terms in which he speaks of his fellow-prelates, the Archbishop of York and the Bishops of London and Salisbury: "Rogerum videlicet Archiepiscopum Eboracensem, diabolum illum, et Londoniensem Episcopum Gillebertum, et Jocelinum Salisbiriensem Episcopum; non Episcopos sed postaticos," &c. Such was the Christian charity of the apostolic legate.

papal menaces, that they took an oath that their master should obey implicitly whatever mandate the Pope should issue. Their colleagues, however, on arriving from Sienna, were startled at a concession which went far beyond their instructions, and refused to enter into such an engagement. The Pope, upon this, became furious, confirmed the interdict of the Archbishop of Sens, and forbade Henry to enter any church. He, however, promised to send legates to *see his humility*; a term which, like many other papal expressions, meant more than it seemed to imply at first sight. Very speedily, however, a change was worked in Alexander's counsels. The Bishops of London and Salisbury were absolved upon easy terms. The other sentences were suspended; the Pope wrote to Henry with his own hand, inviting him to humility; and there can be but very little doubt, that about the same time, the pecuniary resources of many members of the college of cardinals were considerably increased by the bounty of a grateful and expectant monarch.

Such being the case, and it appearing certain both to Henry himself and to others that his absolution would be easily obtained, that monarch ventured to leave his continental dominions, where he had been once more detained far longer than was expedient. He returned to England on the 7th of August, 1171, and immediately proceeded to execute an enterprise which was calculated to increase his reputation, and for which all the circumstances were extremely favourable. No disturbances, no tumult whatever, had taken place in consequence of the death of Becket; though it would appear that the young king had apprehended some evil to result from the gathering together of such a number of enthusiasts as began to frequent the shrine of the martyr. Nothing of the kind, however, occurred; and there can be little doubt that the great body of the English nobility, though they very likely would not have countenanced in any way the deed that had been perpetrated, rejoiced in the deliverance of the realm from such a pest as Becket had proved himself. Thus everything in England was tranquil.

In Wales an immense change had taken place, favourable in the highest degree to the views of Henry. Owen Gwyneth had died about two years before, after a troublous, but glorious and memorable reign. He left behind him a multitude of children by various wives and concubines. His eldest legiti-



mate son, who, according to the usage which was beginning to prevail throughout Europe, would have naturally succeeded to the throne, was excluded, it would appear, on account of an objection which is not usually considered fatal to the royal succession. This was a defect in his nose. Howel, his natural brother, a prince of great courage, and a well-proportioned nasal organ, was chosen in his stead. His younger legitimate brother, however, named Davis, descended in both lines from royal ancestors, did not tamely bear the elevation of Howel, but raised an army, encountered his brother in battle, defeated and slew him, some little time before the death of Becket. His success was not sufficiently complete, however, to justify him in courting the enmity of a powerful neighbour, like Henry, King of England; and much was still left for him to do, in order to seat himself in the government, at the period of Henry's return to England. In the civil wars which had taken place, the power of the English and Flemish colonies in Wales had been suffered to increase; the vast confederacy which had been formed for the purpose of casting off the English yoke, had been dissolved; and the warlike nobles of the neighbouring country, who still retained fortresses and districts in Wales, had found means to extend their power, and strengthen themselves in possession. In South Wales, Rees ap Gryffyth had been committing some ravages upon the territories of the English adherents; but he had lost his great strength when the confederacy of the princes of North Wales was broken, and he was unable to resist alone the forces which Henry could bring against him.

Thus everything disposed the princes of Wales to cultivate, even by a new sacrifice of their independence, the friendship and forbearance of Henry. Nor was their friendship and submission of less importance to the King of England at that moment, for he now meditated annexing to his other dominions the rich and beautiful sister island of Ireland, whose long wrongs and misfortunes may date their origin from the ambition of this king, and from some of the faults and follies of his own children, at this very period of which I speak. Early in Henry's reign, that monarch had determined to subdue the neighbouring island; and having not the slightest earthly claim to dominion over Ireland, he applied to the manufactory of unjust titles—the Roman chancery; and upon the pretence of reforming the manners of the people,

and correcting the irregularities of the clergy, he obtained from Adrian IV., who had no right to give it, a donation which he had no right to accept.\* This donation is explained by the Bishop of Chartres, who obtained it, as a gift of Ireland, to be held by hereditary right. Other circumstances had intervened, and the assertion of this iniquitous claim had not been made; but during Henry's absence on the continent, one of the minor Irish sovereigns, Dermot, King of Leinster, a savage and barbarous tyrant, being embroiled in warfare with another Irish sovereign of the name of O'Ruark, or O'Roork, and finding his own subjects rising in great numbers against his tyranny, fled to England in the year 1166, to beseech aid of Henry. That monarch being in his continental dominions, Dermot followed him to Aquitaine, offering, if Henry would restore him to his kingdom, to hold it by homage, as a fief of the English crown. Henry accepted the offer, but only gave Dermot some small pecuniary assistance, and a general licence to raise troops in his dominions. Dermot found no small difficulty, we are told, in raising any force; but at length, a celebrated leader, Richard de Clare, Earl of Pembroke, better known by the name of Strongbow, was tempted by an offer of the hand of Eva, the daughter of Dermot, and the promised succession of the kingdom of Leinster, to engage in the cause of the exiled king. Before the Earl of Pembroke, however, could raise sufficient forces to fulfil his engagements with Dermot, that prince had obtained also the support of two young noblemen of high reputation, named Maurice Fitzgerald and Robert Fitzstephen. Satisfied with this success, he returned to Ireland, and with a few men whom he had collected in Wales, commenced the warfare before any of the great nobles had arrived. In this warfare he was unsuccessful; but he contrived to temporise with his enemies, till Fitzstephen, with a considerable body of chosen troops, and several experienced commanders sent by the Earl of Pembroke, joined him, and enabled him to take the city of Wexford, and perform some other exploits. The news of these efforts spreading through Ireland, the whole native forces of the island were collected to overwhelm the small body of English who supported the King of Leinster.

\* The Pope founded his title to give Ireland upon the spurious donation of Constantine, and broadly asserted "that all islands belonged to him:" a doctrine which certainly ought not to have been recognised by a king of England.



They remained firm, however; and Maurice Fitzgerald following about this time with a reinforcement, the whole of Leinster was recovered before the Earl of Pembroke appeared.\* The ambition of Dermot, however, extended with success, and the re-conquest of Leinster by the aid of his English auxiliaries led him on to contemplate the subjection of the whole land. This tempting design he held out to the Earl of Pembroke, whose vast revenues had been squandered in acts of magnificent extravagance; but as Henry's commission had only permitted Dermot to raise men for the recovery of Leinster, Strongbow was afraid to undertake the vast attempt suggested to him without the King of England's permission. He accordingly visited Henry in Normandy; and with his usual shrewd policy, Henry did not absolutely either refuse or grant his request, but rather encouraged him in the undertaking than otherwise, not at all sorry that the way should be prepared for his own meditated invasion by the efforts of others, but without the slightest intention of permitting the Earl of Pembroke to acquire that power in Ireland which he aimed at.

Strongbow, though he appeared somewhat doubtful as to Henry's consent, probably thought the king's hesitation in this matter proceeded merely from the intention of avowing him if he succeeded, and abandoning him if he failed; and, confident of his own military skill, he determined to go on without a more definite acquiescence being pronounced on the part of the king. Hurrying back therefore into Wales, he at once sent over to Dermot a small body of knights and archers; and proceeding along the rest of the Welsh sea-coast, he gained a great number of volunteers, while his officers were preparing a fleet and all the necessary provisions and arms for so great an enterprise. At the end of a few weeks he led a very formidable host to Milford Haven; but just as he was upon the very point of setting sail, a messenger reached him, bearing Henry's most positive commands that he should not on any account leave the kingdom. Pembroke however, had gone too far to recede, unless compelled; his

\* In regard to these points, as in regard to every other historical fact, there are several statements, varying in different particulars. Some writers say that Dermot did not commence the war before the arrival of Fitzstephen; and others, that Leinster was completely recovered previous to the landing of Fitzgerald. I have followed the accounts I think the most authentic, and chosen the narrative that seems to me most probable.

honour was pledged to Dermot; his private fortune was ruined; he had collected a vast number of men, who would require to be indemnified in some manner for their expenses and disappointment if he abandoned the enterprise; and in despite of the king's own order, he set sail with an army of about twelve hundred men.

It is unnecessary to recount all the exploits that he performed previous to Henry's return to England. Before that event took place, the earl had made great advances towards a conquest of the country; and Henry, while still in France, evidently fearing that Pembroke would gain too much power to remain a submissive vassal of the crown of England, published a mandate, forbidding all his subjects, in the strictest terms, from holding any trade or communication with Ireland, and commanding all who had invaded that country to return, on pain of forfeiture and banishment.

This was a terrible stroke upon Pembroke, who lost a number of his followers and every hope of fresh reinforcements by this decree; and he immediately sent messengers to Henry, offering to submit all that he had acquired to the will of the king. To drive him to do this was certainly one of Henry's objects; but still he gave the earl no encouragement, and Pembroke maintained himself unassisted, until, by the death of Dermot towards the end of 1170, he became sovereign of Leinster, in virtue of the treaty formerly concluded between them. He continued to struggle on, performing feats of valour and generalship scarcely credible, during the early part of 1171; but in the interim of that year he received intimation that Henry had arrived in England, and had prepared a large army in order to cross the sea himself, and add Ireland to the rest of his dominions. This was not the only news, however, that the earl received from England; for the wrath of the king at his determined resistance to his will, had shown itself in various ways. His English estates had been seized and confiscated for his high crimes, and Pembroke, wisely advised, hastened over to throw himself at the feet of his offended sovereign. It was with great difficulty that Henry could be induced to see him; but the earl having once been admitted, humbled himself so completely, and submitted himself and the whole of his possessions so unreservedly to the will of the king, that Henry again received him into favour, on the condition of his giving



up to the crown the city of Dublin,\* with the surrounding cantreds or hundreds, and also his fortified seaports. The rest of his conquests he was permitted to hold by homage of the English crown, and his hereditary estates were restored to him. This being done, he proceeded with Henry to Milford Haven.

With a fleet of four hundred and forty large ships, and an army containing five hundred knights, the king sailed for Ireland, and landed on the coast of Waterford on the 18th day of October, 1171. It is unnecessary here to give any more than the mere heads of the king's proceedings in Ireland, for he met with no resistance, and tame submission awaited him wherever he came. Although his invasion of that country was certainly an act of usurpation, it must be acknowledged that he strove to confer the benefits which he had promised in his application to Adrian for a grant of the island. From the moment of his arrival he assumed the tone of a peacemaker and a benefactor, although he came armed with power to force such as were unwilling to be persuaded.

Henry took possession of Waterford without resistance; the people of Wexford willingly surrendered to him; the Prince of Desmond came and did homage, giving hostages for the payment of a tribute; and on a tour which he made by Lismore and Cashel, a number of other princes of the south of Ireland followed this example. After returning for a short time to Waterford, he marched to Dublin, and there spent the winter, receiving the oath of fealty from all the princes of the north of Ireland, with the exception of a few chieftains in Ulster.

Roderic, King of Connaught, indeed, the most powerful, if not the predominant king of all Ireland, submitted in a more dignified manner. Instead of attending the court of the invader, he met on the borders of Connaught two ambassadors from Henry, and entered into a compact with them, the particulars of which are obscure. We are assured that he took the oath of fealty to the King of England, and agreed to pay tribute. At all events, he made such submission as induced the English monarch to refrain from any attack upon his territories.

\* The words of William of Newbury are: "*Itaque extorsit ei famosissimam civitatem Divelinum, et cetera quæ in adquisitione potiora videbantur, parte vero reliqua cum patrimonio suo Anglico integre illi restituto, jussit esse contentum.*"

In a synod which was held at Cashel, various irregularities and evil practices in ecclesiastical matters were abolished; and either there, or at Lismore, various laws were enacted, there is reason to suppose, upon the model of those of England, if not exactly similar to them. Thus the subjugation of Ireland was peaceful, if not beneficial; but it was too easily executed to promise any great stability; and Henry would in all probability have remained much longer in that island, to give greater solidity to the structure of his power, had he not received—after an interruption of many months in all communication with the rest of Europe—certain intelligence that the legate sent by Alexander had been waiting for him long in Normandy, threatening him with all the thunders of the Church for his apparent contempt. As soon as the passage was open, he lost no time in hastening to meet the messengers of the Pope. Taking such measures as he thought would best establish the English power in Ireland, and would at the same time counterbalance the great influence which the Earl of Pembroke had obtained by the acquisition of Leinster, Henry proceeded to Wexford to embark, leaving Hugh de Lacy, as Justiciary of Ireland, to retain possession of Dublin, with forty knights and a number of inferior soldiers. He gave to that leader also the county of Meath as a fief of the English crown, though whence he derived his right to bestow such a territory, which was then in possession of a native Irish prince, would be difficult to discover.

Having completed these arrangements, he sailed from Wexford on the 17th of April, 1172, and landed in South Wales on the very same day. He found that some commotions had arisen in that part of the island during his absence, but they seemed of no very great importance; and after a hasty effort to remedy the evil, which in consequence of an unfortunate accident only rendered it worse, he appointed Rees ap Gryffyth Justiciary of South Wales, and hastened on his way towards Normandy. The Welsh prince, it would appear, to whom the greater part of South Wales belonged by hereditary right, accepted without hesitation an office which he imagined would strengthen his general authority, without perceiving that, by exercising it at the will of Henry, he acknowledged in that prince a more intimate right of jurisdiction than even that against which he had so often striven.



Taking his son Henry with him, the King of England embarked at Portsmouth for Normandy, and immediately sent to the Cardinals Albert and Theodebert,\* inquiring at what place they would give him a meeting. They appointed the convent of Savigni, where they were met by the king and a numerous court; but it would appear, that the demands of the legates seemed to the king exorbitant, for they themselves state "that they could not altogether agree;" and Henry departed abruptly, as if to return into England. The next day, however, he sent the Bishop of Lisieux and two archdeacons to grant what they had required, and they then joined the king at Avranches, where the conditions agreed upon were embodied in a proper form, Henry swearing in the most solemn manner that he had not ordered the death of Becket, and that it was done both without his will and knowledge.

The articles to which the king agreed, in order to obtain his absolution, comprised the following stipulations:—"That within a year from the approaching feast of Pentecost, Henry should give a sufficient sum of money to maintain, according to the computation of the Knights of the Temple, two hundred knights for the defence of the Holy Land during twelve months: that on the subsequent Christmas-day, Henry himself should take the cross for three years, and that during the succeeding summer he should go to the Holy Land in person, unless this point were remitted to him by the Pope or any of his Catholic successors. However, in case of his going, *by urgent necessity*, against the Saracens in Spain, it was agreed that he might delay his journey to Jerusalem for as much time as he should spend in that expedition. It was moreover stipulated that he should not prevent appeals to the Pope in ecclesiastical causes, made in good faith, without fraud or evil intention; nor should he suffer them to be prevented. It was provided, however, that if any one about to make these appeals, should be suspected by him, they should give security that they did not seek to do wrong to him or to his kingdom."

The most important of these articles declared that he should abrogate those customs which had been introduced *in his time* against the *churches of his territories*, and should

\* This name is sometimes written Theodine, sometimes as above.

exact them no more from the bishops.\* Moreover, it was agreed that if any of the possessions of the church of Canterbury were still retained, he should give them up in full, exactly as they had been a year before the archbishop left England; and that he should restore all the possessions, with his peace and favour, to such persons of both sexes, lay and clerical, as had been deprived of them on account of the late archbishop. To perform all this the king took an oath, and his son also swore to abrogate the *new* constitutions. Both monarchs also pledged themselves never to recede from Pope Alexander and his successors, so long as the bishops of Rome should treat them as Christian and Catholic kings.

These are distinctly the terms and conditions which were proposed by the legates, and accepted by Henry; and it will be remarked, that therein there is not one word in regard to the abolition of anything but the *new* customs which had been introduced in that monarch's own time.† Now the constitutions of Clarendon had been declared by the parliament of England, the bishops, abbots, and the barons of the kingdom, to be the ancient laws of the land, and Henry had always maintained that they were the same which had been in force in the time of his grandfather, Henry the First. By this agreement, therefore, he gave up not one single point of that policy to which he had invariably adhered.

Neither is there the slightest allusion to this document, nor in any of those which may be relied upon, that can afford a shadow of cause for believing that Henry engaged, as a condition of his reconciliation with the Church, to perform those extraordinary penances at the tomb of Becket, which have so generally and falsely been looked upon as an

\* In the latter part of this sentence there is in the original a pronoun left out, which omission renders the sense doubtful. The letter says simply, "*nec ab episcopis amplius exigetis.*" This seems to have puzzled Lord Lyttleton, who left the above words out in his translation.

† It is distinctly stated, in the letter of the cardinals themselves, and in all the contemporary historians, I believe without more than one exception, that the only customs which Henry promised to abolish, were the *new* customs which had been introduced in the Church in his own times. Hoveden, who seems from the way in which he describes the document, to have seen it, if not to have been present when the act took place, distinctly marks, that they were only the new customs introduced in his own time; Gervase has the same clause distinctly; and Diceto, who was present at very many of the acts which I have detailed, though he varies the language, keeps the meaning quite clear. The only one who differs from this account, is the Monk Alanus, who represents Henry as promising unreservedly to repeal the constitutions of Clarendon.



act of submission to Rome. The cardinals assert, indeed, in a letter to the Archbishop of Ravenna, that the king promised in private various things that were not expressly put down; but we can scarcely suppose that they were matters of very great importance, for had they been so, the cardinals would not have failed to ensure the performance thereof, by exacting an oath from the king to that effect. It must be acknowledged, however, that it is a most extraordinary fact, that the legates should not require at the hands of the king the punishment of the murderers of the archbishop. It has been a matter of marvel, indeed, that the King of England did not punish them in the very first instance; nor is the account given of his motives by William of Newbury at all satisfactory to me. That writer says, that Henry was afraid of being blamed for whatever course he pursued. Many would be found to say if he spared the assassins that he had encouraged the commission of the crime; and if he punished them, it would be said that he first instigated them to do it, and then smote them for the act, making himself doubly guilty. But that Henry should suffer the straightforward course of justice to be perverted, from the fear of any such censure, is not at all to be reconciled to the other parts of his character. He had marched with an army to punish less offences; and the great cause of his quarrel with Becket was his persevering maintenance of the grand rule, that no class of men whatsoever should escape punishment for crime.

It would certainly appear very extraordinary also, that the punishment of the murderers should form no part of the solemn conditions exacted by the legates; for though their holy functions prevented their requiring blood as an atonement, yet the Church of Rome has never wanted means of causing the temporal, as well as the spiritual, sword to fall upon its enemies; and they might at all events have stipulated that the four knights who committed this foul deed should be sent to Rome to submit to the correction of the supreme pontiff. They were indeed so sent by Henry himself, but that he should send them formed no part of his agreement with the cardinals. The Pope dealt as leniently with the actual murderers as he did with the king, and merely enjoined them to go to the Holy Land, and do penance for their great offence. This they did, we are told, with much devotion and remorse; and there is reason to believe that

three years after Becket's assassination only one out of the four survived.

Some obscurity exists in regard to the further proceedings of Henry with the legates, nor can I reconcile all the facts as stated by contemporaries, with the account of Lord Lyttleton. It is certain, however, that this agreement was signed at Avranches, and sworn to by the king,\* on the 27th of September; at which period his son Henry was with him; and yet we find that in the preceding month, the young king was once more crowned, together with his wife, in the cathedral of Winchester. Strange to say, after all the dissensions which had taken place on account of the coronation of the same prince by the Archbishop of York, the ceremony was on this occasion performed by the Archbishop of Rouen, a foreign prelate. It is to be remarked, however, that the see of Canterbury was now vacant, and likely to be so for some time, while the King of France pressed eagerly for the coronation of his daughter, and the young king himself, from motives which will be explained hereafter, was anxious to render his recognition as king by the people of England as solemn as possible. If the young king did indeed accompany his father to France, as is generally stated, he must have returned to England very speedily, and after his coronation have rejoined Henry in Normandy; in which case the negotiations concerning the absolution of the king must have been much longer, and probably more difficult, than the legates thought fit to state in their epistle to the Archbishop of Ravenna; which supposition is borne out by the account of Diceto,† and by the time which elapsed between their meeting Henry at Avranches, and the conclusion of the affair.

As soon as he had witnessed the absolution of his father, the young king hastened back to England, with his wife; and whether Henry the Second had become by this time somewhat jealous of his son's favour with a great number of the English barons, or whether he wished to gratify the King of France, I know not, but certain it is, that in a very short

\* Hoveden gives the date so precisely, that I cannot doubt that he was correct as to the day on which the oath was taken by Henry, and the agreement signed: but the legates, in their letter, declare that they were met by Henry at Avranches on the fifth Sunday after Easter.

† He says, "*Post longos tandem et immensos tractatus.*"



time after his landing in England, the prince was sent for once more into Normandy, and, on the 1st of November, 1172, again passed the seas, all contemporary writers say, most unwillingly. He was sent immediately, however, with the young queen, to the court of the King of France; but a certain degree of uneasiness is evident at this time in Henry's conduct, which leads me to believe that he had remarked something in the demeanour of his son which gave him cause for apprehension.

Before the end of the year, the English monarch summoned the young king from the court of Louis; and he might very well have cause for suspicion, though that cause was not sufficient to justify him in taking any measure of precaution more vigorous than that of separating his son from evil counsellors. That the King of France was such, Henry had soon reason to know; for scarcely had the prince rejoined him in Normandy, when he demanded that he should be put in immediate possession of either Normandy, England, or Anjou. For this demand there might indeed be some excuse, for it seems to me perfectly certain that Henry had promised the absolute possession of some part of his territories to his eldest son on his marriage with the daughter of the King of France, and that although he did not yield that possession at the time the marriage ceremony took place, it was understood that it should be given as soon as the union of the prince and the princess was consummated. He had also defined what that territory was to be, and had distinctly promised the county of Anjou, in the last treaty of peace with the King of France, so that for refusing that province there could scarcely be any reasonable excuse; for the young prince was by this time of such an age as to be well justified in demanding that which his father had engaged to give, being now in his eighteenth year. Henry, however, distinctly refused to accede to his request,\* and leaving his eldest son in Normandy, proceeded to spend the winter in Anjou.

All was now apparently calm around the King of England; allied by the closest ties with the French monarch, possessing an immense extent of territory, which displayed at this time a general spirit of submission and desire of tranquillity, triumphant in arms, and successful in negotiation, he could

\* Gervase says that Henry refused indignantly.

look around him and say that all was peace. The slight movements that took place in Aquitaine and in Wales, were not such as to create any alarm; the Count of Toulouse himself was preparing to make submission in a peaceable manner; and a foreign prince, whose alliance was likely to extend the influence of Henry into Italy itself, was treating with the English king for an union between Prince John and his only child.

The sole cause for serious uneasiness which had afflicted Henry during the autumn of 1172, was now likely to be done away, by the election of such a successor to Becket as would insure a peaceful state of ecclesiastical affairs. It is true the spirit of the turbulent prelate had survived himself, and still dwelt amongst the monks of Canterbury. The prior Odo had shown the same haughty and intractable disposition, and insisted upon a free election, endeavouring, under that name, to confine the choice of an archbishop to the monks alone, excluding the votes of the bishops of the province, and the recommendation of the king. In vain Henry attempted to move him, by means unworthy of a monarch to employ. He resisted flattery and entreaties, bribes and commands; although the person whom Henry sought to raise to the archiepiscopal dignity, namely, the Bishop Bayeux, was in every respect unexceptionable. At length, however, it was arranged that the monks should choose three persons, the election of one of whom was to be made by the bishops and ratified by the king. This was accordingly done in February, 1173, and the names being submitted to Richard de Lucy, the king's grand justiciary, he summoned the bishops, and in the end the abbot of Beck in Normandy was elected, with the consent and approbation of Henry. The matter did not terminate here, however, but remained in agitation for some months beyond the period to which I have carried the other events of Henry's reign; but it may be as well to pursue this subject to a close, in order that I may terminate the history of the contest between Henry and the see of Canterbury, as far as the actual events are concerned; for the consequences of that contest were protracted into ages beyond, and affected both England and France to the end of the reign of John and Philip Augustus, if not even to a far more remote period.

The abbot of Beck, though in every respect agreeable to



the King of England, possessed those happiest of all mental gifts, humility of spirit, and moderation of desire, and refusing the vast wealth and high dignity offered him, could be prevailed upon by no entreaties whatsoever to accept the mitre and the pall. This rendered another election necessary, and the prior Odo now showed himself more turbulent than ever. He tried by every means to exclude the bishops from any influence. He wrangled, disputed, and even disgusted the more wise and tranquil members of his own convent, by his intractable temper. At length, however, it was determined to send over two deputies to the king, in order to ascertain his views and wishes. One of these deputies was Richard, prior of Dover, a man not of the most profound erudition, but still respectable in point of learning, moderate, virtuous, and prudent. The deputies failed to obtain any satisfactory answer from the king; and Henry, having narrowly scrutinised, it would seem, the character and demeanour of the prior of Dover, gave secret orders to those who remained in authority in England, to take such measures as would cause the election to fall upon him. This was managed with great skill; the bishops co-operated with the king, the monks were pleased to choose one of their own order, and Richard of Dover was accordingly elected towards the middle of 1173. His consecration, however, was suspended for many months, in consequence of some opposition on the part of the young King Henry, who by this time was at enmity with his father, and appealed to the Pope against the election of the prior of Dover. Richard accordingly was obliged to travel into Italy, to sustain his own cause before the pontiff. Alexander, however, confirmed his election, conferring upon him the legatine power in England; and thus Henry had the happiness of seeing at the head of the English Church a prelate who was inclined to resist rather than to promote the exorbitant demands which Becket had taught the English clergy to put forth.

Thus, as I have said, the aspect of all things was favourable to Henry towards the end of 1172 and the beginning of 1173, so far at least as external appearances went. Had he, however, been allowed to see below the surface, he would have met with one of the most painful instances of the hollowness of apparent prosperity that the eyes of man ever encountered; for at that very moment he stood, as it were,

above a covered volcano, and the earthquake which was to rend the ground beneath his feet and pour forth the fiery stream of civil warfare upon him, was already trembling below him.

Though the king might not know his danger, there seemed to be a general feeling throughout his dominions, that this tranquillity was not to last. Men began to observe portents, and to draw evil auguries—almost always a sign that there exists some more rational cause for anticipating disaster—and we have contemporary records of many marvels and convulsions in the physical world. Tremendous thunder was heard simultaneously, in England, France, and Ireland, in the midst of winter. Terrible floods of water ravaged various districts; earthquakes were reported from distant regions, and the city of Catania was almost entirely destroyed by one of those awful visitations. Amongst the events, in which the eye of superstition saw the foreshadowing of coming evils, was the appearance of the aurora borealis, which is as beautifully and accurately described by an author of that age as it ever has been since.\* It was probably this phenomenon which gave rise to a report mentioned by the good monk of Mailros, that various persons in England had seen the sea on fire.

Certain it is, that the season seems to have been very tempestuous, and also very unhealthy; but neither distance nor weather offered any impediment to the incessant activity of the English king. So rapid were all his movements, that when he came from Ireland through England into France, Louis, on being informed of his arrival, exclaimed in a peevish tone, "This king, now in Ireland, now in England, now in

\* The words of Gervase are as follows: "*Idus Februarii apparuit in cœlo signum mirabile nocte plusquam media. Nam rubor quidam videbatur in aere inter orientem et occidentum in parte aquilonali. Radii autem albi per transversum ruboris illius erant, qui nunc graciles in modum lancearum, nunc vero lati in modum tabularum, et nunc hic nunc ibi quasi à terra sursum in cœlum erecti. Erant prædicti radii candidi ut radii solis cum densissimam penetrant nubem. Subsecutus est splendor lucidus auroræ similis æstivæ cum in diem clare lucescit; postremo densissima nubes subnigra in eodem climate quasi à terra elevata est, quæ diem illum paulatim succrescens obumbravit.*" The extreme accuracy of this description, when compared with the wild and absurd accounts of similar phenomena by many of the monks of that day, of which I have given a specimen in the description of the storm at Scarborough, affords reason to repose with considerable confidence upon the narrative of Gervase in other particulars; especially when we find that the prejudices of his order do not lead him to conceal the errors of the clergy.



Normandy, must fly, rather than ride or sail." The winter was scarcely past, when he sent for his son to join him at Chinon in Anjou, where he had remained with Eleanor his queen; and on the arrival of the younger Henry, the whole court set out immediately for Mont Ferrand in Auvergne, at which place the King of England had appointed to meet the Count of Maurienne and Savoy, the Count of Toulouse, and many other nobles, for the twofold purpose of betrothing John, the king's youngest son, to the daughter of the Count of Maurienne, and of terminating amicably with the Lord of Toulouse the differences which had arisen from the claims of Henry to the sovereignty of that district.

The meeting took place in the middle of February, and was the most splendid that ever was seen in that part of the world. Besides the personages we have mentioned, the King of Arragon, and the Count of Vienne, each with a large train, were present; and the King of England displayed all the imposing parade of royalty, which his vast wealth and possessions enabled him to call forth when he thought fit, although he was naturally simple in his own habits, and an enemy to ostentation. The marriage between Prince John and the daughter of the Count of Maurienne had been already agreed upon, and nothing remained to be settled but the dowry of the princess and the appanage of the prince. The count, who, it seems, entertained no expectation whatsoever of having male issue, now settled the whole of his dominions upon his daughter, in case of his death without a son; and also agreed that, even if an heir were granted to him, a large and important part of his territories should descend as the portion of the bride. It was also arranged that, if the princess should die before the marriage could be consummated, John was to wed her younger sister; and in the mean time, the future bride was entrusted to the somewhat dangerous guardianship of Henry the Second. It does not appear that any territories were expressly stipulated as the appanage of John, or that anything was given as an equivalent for this vast heritage, except a few thousand marks of silver. The treaty was sworn to on both parts, and at the time the alliance seemed to afford universal satisfaction.

The differences between the Count of Toulouse and Henry were terminated amicably, that prince agreeing to do homage

to the Counts of Poitou,\* saving his duty to the King of France; but Richard not having accompanied his father to the meeting at Mont Ferrand, the act of homage was put off for some weeks. The count appears, however, to have attached himself sincerely to Henry for the time, so much so indeed as to give him the first distinct information that evil was plotting against him in the household of his eldest son.

After some time spent in festivity and joy, the King of England and his court separated from the other princes who had assembled at Mont Ferrand, and took their way towards Limoges. In that city—where it would appear that Richard then was—the Count of Toulouse presented himself, and did homage to the English prince and to his father as Counts of Poitou, promising to serve at their summons for forty days at his own expense, and longer upon a reasonable payment. He also agreed to give for Toulouse and its appurtenances, each year, a hundred marks of silver, or ten war horses, each of the value of ten marks.

At Limoges the King of England was again visited by the Count of Maurienne and Savoy, who, on this occasion—it would seem for the first time—inquired what territorial possessions the King of England intended to give to his son John on his marriage. Henry replied, that he would give him the castles of Loudun, Chinon, and Mirabel; but on this being announced to the younger Henry, he objected, and positively refused to consent that such an engagement should be entered into. In consequence of this offensive conduct, Henry, following, it is supposed, the suggestion of the Count of Toulouse, removed from the household of his son several of that prince's chief officers, and especially a young noble-

\* Lord Lyttleton, following the account of Diceto and others, and also Dom Vaisette in his History of Languedoc, declares that the Count of Toulouse, for himself and his successors, promised to do homage and feudal service to the Dukes of Aquitaine. This, however, is not exactly correct, the account of Hoveden being much more accurate. That writer says, that he agreed to do homage to the Counts of Poitou; and it must be remembered that Toulouse did not hold of Aquitaine, but of Poitou. The account of Dom Vaisette, indeed, is altogether inaccurate, and only shows what absurdities can be committed in history by not attending to dates. He represents Henry and Eleanor as going to Limoges in the midst of the quarrels between the King of England and his son Henry. He places this in 1172, and makes Henry at that time and place dispose of the duchy of Aquitaine in favour of Richard, and about the same time arrange the marriage of Geoffrey, his third son, with Constance of Brittany. It is unnecessary to tell the reader, that not one word of all this is accurate.



man, named Asculfus de St. Hilaire; but this step, instead of diminishing the evil, only served to bring any hesitation in the mind of the young king to an end.

Leaving Limoges, and taking his son with him, surrounded closely by his own servants, Henry again turned his steps towards Normandy; but ere he had gone far, the prince contrived to escape the vigilance of those who were watching him, and mounting his horse by night, fled with all speed to the court of the King of France. He first directed his steps towards Alençon, and thence to Argentan; but then, instead of proceeding to Caen, as was probably his first intention, he turned from his course, and traversing a wild and hilly part of the country, made the best of his way to Chartres. From some contemporary accounts, it would seem that he was accompanied by several of his principal officers, who, on discovering his intention of proceeding into the territories of the King of France, left him, and returned to Henry. Amongst these was Richard de Barre, who brought back to his father the young king's great seal. Henry the Second, in the mean while, pursued his son as far as Alençon, where he paused and slept, probably deceived by the first direction of the prince's flight towards Argentan, and believing that it was not his intention to quit his father's dominions. On the following morning, however, he was informed of the new direction in which the young king had turned his steps, and immediately divining the extent of the evil, he mounted his horse, and with that extraordinary activity which distinguished him, rode from fortress to fortress, followed only by a few attendants. Changing his horse continually, he reached the castle of Gisors, on the frontier of the Norman Vexin, towards dusk. The distance is immense; but in the course of this journey, he had visited, we are assured, all his frontier fortresses, had put the governors on their guard, and taken measures for increasing their forces, and for supplying them with all that was necessary to meet those hostilities which he now saw were about to commence. Gisors he took particular pains to provide with all that was necessary for resistance in case of assault; and at the same time, he wrote letters in haste to the governors of all towns throughout his continental dominions, as well as to his chief officers in England, notifying to them the event which had taken place, and reminding them of their duty to strengthen and defend, to the

utmost of their power, the strong places he had committed to their charge.

These necessary precautions instantly presented themselves to his mind, and were executed without any loss of time; but Henry did not neglect those means which he thought might prove effectual to recal his misguided son to his duty. The servants and attendants who had abandoned him in his flight, were sent back to him by the king, together with his baggage, arms, horses, and silver plate; and at the same time he despatched the Archbishop of Rouen and the Bishop of Lisieux to remonstrate with Louis upon the countenance and protection he afforded to a son, in opposition to his father. He caused, however, the young Queen Margaret to be detained, which seemed greatly to irritate both her husband and her father; though they could not expect that the King of England would give up the only hostage that he had, and especially when that hostage was one, who as long as she remained in his hands, afforded the greatest inducement for her husband to return to his duty, and for her father to abstain from unjust violence.

It was only after the monarch had arrived at Rouen, however, that he discovered how far-spread and deep-laid was that conspiracy, of which the flight of Henry the younger was the first overt act. Where Henry had left the Queen Eleanor, I do not distinctly know, but I am inclined to believe that it was either at Limoges or Chinon, with her two sons, Geoffrey and Richard. From a letter, however, preserved amongst those of Peter of Blois, we learn that Henry commanded her to join him immediately in Normandy, and that she neglected or refused to do so. Tidings were speedily after brought to Henry that his two sons, Geoffrey and Richard, were both deeply implicated in the plot against him, and this intelligence was rapidly confirmed by the flight of both those princes to join their brother at the court of France. About the same time, Henry caused the Archbishop of Rouen to write to his wife, threatening her with the censures of the Church, if she did not return to her husband without farther delay; and he neglected not to have her strictly watched, probably anticipating the step which she was about to take.

Eleanor, who was undoubtedly the secret instigator of the rebellion of the English princes, it is probable, intended,



from the first, to follow them to the court of her former husband; and there is every reason to suppose that she only remained behind, either on account of the difficulty of escaping, or for the purpose of giving the last touch to the conspiracy against Henry. Perceiving, however, that the monarch was now fully aware of the part that she had played, she determined to make a desperate effort for escape, disguised in men's clothes. She was taken, however, in the act, and committed by her indignant husband to strict imprisonment.

The enmity of Henry's sons might well surprise that monarch, for he was a fond and affectionate parent; but that he should have excited the most rancorous animosity in the bosom of Eleanor, could be no matter of wonder to one who knew her so well as he did. The depravity of his morals and his incessant incontinence affected but little his people, but they were a daily insult to his wife on a point where vanity and passion were both involved. It was natural, therefore, that she should entertain deep feelings of resentment towards her husband, and that she should try to make her children participate in her sentiments, in order that by their means she might work out her own vengeance. Though she had certainly vast opportunities of effecting this purpose, it is clear that she would not have been successful in so high a degree, had not the young princes themselves, and the nobles who supported them, lately learned to regard the king in a different point of view from that in which he had appeared in the first prosperous years of his reign. They had now seen him engaged in an unsuccessful struggle with an adversary whose whole power was derived from superstition alone; they had seen him menaced with impunity, alarmed and agitated by the threats of Rome, in some degree vanquished in the conflict, and alternately excited into violent and unkingly passion by the insolent daring of a former servant, and plunged into profound dejection and exorbitant abasement, by the consequence of the very words to which his passion gave utterance. Besides all this, the letters of Becket and his partisans were current throughout Europe, and in almost all of these the King of England was spoken of in terms of reprobation and contempt. The murdered archbishop and his supporters had represented him continually as cunning, but not wise, violent, but not firm, less powerful than he

seemed to be, and to be driven rather than feared. His reputation, in short, had suffered in a lamentable degree, from his unsuccessful contest with the primate; and those even who hated Becket reprobated his conduct and opposed his views, had acquired in watching the conflict between him and the king, a certain degree of admiration for his firmness, courage, and undaunted resolution, for his high talents and commanding mind; while towards Henry they had lost much of that reverence and awe which they had entertained so long as they had beheld him pursuing in uninterrupted prosperity a wise course of internal administration, and making a vigorous progress in external aggrandisement. In short, it would appear, that had it not been for the struggle with Becket, the revolt of Henry's sons, if it had taken place, would have been far less formidable than it proved; and I have no earthly doubt, that upon the minds of the monarch's sons the influence of their mother would have been exerted with much less effect, if their respect for their father had not been in the first instance diminished by that course of events which have been related in the preceding pages. This, we may well suppose, was more especially the case with Richard, whose bold, fearless, and even rash character, prompted him to despise the arm of ecclesiastical power, and in the course of whose life we shall often have occasion to see the contempt which he had acquired in early life for monks and priests, breaking out in scoffing jests and bitter sarcasms. His mind, of all others, was one to lose all respect for those whom he saw subdued by anything but physical force; and with him Eleanor's evil counsels were undoubtedly rendered effectual by the impressions he had received regarding his father's character. A new epoch, however, now opens in his existence—an epoch which began with rebellion against his father and his king, and ended with the usual vain regrets which follow great crimes, when their consequences are past recal.

When Prince Richard, afterwards King of England, first entered upon the busy scene of life, by flying from the court of his father, and taking part with two of his brothers in their rebellion, he had not yet completed his sixteenth year; but was even then robust, powerful, and active in body, and haughty, bold, and decided in character. The fierceness, as well as the strength and courage of the lion, showed itself at



a very early age ; though he pursued with all the eagerness of his nature those softer arts which were calculated to mitigate his harsher qualities. In regard to his early education, we have but few minute particulars. It was undoubtedly such as was then usually given to the sons of nobles and princes ; but, in all probability, his father Henry, who was well versed in polite literature himself, took pains to afford his sons as complete a knowledge of letters as was to be obtained in those days. We know, indeed, that Richard, though inferior to his father in learning, was superior, in that respect, to most of the princes of his time ; his fondness for music and skill in poetry, are attested by contemporaries ; and those two arts formed the relaxation of his idle hours, and his consolation in sorrow and captivity.

In all the sports and exercises of chivalry, Richard was pre-eminent ; and to obtain the degree of proficiency which he had acquired, not only great dexterity and activity of body was necessary, but long and early training. The cultivation of those corporeal powers which were required to obtain great military renown in those days, was indeed a natural consequence of the feudal system ; and the chivalrous education which every baron bestowed upon his son in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, forms so curious and characteristic a point in the history of that age, that I must dwell upon it here, in order to show, in some degree, the discipline which Richard had already gone through before he quitted the court of his father.

Till the young noble had entered the seventh year of his age, he was, in almost all cases, left to the care and government of women. The nurse, the mother, and her attendants taught, during that period, all that the infant mind was capable of receiving, gave the first notions of religion, and first bade the young heart aspire to honour and renown. At seven years of age, from those tender hands which had smoothed the pillow of his infancy, the boy was taken and consigned to the rougher charge of men, who immediately began to prepare him for the life of danger, toil, and strife that he was to undergo. His first station was usually as page ; and I cannot discover that there was any difference in the treatment and occupations of the sons of the highest noblemen while in this capacity and that of the youths of inferior rank, who were admitted to aid in the task. In

king's courts, indeed, the former were sometimes styled "children of honour;" but still the page served his master at table, gave him the wine-cup, held up the basin in which he washed before dinner, and rendered to him a thousand other offices of the same kind. The services of the page, however, were amply repaid by the instruction he received, not only in military exercises, but in demeanour, in conduct, and in religion. We find from Joinville, who was himself educated by St. Louis, that the great and good king to whom he attached himself through life, took infinite pleasure in exercising the minds of the young men at his court, in making them discuss various questions thrown out at random, in aiding their judgment, and directing their views aright. Indeed, nothing can give us a better or a more pleasing view of the domestic life of the princes of that day, in those cases where it was governed by virtue and wisdom, than the picture afforded us of the court of St. Louis by the good Seneschal of Champagne.

The houses of all the great nobility, more especially in France, were in fact schools for chivalrous education. The castle of each lord was open for the reception of the sons of all his friends and relations; and we are assured that it would have been considered a great want of courtesy in any baron to refuse admission to the son of a noble friend into his household as a page. Thus the number of these youths in every large family was very great; for it is to be remarked that in almost all cases, parents, diffident of their own resolution and firmness, entrusted the care of their sons between seven and fourteen years of age to any distinguished person, upon whom they had claims either by friendship or by blood. The more celebrated was the knight or warrior, the more eagerly was his protection and instruction sought for the youth of his kinsmen and friends; and though his reputation might thus sometimes produce a severe tax upon him, yet many great objects were gained by attaching to his family and person a number of youths growing up to manhood, eager for military glory, and imbued with the principles which he himself had instilled.

The children of kings and sovereign princes indeed were generally, though not always, educated in their own court; and it is probable that Henry had in view to pay the highest and most gratifying compliment that he could offer to Louis



King of France, when he promised, some years before the period of which we now speak, to send his son Richard to be educated at the court of France. That he ever intended to keep that promise, I do not believe, inasmuch as many considerations withheld a king from yielding to a custom which might be most beneficial to the son of a vassal, but must have proved most dangerous in the case of a sovereign prince. In his own court, Richard could obtain more military knowledge than at that of France ; and however much it might be Henry's policy to link the interests of Louis with his own by the bonds of alliance, it was quite contrary to all the dictates of wisdom and foresight to suffer the mind of his son to imbibe the maxims of a rival and often inimical country.

Almost all the sports of the youth of that day, as far as can be discovered, were of a military character ; and we find that shooting with a bow, playing with the cudgels and back-sword, the casting heavy weights, climbing, leaping, riding, swimming, and other exercises of the kind, were commenced at a very early period, and gradually developed the powers of body, and strengthened the limbs, between the age at which the boy was taken from the hands of the women, and that at which he was first allowed to gird to his side the sword of manhood. During the period of their service as page, however, the youths remained much with the women of the family, whose task it was still to instruct them in many things, though their power over them was at an end. The course of teaching, indeed, was somewhat changed ; for though religion formed one of the branches of education which was entrusted to the ladies of the family, another subject of instruction, which in those days might well deserve the name of a science, was love.

It is not unworthy of remark, with what natural dexterity, if we may use the term, society as it advances adopts those measures best calculated to remedy the evils of the state from which it is emerging. From the licentious brutality of the early ages of feudalism arose the wonderful institution of chivalry ; and the rude profession of arms, the constant presence of battle and danger, the frequent exposure of innocence and weakness to violence and wrong, gave birth to a system which placed the feebler portion of human nature under the strong protecting arm of opinion, by attaching the idea of honour to courtesy and love. Man felt the necessity

of some humanising and softening power, and love was the first agent to which he could apply. But to render this agent effectual, it became necessary to subtileise and refine those feelings, which in a harsh and barbarous state might but have given additional fierceness to the character of the times. Thus love was itself softened and purified in the first instance, in order to soften and purify the minds of those who adopted it as a part of their calling and profession; and passion, hidden under various disguises, led into the human heart all the sweet charities and bland amenities of life. It is true, that in very many instances, at all periods, and with a lamentable frequency at an after period, the purer spirit was forgotten, and the coarser threw off her disguise, or only used it to adorn vice and licentiousness. But the chivalrous love as then taught was pure and high, however the passions of man might mislead him in following it. Nothing could be too mystical, nothing could be too subtle or high-toned for that love which the young aspirant to chivalry was taught to feel for the lady whom he selected as the object of his devotion; and it was wisely arranged, that the course of systematic instruction which he received in so delicate a science should be given at an age when passion could not mingle with the lessons; thus ensuring that the ideas which he first received of such attachments should be those which were best calculated to purify, to elevate, and to refine.

We must recollect, as Lord Lyttleton says in one of the finest parts of his work, that these things "had then a real existence. The gallantry of the knights to the ladies, which had an air of devotion; their presenting them with the prizes they had won in their tournaments, and even with the prisoners they had taken in war; their delivering of captives, especially of the fair sex, from castles where they were violently detained and injuriously treated; their pursuing assassins or robbers, to punish or destroy them, without form of laws; and their obliging lords of castles to abolish evil customs which they had caused to be observed in their districts or manors; all these things, which are feigned of knights in the French and Spanish romances, were often done in real life, and arose out of the principles of knighthood itself, the disorders of the feudal government, and the spirit of the times."

Such also was the case in regard to the regular instruc-



tions in love given to the sons of noble families, while in the condition of page; and that love was, in all those lessons, so intimately combined with the thoughts of religion, of honour, of glory, and of everything that men were told to venerate or to covet, that those ideas became inseparable in the after life of the youths who received them. The common expressions of the day even, irreverend as they often are, show strikingly that this was the case. Such were the terms, "Honour to God and the ladies," "for the love of Heaven and his lady," and many others which it is unnecessary to mention. Thus woman's corporeal weakness was placed under the shield of opinion, and the courtesy which was inculcated as a duty towards all ladies was very readily extended to many transactions between man and man.

Besides the task of showing himself dexterous, graceful, and prompt in serving his lord, the page was instructed how to receive with civility and politeness the guests who visited the dwelling in which he had himself been received. To them he was bound to display every sort of reverence, to attend to their wants and wishes, to listen to their conversation with respect, and to obey their commands with gladness.

Such was in some degree the training of a youth till he arrived at fourteen years of age; but then came a period at which more laborious exercises succeeded, and the advance from page to squire was marked by a ceremony which has been very frequently confounded with the dubbing of a knight. I am rather inclined to believe, indeed, that in very many instances, especially in the case of princes, the two ceremonies were united. But nevertheless, it is indisputably proved by Ste. Palaye and others, that in ordinary cases, the binding on the military girdle, and receiving the sword from the altar, was a distinct ceremony from the dubbing.\* Previous to this period of life, the page was only permitted to wear a

\* The mistake made by the writers who have confounded these two ceremonies—a mistake into which Dr. Meyrick himself has fallen—has led to the greatest confusion. The only occasions on which we can be sure that knighthood was really conferred at a very early age, that is to say, previous to the age of sixteen or seventeen, is where the ancient historian who mentions it uses some term which means that the act of dubbing took place, or (in those cases where royal personages were concerned as the recipients) when other records prove that an aid was levied by the sovereign at that time for the making his son a knight; otherwise the words, "to give or to receive the military belt," does not with any certainty imply the ceremony of making a knight.

short dagger; but at fourteen, in general, he was led by his parents to the altar, on which was laid a sword. This was taken off by a priest, and was girded on with prayers and exhortations in regard to its use; and in general, festivities and rejoicings succeeded. After this, gradually increasing in point of duration and severity, came the more robust exercises; bearing heavy weights, running immense distances, enduring every sort of fatigue, springing on a horse armed at all pieces, without putting a foot in the stirrup, and even leaping on the shoulders of a man on horseback, with no other aid than a grasp of one arm, were amongst the performances of the aspirants to chivalry. Besides these feats, we read of others in the historians of those days, requiring equal strength and exertion, such as mounting by means of the arms alone the lower side of a long ladder, casting complete summersets in heavy armour, and climbing up between two walls at a small distance apart, by the pressure of the hands and feet only. Casting lances to great distances, and striking heavy balls of wood with large rackets or malls, were amongst the amusements of the youths of Europe at that period, besides that regular practice in the use of all weapons which daily took place. Almost all of their sports and pastimes indeed were of a military character. That which was called the Chicane, and which was practised in several parts of France within the last century, together with dancing, chess, and some few games of chance, were the only exceptions, I believe; and indeed the chicane, which consisted in following a heavy wooden ball, and beating it with malls beyond certain limits defended by another party, might well be considered a military sport, as well as hunting and hawking, from the dangers and accidents which continually occurred in such amusements.

Though the tournament, the joust, and the passage of arms did not admit of any but experienced and mature cavaliers, yet there were many other military pastimes of the day, in which the more youthful nobility could take part, and practise against each other a mimic warfare. Amongst these was the game of the Quintaine, which consisted in running with a lance, or sword, either on horseback or on foot, at a wooden figure, representing the upper part of a man's body. This was impaled upon a strong post, on which it turned with the slightest touch; and both arms of the figure being extended,



a lance or long sword was found in one hand, and sometimes a shield or another pole in the other. As in all tournaments and other chivalrous sports, it was held unfair to strike an adversary anywhere but on the chest or helmet, the great object in the game of the Quintaine was so to direct the lance or sword with which the player attacked his wooden adversary, as to touch the figure directly in the middle; but if the luckless cavalier chanced to miss his mark, and strike too much to the right or left, the automaton instantly took vengeance of his awkwardness by whirling round in consequence of the very blow he gave it, and striking him violently with the weapons it carried in either hand.

The Behour was simply another military sport, and consisted in the attack of a small fortress, or redoubt, by one party, and its defence by others; and, as in all these amusements many accidents occurred, and some peril was encountered, strength and hardihood were acquired, and a knowledge of danger, and acquaintance with pain, were gained, not unaccompanied by contempt of risk and habit of endurance.

The station which the young nobleman now filled was that of squire, or ecuyer; and this rank, like that of page, had in itself various grades or classes in the courts of sovereigns and the houses of the great nobility. The military denomination of every young noble under the rank of knight was squire, and it was only in the houses of the lords to whom they were attached, that the distinction between one class and another began. Into a lengthened account of these distinctions it will not be necessary to enter; suffice it to say, that of course the squire of honour was the highest grade, which was probably conferred more in consequence of the rank of the person, than of any course of services. I do not believe that any but men of noble birth were reputed squires, although we find them performing many sorts of service, which in after days were considered menial; such as leading the horses of their lords, carrying their lances, shields, and casques, and other offices of a character even servile. The part which the squires took in general battles and occasional combats, is differently stated by different authors. Ste. Palaye seems to believe that in general engagements the squires were forbidden to take part in the actual combat, or at all events were commanded to hold themselves entirely

on the defensive. But this is proved by so many accounts to be incorrect, that it cannot be sustained for a moment. There are many hundreds of instances on record in every old chronicler and historian, of squires, in the prime and flowery days of chivalry, not only taking part in the battle, but of fighting hand to hand with, overcoming, and slaying the adverse knights. If any proof were necessary, it would be afforded by the famous battle of the Thirty, where the greater part of those employed on both sides had never attained the honour of knighthood. I am inclined to believe, however, that Ste. Palaye was only misled by a few occasional facts into laying down as a general rule what took place in particular cases. It seems to me probable that the squires of the body, or squires of honour of any particular lord or knight, were commanded, as Ste. Palaye says, to pay particular attention to all the movements of their lord, and to follow, assist, and defend him, without regarding the progress of the general battle, or taking any part therein; and, indeed, we have a remarkable instance of this in the case of the famous Audley at the battle of Poitiers, whose four squires followed him through the field, and bore him from it when he could no longer strike a blow.

Besides their military exercises, the squires in the courts and houses of their lords, made daily progress in the softer arts of life. Each castle in England, after the troublous days of Stephen were over, and when chivalry began to assume its milder form, became a school of courtesy, and we find that all the more distinguished nobles soon learned to value themselves upon their reputation for politeness and urbanity, their hospitality, generosity, and munificence, as much as upon their valour, power, and conduct. The unextinguished barbarism of the age remained but little softened in the heart of man, and broke out in the most violent, brutal, and sanguinary acts, when passions were excited and the blood hot, while the progress of society in civilisation displayed itself in external things, and in the daily intercourse of life: as the summer sunshine brightens the colours and enriches the aspect of the peach, long before the fruit loses its wintry hardness, or obtains the sweetness of a maturer season. Thus Froissart describes the court of the Count of Foix, in which nevertheless many a terrible deed was done, as filled with knights and squires of honour, re-



ceiving all comers with the utmost courtesy, and exerting themselves in every respect to entertain the guests, and to make their days pass in comfort and pleasure. Here, too, the lessons of love which had been taught before, were practised and repeated; and though, but too often, nature and passion changed the refined into the coarse, yet, in very many instances, the higher principles predominated, and at all events they tended to soften a licentiousness which would have existed probably to a still greater extent, and certainly in a much more brutal and degrading form, if they had never been called forth; while in the end they undoubtedly purified and elevated feelings that no one could wish destroyed. Society seemed spontaneously to make an effort, in almost all parts of Europe, to combine the highest military qualities with the most polished manners; and though the task was a difficult one to accomplish at any time, perhaps an impossible one to accomplish at the period of which we speak, yet the effect of that effort has been permanent, and is still felt throughout Europe.

It was while in the midst of that chivalrous education, which was the principal means employed to produce such results, that Richard, Duke of Aquitaine, fled to the court of the King of France, with the open purpose of taking arms against his father. We cannot doubt, from all the accounts which have been received, that Henry, though setting an example of constant activity, and of a fondness for those sports and exercises that prepared the body for military fatigues, was, in other respects, an over-indulgent parent. This, perhaps, might have some effect upon the character of Richard, developing all that fiery eagerness and impatience of control, which formed prominent and dangerous traits both in his father and his mother, and were perhaps still more conspicuous in himself. Henry, indeed, was furious when disappointed or offended, almost to a pitch of insanity; and the accounts given of his intemperate language, fierce and extravagant gestures, of his casting himself down upon the ground, gnawing the coverings of his bed, and other wild acts of passion, give us a very lamentable picture of human weakness; but he was cautious in acting, though always prompt in preparation. Richard, on the contrary, though we are told that his looks were generally menacing when opposed or contradicted, was even more rash and prompt in

action than in words. A blasphemous oath, or bitter jest, was generally followed instantly by some wild and brilliant, but surprising act of revenge, or else his anger was suffered to evaporate in those few words, and the matter was forgotten. His father's indulgence, however, doubtless increased the impetuosity of his character; and when he found himself at the court of France, freed from all control, honoured, courted, caressed, and taught to believe his wildest pretensions just, and the restraint which his father still strove to hold over him cruel and tyrannical, all the evil points in his character must have gained a still greater ascendancy, had it not been for the presence and superior influence of his elder brother Henry, and the tenderness of affection with which all the nobles of France seem to have regarded Geoffrey, the youngest of the three sons of the English king.

Of his elder brother, Richard very soon conceived a degree of jealousy, the effects of which we shall have to notice hereafter; and it would seem that the first seeds were early sown at the court of France, where the young Henry was treated in every respect as King of England, and everything was done which could flatter his vanity or increase his inordinate pride. His conduct, however, in the dangerous and difficult circumstances wherein he had placed himself, showed vast inferiority of mind, when compared with that of his father at the same early age. Some wrong, it is true, might have been done him by that father in refusing him the possession of that power and wealth which he had been taught to expect; and, had he wisely limited his desires and efforts to produce a change in this particular point, his rebellion might have terminated with less disgrace to his understanding, if not with honour to his heart. Encouraged, however, by the King of France, he now showed a determination of waging war against his father till he had obtained possession of authority which he had not the slightest right to claim during his parent's lifetime, and dominions which he could only acquire by usurpation. These pretensions, and the haughtiness with which he urged them, the adulation which he received in the court of Louis, and the use that he made of his assumed authority, were all calculated to produce angry feelings in the mind of his brother Richard; but at the same time a thousand motives might prevent the latter prince from abandoning the party he had once espoused, and from returning



to the parent against whom he had taken arms. In the first place, the ideas which had been instilled into him by his mother, for whom his affection appears to have been tender, unvarying, and sincere, caused him to view all his father's acts in an evil light. In the next place, the ordinary feeling of shame, especially acting upon a young and inexperienced mind, taught him to shrink from seeking a parent to whom he had violated his duty; and in the third place, he was involved in a vast and extensive conspiracy, comprising some of the first and most influential persons in his father's insular and continental dominions. These persons he could not abandon without reproach, and according to the maxims of society, without dishonour; and therefore, we find him continuing in arms against his king and his parent, although the whole attention of the court of France was paid to his elder brother, whom he seems neither to have loved nor revered. The younger Henry, indeed, appears to have possessed very many qualities which were calculated to inspire jealousy in the breast of his brother Richard. Though he was evidently weak in character, and though various traits will show that he was vain and haughty, yet he was remarkably handsome in person, powerful in body, skilful and renowned in all martial exercises, and wonderfully popular in his manners. Perhaps no prince was ever more generally loved than the young king by the great body of his inferiors; and it is only from some small traits, which those who praise him most have conveyed to us, together with the weak and criminal acts by which he signalised his rebellion against his father, that we are taught to believe he would have been, had he lived, one of the worst monarchs that ever sat on the English throne.

No sooner had Henry provided, as far as possible, for the security of his Norman frontier, than, as we have before said, he sent faithful ambassadors to the court of France, both to discover the intentions of his revolted children and of the monarch who supported them, and to labour for the purpose of arranging some terms by which the storm of war might be averted. His envoys were two venerable and respectable prelates, the old Archbishop of Rouen and the Bishop of Lisieux. Neither their sacred character, however, nor the justice of the cause they came to advocate, nor a sense of piety, could induce the King of France to treat the

ambassadors of Henry with decent respect; and his reply to their greeting on being admitted to his court was—if we may trust William of Newbury—equally unworthy of a monarch, a father, a Christian, or a man of sense. He first demanded who sent them with such messages as those which they delivered? They replied, with some astonishment, that it was the King of England.

“That is false,” replied Louis, pointing to the younger Henry; “here is the King of England,—he never sent you to me;” and he then went on to contend that Henry the Second had resigned the throne to his son, when he caused him to be crowned, although he himself well knew how little that act conferred any real sovereignty, by the customs of the very people over which he reigned.

The bishops, however, still pursued their object. They exhorted Louis to avoid the horrors of warfare,—they magnified the benefits of peace,—they represented to him the evil of encouraging dissensions between a father and his sons, and they used all those arguments which, as Christian prelates, they might well employ in addition to the reasons of policy and human expediency, which they brought forward on behalf of the king.

Louis, however, was deaf to their exhortations. He avowed, openly, that he was determined to go to war; he accused Henry of subtlety and continual violation of faith towards him; he declared that he had resolved upon hostilities before he was joined by Prince Henry; and he talked vaguely of Henry having excited his subjects to enmity against him from the mountains of Auvergne\* to the banks of the Rhone. At the same time, he assigned as special causes for adhering to his warlike resolution, that Henry had not sent the Princess Margaret of France to her husband, that he retained her dower, and that he had received the Count of St. Giles and Toulouse to liege homage, in contempt of the rights of the crown of France; and the monarch ended by

\* This is a curious expression. There might have been some question whether Auvergne was under the domination of Henry, as Suzerain, or under that of Louis; but the territory between Auvergne and the Rhone is, I believe, only found mentioned as a matter of dispute between the monarchs on that one occasion. The words used on this subject, in the letter written by the two bishops, are as follows:—“*Quod subditos suæ ditioni populos à montibus Alvernæ usque ad Rhodanum in ipsius odium concitastis.*”



swearing that he would never make peace with Henry without the consent of that king's wife and sons.

The only one of the charges urged against the English sovereign which would appear to have been justified by fact, was that which related to the homage of the Count of Toulouse, and even in this instance the offence seems to have been a mere informality. The count's homage was certainly due to Richard, as Duke of Aquitaine, and to him the act was performed; for we are assured that the ceremony was postponed at the congress of Clermont, because the young prince was not present. But it would appear that the count afterwards, as Richard was not in full and real possession of Aquitaine and Poitou, did homage as well to Henry as to his son, a concession which the King of England was very willing, undoubtedly, to grasp at, but which can scarcely be considered a legitimate cause for warfare, when it is recollected that the act should have been performed to Henry himself by the Count of Toulouse very many years before, and in the oath of homage was distinctly inserted the words—"saving the faith due to Louis, King of France."

The real causes, however, of Louis's hostile determination, were, his jealousy of the power and reputation of his neighbour, the ancient enmity which had subsisted between them ever since the flight of Becket, and the restless spirit of military adventure which has at all times animated the nobles of France. The letter of Henry's ambassadors shows us that the whole court of Louis was eager and impatient for hostilities; and, amidst the warnings to prepare for a more fierce and pertinacious war than he had ever yet waged, which they give to their sovereign, they insert a caution against darker and more criminal proofs of enmity. Their words clearly point at murder; and, though it is scarcely possible to believe that either Louis or the King of England's own sons did countenance such a purpose, yet we cannot doubt that men of so high a reputation as the Archbishop of Rouen and the Bishop of Lisieux would have refrained from the insinuation, had they not been well assured by all they saw and heard, that the life of their sovereign was really in danger from the knife of the assassin.\*

\* Amongst other expressions which leave no doubt of what they meant, is the

Giving up all hope of effecting the object for which they had been sent, the ambassadors left the court of France and returned to Rouen ; while Henry, still anxious to terminate peacefully the unnatural contention which had arisen between himself and his sons, despatched messengers to the Pope, beseeching him to interfere as the common father of the Christian world. In the mean time, however, all things combined to hurry on the commencement of warfare. The seeds of conspiracy which had been sown by Eleanor, produced more bitter fruit, and gave its harvest more rapidly than even the King of France and the monarch's sons could have anticipated. Every province of Henry's continental dominions, every county in England, had received the germs of insurrection ; and negotiations of the most extensive kind were rapidly carried on with all the monarch's neighbours, to detach them from his alliance, and to engage them to co-operate in the impious warfare which was about to commence.

The younger Henry had been accompanied, or closely followed, by three of his father's principal courtiers ; but he had not been long at the French court, when Paris and Chartres became crowded by fugitives from the dominions of the King of England. The discontented nobles of Brittany instantly took arms against Henry ; a number of the barons of Aquitaine and Poitou followed their example ; fewer of the Normans, indeed, gave way ; but in England the sedition was more alarming than in any other quarter, both from its extent, and from the station of the persons which it comprised. Richard de Lucy, Henry's gallant and determined friend, remained in London as grand justiciary, warned by his sovereign to watch the progress of events, and to take measures for defeating the designs of the malcontents. So sudden, however, and unexpected was the outburst of the rebellion, that no great military power had been prepared to repress it ; and De Lucy could only take gentler means to restrain the disaffected till the extent of the conspiracy was fully known, and the loyal subjects of the king could be rallied round his standard.

Such was the state of affairs in England when Robert Earl of Leicester, and William Earl of Tankerville, came in

following:—"Nec satis est ei exterminare terræ faciem igne gladio ; sed in vestram personam (quod absit) scelus execrabile machinatur."



haste to London, and applied to the grand justiciary for permission to cross the sea into France. It is probable that De Lucy had cause to suspect one at least of these noblemen, namely, the Earl of Leicester, who was known to have borrowed large sums of money on every side; and the justiciary, therefore, before he gave the permission that they sought, compelled them both to take an oath upon the sacrament, to be faithful to the king, Henry the Second. Having done this, he suffered them to depart; and they immediately proceeded to France in order, notwithstanding their vow, to join the party of the insurgents. Their example was followed by a number of others, amongst whom were the Earl of Chester, the Earl of Mellent, Robert de Montfort, and a long list of noblemen, who, we are assured by Diceto, did not join the princes from any belief in the justice of their cause, but simply because Henry the Second had freely punished them for offences, taking from them their castles or levelling them with the ground, and repressing, with a strong hand, the crimes and misconduct of all classes of men. Besides all these, were many persons on whom the king probably counted as faithful subjects, the chief of whom was Hugh Bigot, whose castle of Framlingham now became the focus of rebellion for the northern and eastern counties of England.

In Brittany the people were soon in actual revolt; the first to raise the standard was the Viscount de Fougères, who was almost immediately joined by Asculph de St. Hilaire, one of the earliest and most active promoters of the rebellion of Henry's sons. To them the Earl of Chester soon brought aid from England; and Eudes, the disappointed claimant of the duchy, seized the favourable opportunity of recovering the hereditary estates of which Henry had deprived him. Nor was Henry less seriously menaced on the northern side of Normandy; for there the allies, on whose faith he had the best reason to rely with confidence, abandoned him in the most shameless and disgraceful manner. Philip, Count of Flanders, whose friend, protector, and guardian he had been, and Matthew, Count of Boulogne, whom he had in fact enriched, by enabling him to marry the daughter of Stephen, both of whom were bound to him by treaties and by oaths, were now induced to violate their most solemn engagements. At the solicitation of the King of France, they not only promised to join the young King Henry, but did homage to

him, receiving, as their reward, a grant of the county of Kent, and an annual subsidy of a thousand pounds sterling, together with another grant of detached lands in England and of the county of Mortagne, which had so long been coveted by the Count of Boulogne. Nor were these the only acts of lavish profusion by which the young king endeavoured to gain allies, and to stimulate the zeal of his supporters. On the Count of Blois he bestowed the fortress of Amboise, and vast rights in Touraine, together with an annuity; on the King of Scotland, the whole of Northumberland beyond Tyne; Cambridgeshire as well as Huntingdon were given to David, brother of the Scottish king; Norwich and the honour of Eye, to Hugh Bigot; and a multitude of other estates to other persons, sealing all the grants with an imitation of the great seal of England.

Thus did the weak and improvident prince divide his father's territories amongst those who promised him support in his rebellion, and hold out, as an inducement to treason and breach of faith, the plunder of his parent, and the pillage of his own heritage. He was lamentably successful; and armies were collected round Henry the Second on every side with the rapidity which the feudal system so greatly favoured. Although the flight of the young king did not take place until after Easter, the King of France was in the field with an immense force before the 1st of July, and previous to that period hostilities had commenced between the Count of Flanders and the Normans. The first effort of the war, indeed, was nothing but a brief irruption into Henry's territories, where the Flemings were encountered by the nobles of Normandy, and the bridge by which the former had crossed a river breaking, from the pressure of numbers in their flight, the greater part were drowned. The more important operations of the campaign, however, began with the siege of Verneuil, on the part of the King of France, and the siege of Aumale, then called Albemarle, on the northern frontier of Normandy, by the Counts of Flanders and Boulogne.\* We neither know the number of men in the army of Louis, nor in that of the counts; but we are told that each was very great, and each it is proved was completely furnished with

\* Some authors imply that the young King Henry was with the army of the Count of Flanders; but it seems to me much more probable that he should be at this time with Louis, as other authors assert.



many of the enormous engines used in those days for battering the walls of a besieged city. Louis's force, indeed, is said to have comprised seven thousand knights, from which statement there is reason to believe that his whole force of horse and foot was the largest which had been brought into the field by any king of France for many years. His progress, however, was more slow than that of his ally the sovereign of Flanders.

In the mean time Henry did not show, on the present occasion, that alacrity in defending himself which he had heretofore displayed whenever he was attacked. He saw his territories ravaged during the greater part of the spring, without taking any vigorous measures to retaliate upon the enemy; and he even witnessed the siege of two of his strongest frontier fortresses without marching to the relief of either. Various causes have been assigned for this apparent apathy, and probably many considerations had each some share in keeping him inactive: He might well dread personally plunging into a warfare, where, in the first field of battle, three of his children were likely to be found arrayed against himself. He might wish, also, to ascertain clearly where he could place trust and confidence, in order that he might not be betrayed in the moment of need; and he might think it necessary to increase his forces very greatly before he ventured to encounter either of the enemy's armies.

Henry was not wholly inactive, however; but finding that the number of his vassals on whom he could rely would by no means furnish a sufficient body of troops to encounter his enemies in the field, he had recourse to that evil expedient which he had condemned so strongly in the case of Stephen. His exact economy, good management, and rigid dealing with his inferior officers, placed great wealth at his disposal; and no difficulty was found at that period in meeting with large bodies of military adventurers, ready to sell the service of their swords to any one who had gold to offer. These people were generally called Brabançois, or Brabançons, the duchy of Brabant being the country from which they principally came at the time the custom first began to be adopted; and thirty thousand of these men, of determined courage and much military experience, were speedily engaged in the service of the King of England. They were in general held in great abhorrence by the people of any country in which

they made war; for their circumstances and habits rendered them even more unsparing and active in the trade of plunder and butchery than the ordinary soldiery of the day, though they were not celebrated for gentleness or humanity.

For some time after the Brabançons had joined the King of England, Henry still remained in the heart of Normandy without displaying any very great activity. He did indeed despatch a body of the mercenaries into Brittany, for the purpose of repressing the revolt in that quarter, but their first efforts were not successful; and a number of Henry's partisans having been cut to pieces near the small town of St. James, the Brabançons were forced to retire from the duchy. In the mean while the situation of Normandy, for some weeks, appeared to grow worse and worse. Aumale was taken with great rapidity, and the Count or Earl of Albemarle,\* who commanded there, has been suspected of treachery. Certain it is, that, to purchase his freedom, he agreed to give up to Prince Henry a number of other towns and castles which he possessed in Normandy.

From the captured city of Aumale, the two Counts of Flanders and Boulogne marched on to the attack of Neufchatel and Driencourt, both of which places were very speedily taken; but the campaign, on their part, was now brought to an end by the death of the Count of Boulogne, who was wounded in the thigh by an arrow, and died shortly after; though no two writers, that I have met with, agree as to the place where he received the wound which terminated his existence. Some say it was before the walls of Neufchatel; some, under those of Driencourt; and some declare that, after the fall of the latter city, the two counts undertook another siege, at which the Count of Boulogne was killed.† It is certain, however, that the fatal event took place on St. James's day; and it was remarked that on the very same day in a preceding year he had sworn fealty to Henry the

\* I know not whether this could be considered as an English title at that period.

† Hoveden, who must have been in Normandy at the time, does not mention Neufchatel, neither does Diceto. The former says that the count was killed before Driencourt. Matthew of Boulogne does not seem to have been a very amiable character. Not long before his death, according to D'Oudegherst, in 1171, he sent back his wife Mary, in right of whom alone he possessed the county of Boulogne, to the convent from which he had taken her, and married Eleanor, widow of the Count of Nevers, by whom he left no children.



Second. Whether from this coincidence, or from the voice of remorse in his own heart, I do not know, but it would appear that the Count of Flanders regarded the death of his brother as an evident indication of God's displeasure, and determined to withdraw from the war between Henry and his sons; which the English monarch suffered him to do without any attempt to molest him.

During the course of the preceding events, Henry had remained at Rouen, keeping up an appearance of perfect cheerfulness and equanimity, receiving all men who sought an audience of him with complaisance and good humour, employing himself with his ordinary business and recreations, and affecting to pursue his favourite sport of the chase with even more eagerness than ever. No sooner had the Count of Flanders retired to his own country, however, than the English monarch, who it would appear had been afraid to act against either of the hostile forces while they were within a few days' march of each other, roused himself like a lion waking from his sleep, and prepared to encounter the King of France, now left unsupported. Taking all the troops of Brabant that could be spared from the defence of the different fortresses, and collecting a large body of his own nobility—now tried by the test of adversity, and winnowed, as it were, from the chaff with which they had been lately mixed—he began his march for Verneuil with a numerous army of faithful, veteran, and determined soldiers. Without pause or delay he advanced till he reached the town of Conches, where he was met by deputies from Verneuil itself, giving him information of the state of that city. It was now considerably more than a month since the King of France had begun the siege; but Henry had entrusted the defence of Verneuil to two of his most determined and faithful friends, Hugh de Lacy and Hugh Beauchamp, and the resistance offered here was very different from that which the Count of Flanders had met with at Aumale. Scarcely any progress had been made by the besieging army in destroying the fortifications of the town; but the strict blockade to which it had been subjected, had brought the evils of famine upon the garrison. In these circumstances the two commanders had determined to capitulate upon certain conditions, and to surrender a part at least of the city at the end of three days, in case they were not succoured within that period, Louis giving them

permission to send messengers to Henry, in order to demand speedy aid. It is probable that neither the French king nor the garrison of Verneuil imagined that Henry would attempt to relieve that city, though it was one of the most important bulwarks of his Norman frontier, consisting of several quarters, or burghs, as they were called, separate from each other, and each strongly fortified with walls, towers, and moats.

The news of this capitulation reached Henry at Conches, and, having been joined by a large reinforcement, he marched on rapidly to Breteuil on the Iton; at which place the Earl of Leicester possessed a castle, apparently separate from the town. Knowing that it was unable to resist the attack of a powerful army, that nobleman fled at the king's approach; and Henry, in punishment of his treason, burned the castle to the ground. Drawing up his army in battle array, with all his gallant followers eager for combat, the English monarch then marched on prepared to attack the King of France. He was surprised, however, ere he had gone far, by the appearance of messengers from Louis, who came, in fact, for the purpose of observing the condition of the English army. Henry was already on horseback, completely armed, and at some short distance before the main body of his forces. The only thing the messengers were charged to demand was, whether Henry intended to give battle to the King of France; to which the English monarch replied, in an angry voice and with a fierce countenance, "Go! tell your king, lo! I am with him." The messengers, of whom one was the Archbishop of Sens, returned in all haste, and reported what they had seen and heard. Counsel was immediately taken in the French camp, and envoys were again sent back to Henry to propose a conference for the restoration of peace.

Eager to terminate so painful a warfare, the King of England suffered himself to be deceived, and granted the request of Louis's messenger, that a conference might take place to settle the terms of pacification. The day on which Henry agreed to this proposal was the last which had been granted to the garrison of Verneuil; but the terms of the capitulation were distinct, that if aid arrived within the period specified, the town was not to be surrendered; and even if it were surrendered, the King of France, the young Henry, and the principal nobles of the French court, took a solemn



oath that the hostages should be returned, that all people should remain free, and that no injury should be done, or suffered to be done, in the town. Knowing the conditions which had been made, and taking it for granted that his appearance in arms, ready to do battle with the King of France, was in reality the fulfilment of the stipulation for succouring Verneuil, Henry incautiously did not make it a condition of the one day's truce which he now granted the King of France, that Verneuil was to be considered as relieved. Louis took advantage of this oversight; the inhabitants of the town were probably not aware of Henry's presence in the neighbourhood, and, believing themselves abandoned, gave up the city at the time agreed upon. Henry waited for the King of France in vain. That monarch, conscious of treacherous intentions, neither came nor sent ambassadors to the place appointed; and the news soon reached the spot where Henry's army was drawn up, that Verneuil was pillaged and in flames, the inhabitants made prisoners, and the army of France in full flight.

Indignant at this gross violation of the most sacred engagements, Henry instantly pursued the fugitive forces, slaughtered a number of the stragglers, and took the whole baggage—thus marking with signal disgrace the retreat of the army of the French.\* The English monarch directed

\* Probably of no event in the range of history are there more various accounts than of the events just related. I have followed principally the narration of Hoveden, though I acknowledge that there is an air of truth and accuracy about Diceto's account which is very favourable to it. My only reason for preferring Hoveden is that, from his situation in the court of Henry, there is every reason to believe that he was in Normandy at the time, if not actually with his master in the expedition to Verneuil. His account, indeed, has much the tone of a tale told by an eye-witness; but, at the same time, I cannot refrain from mentioning the particulars in which Diceto differs with him, which are of considerable importance. The most material variation is in regard to the capitulation of Verneuil, Diceto implying that the garrison, pressed by hunger, had put Louis in actual possession of the gates of the town before they applied to Henry, upon Louis and his great counsellors taking an oath to retire without doing any injury if aid arrived within three days—at least, so I understand the passage. Thus, by his account, Louis only committed one act of treachery instead of two. It will be seen above, that I have left it doubtful whether the whole town was surrendered, together with its castle, or merely the principal division or burgh. Hoveden's words would lead us to suppose that it was merely the Great Burgh, though other writers seem to say the whole city. Hoveden and Diceto, and all other authors with one solitary exception, declare the treachery of the King of France, and his ignominious retreat, and describe the pursuit by the English troops. The exception is William of Newbury, a very respectable author certainly, but one who had not the opportunities of knowing what took place in

immediate measures to be taken for restoring the fortifications of Verneuil: but he now showed as much eager promptitude in all his proceedings, as he had before shown inactivity; and, without pausing to see the town repaired, he returned rapidly to Rouen, taking as he went the castle of Dameville, and capturing a number of knights and soldiers by whom it was garrisoned. Immediately on his arrival at Rouen, the king despatched a considerable force of Brabançois to arrest the progress of the rebels in Brittany, preparing, at the same time, to follow in person, as soon as the necessary business of the duchy of Normandy would suffer him to absent himself. His movements must have been made with the utmost celerity; for we find that the retreat of the French took place on the 9th of August,\* after which he took Dameville, and marched to Rouen; and yet the force of Brabançois which he sent into Brittany arrived in the neighbourhood of Dol within ten days after the retreat of the King of France.

While the events which we have described were taking place in Normandy, the Viscount of Fougères and his partisans had made great progress in the adjoining duchy; and by stratagem or corruption, had induced the garrisons of Dol and Combour to surrender those strong towns. Some authors have supposed that it was the intelligence of such negotia-

Normandy, which were possessed both by Hoveden and Diceto. Nor am I, to say the truth, inclined to place so much reliance either upon William of Newbury's dates or his statements of fact, as I am upon his general views, and the exposition of the motives upon which men acted. His painting of manners, indeed, is sometimes very good—his anecdotes highly characteristic of the time and the people—and the whole related in good language, with wonderfully few prejudices or traits of a narrow mind. But he seems to me to have striven more for such excellencies, than for great precision, either in regard to facts, or the arrangement of them. He distinctly says that the King of England, contented with the disgraceful flight of the French, forbade his army to pursue them; neither does he mention the taking and burning of Verneuil; but in these points his authority cannot be placed in competition with that of Hoveden. On what authority, or by what mistake, Lord Lyttleton calls the author of the Chronicle, attributed to Brompton, a contemporary, I do not know. It is a very valuable record certainly, but one which, I believe, was not composed for a century afterwards.

\* The eve of the day of St. Laurence, and the 5th ides of August. The distance from Verneuil to Rouen is sixty miles, and the distance from Rouen to Dol is one hundred and ninety-eight; so that I am inclined to believe that Henry detached the Brabançois who gained the battle of Dol, from Verneuil, without taking them to Rouen. He himself performed the journey from Rouen to Dol with a rapidity scarcely credible; for it is certain that he set out from Rouen on Wednesday morning, and reached Dol before nine o'clock A.M. on Thursday.



tions being carried on between his officers and the enemy, that caused Henry to despatch a force into that quarter so rapidly. He was, however, on all occasions, prompt to seize the cup of fortune when it was filled to the brim, though he did not, like many another man, attempt to drain it when nothing but dregs remained; and his eagerness in taking advantage of the turn of circumstances in his favour, was but in accordance with his general character; nor does it appear to me quite clear, that he was aware of the treason going on at Dol. His troops, however, on their arrival in Brittany, found that Dol and Combour had surrendered to the enemy, and that Raoul of Fougères, Asculph de St. Hiliare, together with the Earl of Chester, William Patrick, and a number of other English barons, were marching to meet them at the head of a large force. Eager to repair their former reverses in Brittany, the Brabançois gave battle to the enemy on the 20th of August, 1173, and a total and most signal defeat of the rebels ensued. Fifteen hundred of the Bretons were left dead on the field of battle, amongst whom were many distinguished knights and gentlemen; and seventeen celebrated leaders were taken, one of whom was Asculph de St. Hiliare himself. The rest fled in confusion, and threw themselves into the castle of Dol, which was instantly invested by the Brabançois.

At the news of these events, Henry hurried from Normandy to press the siege with the greatest vigour; and travelling night and day, arrived in time to be present at the surrender, which was undoubtedly hastened by his actual presence in the besieging army. On the 26th of August, the rebels, finding it impossible to resist, yielded themselves to the will of the king; and the Viscount de Fougères, his brother William, the Earl of Chester, a number of Norman and English barons, and a still greater number of Bretons, amounting in all to near one hundred insurgent nobles, fell at once into the hands of Henry. A great quantity of plunder was taken and given up to the Brabançois, whose military reputation was not a little increased by the signal victory they had obtained.

The arms of the king were no less successful in England than they had lately proved in Normandy and Brittany, though he was not on the spot to encourage his officers and friends. Richard de Lucy, Humphrey de Bohun, and the

Earl of Cornwall, had remained not only faithful, but zealous, in the service of their king; and as soon as forces could be raised, and the actual state of the rebellion ascertained, they employed the most active means to suppress the evil which had already risen to so great a head. The two principal nobles who had declared themselves for the insurgent princes, were the Earl of Chester—who had confined his efforts, as we have seen, to France, and had met with signal defeat—and Robert the Humpbacked, Earl of Leicester, whose flight from England we have already detailed. Henry had immediately punished the earl's rebellion by seizing all his estates and castles in Normandy; but it was much more necessary to deprive him of the power and influence that he possessed in England, which was indeed so great as to be at all times dangerous to the crown. His father had been one of Henry's most trusted and faithful servants, and had always displayed the utmost devotion to his royal master; nor do we know of any cause which the king had given, to excite feelings of enmity in the breast of that nobleman's son. His hatred seems, however, to have been of the most inveterate character, and against him one of the first blows was struck by the indignation of the monarch. By Henry's orders, Richard de Lucy and the Earl of Cornwall proceeded at the head of their forces, to besiege the city and castle of Leicester, and sat down before the town on the 3rd of July. The citizens and the garrison determined to make a vigorous resistance, but the siege was brought to a termination much sooner than might have been expected. Provisions began to fail, a part of the town was burnt by an accidental fire, and finding that they were not competent to contend with the forces of the grand justiciary, the inhabitants capitulated on the 28th of the same month, upon terms much more advantageous to themselves than probably would have been granted, had not the threatening aspect of affairs in other parts of the country shown De Lucy that it was necessary to terminate his enterprise as soon as it could be considered accomplished with honour to his master's arms. A sum was paid as a fine by the citizens of the town; and upon condition of being received in peace into some of the cities or castles of the king's domain, till the civil war should be at an end, they delivered up what remained of Leicester. The garrison of the castle obtained a truce till Michaelmas; and having thus, in some



degree, bridled the rebellion in the midland counties of England, De Lucy turned his attention to the north, where a new storm was now gathering.

Scarcely had the convention been signed by the people of Leicester, when news reached the justiciary and his colleague in arms, that William, King of Scotland, had burst forth from his own dominions with a large force, principally composed of Galwegians, at that time the most fierce and barbarous part of the Scottish people. The first intimation of his presence in England, was accompanied by the tidings that, after devastating in the most bloody and cruel manner the whole open country of Cumberland, he had sat down before Carlisle, and was making rapid progress in the siege of that city. For that part of the country, then, Richard de Lucy immediately began his march, leaving the Earl of Cornwall to overawe the partisans of the insurgents in the neighbourhood of Leicester. But before he himself could reach Carlisle, the King of Scotland, warned of his approach, had raised the siege; and, being treacherously permitted to pass through the county of Durham, was actually ravaging Yorkshire with fire and sword. Thither then the justiciary next led his forces; but the King of Scotland dared not trust to the steadiness of his Galwegians in presence of a regular army, and once more he retired before De Lucy, who pursuing him into Scotland, took and burnt the city of Berwick, and for some time retaliated on the unfortunate county of Lothian all the evils and miseries which the Scottish army had inflicted upon the people of Yorkshire and Cumberland.

Thus, towards the autumn of the year 1173, the arms of Henry—which at the beginning of the campaign had been so unsuccessful as to give the brightest hopes to his adversaries—were triumphant in every part of his dominions. New attempts, indeed, were about to be made; but before any of these efforts took place, a negotiation was opened, which I must now proceed to notice.

The brilliant and rapid advantages which Henry had gained, struck the insurgents and their allies with temporary dismay, and the King of France appeared peculiarly affected by reverses, which deprived him of all prospect of terminating the war rapidly, with honour to himself and advantage to the young princes whom he had supported in re-

bellion against their father. His finances were, at this time, in a very disastrous state; and we find from Diceto, that he had been obliged to have recourse to unusual and burdensome means in order to bring into the field and support in activity the large army with which he had commenced the war. Pressed by these strong motives, he showed himself willing for a time to listen to proposals of peace; and the papal legate interposed to bring about an amicable adjustment of the dissensions between Henry and his sons. Some writers declare that Louis himself sought an interview with great eagerness, driven to despair by the successes of his enemy; while others imply that the first efforts were made by Henry. However that may be, a conference was agreed upon between the two kings; and it accordingly took place on the frontiers of France and Normandy, between Gisors and Trie, on the 25th of September, 1173. The King of England was accompanied by a number of bishops, archbishops, counts, and barons: and Louis was followed not only by all the principal personages of his court, but also by the three sons of the English king, Henry, Richard, and Geoffrey. The proposals for peace seem to have been made by the King of England, and the establishments which he offered to his children were certainly such as they should have accepted with joy. To his eldest son he offered to give, either one half of the revenues of England with four strong places in this country, or one half of the revenues of Normandy, and all the revenues of the county of Anjou, with three strong places in Normandy, one in Anjou, one in Maine, and one in Touraine. To Richard, he proposed to resign half the revenues of Aquitaine, and four fortresses therein; and to Geoffrey he promised the whole territory of Brittany, if the consent of the Pope could be obtained for the young prince's marriage with Constance. Moreover, Henry submitted to the arbitration of the Archbishop of Tarentum and the papal legates the offers he had made and the claims of his sons; promising to add whatever those personages should think right to the great portions he assigned to his children, and only reserving to himself the administration of justice and the sovereignty of the whole territory.

The King of France, however, had by this time changed his views. He had received, it would seem, assurances of



fresh support from his nobles ; the Count of Flanders had in some degree recovered from the shock of his brother's death, and was willing to pursue the unholy war in which he had engaged ; and Louis would not suffer even such liberal proposals to be accepted. The English princes seem to have yielded to his dictation without resistance, and bitterly painful must it have been for Henry to meet his children thus armed against him, and confederated with his irreconcilable enemy. Besides the pain which such a spectacle must have occasioned to the English king, he had also to encounter the insolence of one of his revolted subjects, for the Earl of Leicester had been suffered to follow the princes to the conference, and he there dared to use the most opprobrious and insulting language to his sovereign, and even to lay his hand upon his sword as if about to assault the monarch, from which it would appear he was only restrained by the spectators.

Disappointed in the hope of peace, Henry returned to the town of Gisors ; but by the way some knights of the French party attacked a body of gentlemen attached to the King of England, between Gisors and St. Clair. The French, however, were defeated, and one of their principal knights was taken by the hand of William de Mandeville, Earl of Essex.

No sooner was the conference at an end, than the war was renewed in various quarters. The young King Henry, accompanied by a number of French nobles, made an unsuccessful attack upon Normandy, but was repulsed by the inhabitants of the district unaided. The Earl of Leicester, proceeding to Flanders, easily raised a large force in that county, and putting to sea without loss of time, reached the mouth of the Orwell in safety on the 29th of September. He was received with the utmost gladness by Hugh Bigot, Earl of Norfolk, who might well expect to be attacked in his castle of Framlingham, as soon as the justiciary could return from Scotland ; and joining their forces together, the two earls made an attack upon Dunwich, then a very large and important city. The citizens, however, were not only faithful to their king, but brave and skilful ; and the insurgents met with unexpected resistance, and were forced to raise the siege somewhat disgracefully. They then applied themselves to besiege Hakeneth Castle, belonging to Ranulph de Broc, but that proved a more easy enterprise than the attack of

Dunwich. The fortress surrendered at the end of four days; and the two earls returned to Framlingham, where an intestine warfare, it would seem, speedily arose between the Countess of Norfolk and the Countess of Leicester, the latter of whom is described as a lady of a very virile mind.

While the animosity of the two ladies and many other circumstances were tending to produce a separation between the Earls of Norfolk and Leicester, the news of the arrival of the Flemings, and the progress of the insurrection in Suffolk, reached the ears of Richard de Lucy, who was still engaged in ravaging the territories of the King of Scotland. Taking measures to prevent the same tidings from being reported to that monarch, the justiciary and his colleague Humphrey de Bohun immediately concluded a truce with William, which he was very willing to grant. The English army then retired; and, while De Lucy dispersed a part throughout the counties from which the soldiers had been raised, Humphrey de Bohun led the rest with rapid marches to St. Edmundsbury. His force was not numerous, but it consisted almost entirely of veteran cavalry; and, having taken pains to ascertain the movements of the insurgent nobles, he prepared to attack the Earl of Leicester, whose stay at Framlingham had become, as Diceto expresses it, burdensome to Hugh Bigot, and hateful to the Countess of Norfolk. The earl had, in consequence, received a somewhat unceremonious notice, it would seem, to relieve the territories of his friend from the presence of a body of men which the stores of Framlingham could not long support, and to betake himself to his own lands. He had heard, however, of the arrival of Humphrey de Bohun in the neighbourhood, and of the rapid movement of forces to intercept him on the road, or to attack Framlingham itself; but, trusting in the valour of his troops and their superior numbers, he began his march towards Leicester on the 15th or 16th of October, proposing to leave St. Edmundsbury on the left.

By this time Humphrey de Bohun had been joined by the Earls of Cornwall, Gloucester, and Arundel; and, as soon as they heard of the march of Leicester, they issued forth from St. Edmund's, bearing the banner of the saint in their van, and proceeded to take post on the road by which they knew the earl must pass. Leicester's force, we are assured, was still superior in number, though his army was deficient



in cavalry, and he marched on without fear till at length, in the neighbourhood of Farnham, on the other side of a common between two morasses, he beheld the king's army with the banner of St. Edmund in the front. The battle immediately began, and, after a severe struggle, the superiority of the royal cavalry decided the day. Leicester and his wife were taken, with a number of knights and gentlemen attached to their party, though the countess made a desperate effort to escape on horseback. Almost all the horse were taken, and the multitude of Flemish foot which had followed the earl to the battle, were pursued and cut down by the English cavalry in every direction with so terrible a slaughter that we are assured very few escaped alive from that bloody field.

The earl and countess, in strict bonds, were immediately sent over to Henry, as the best witnesses of their own signal defeat; and the king's army in England remained inactive during the rest of the winter, Framlingham being too strong and too well prepared to admit a hope of reducing it at so advanced a period of the year.

During this time Henry himself had not been unemployed. Brittany, it is true, was perfectly tranquil; Normandy was secured for the time by the success of the royal arms; and the insurrection had not made any very great progress in Aquitaine, where the Count of Toulouse remained strictly faithful to his engagements with the King of England, and maintained his cause with zeal and activity. In Maine and Touraine, however, much evil had been done by the pernicious instigations of the rebels, and in Anjou a number of the principal nobles were in arms against the king. The Count of Vendôme, who adhered to the cause of Henry, had been expelled from that city by his son-in-law, Richard de Lavardin;\* and Henry's honour was engaged to restore to his faithful friend the territories of which he had been unjustly dispossessed. It was towards Anjou, in the first place, that the English monarch turned his steps, accompanied by a considerable force. His late successes, however, had so far intimidated the minds of the insurgents that very little resistance was made. Two castles belonging to revolted barons were immediately surrendered; and a third fortress, the castle of Champigné-le-sec, was taken, with all whom it

\* Hoveden calls him Bucard of Lavardin, and says, that he was the son of the Count of Vendôme.

contained, comprising nearly fifty gentlemen of noble families. The revolt of Anjou was thus terminated, and Henry immediately marched from the neighbourhood of Saumur, up the course of the Loire, towards Vendôme. Here also he was successful, and before Christmas he had restored the count to his territories.\*

Thus ended the campaigns of the year 1173 ; but in the course of that year an event took place in the life of Richard, Duke of Aquitaine, or, as he is more generally called at this time, Count of Poitou, which, according to all the feelings and opinions of those days, formed the most important epoch in the existence of a young noble, and on it I must consequently pause.

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## BOOK II.

THE institution of chivalry or knighthood—the twin sister in fact of the feudal system—was one of the most powerful of those engines which, produced by the circumstances and necessities of the times, tend, under the guidance of Almighty Wisdom, to elevate society from the depth of barbarism to the height of civilisation. How this institution first arose, whether it sprung up at once, as some writers have supposed, or whether it gradually, and indeed slowly, assumed regular forms, claimed for itself certain privileges, and undertook the performance of certain duties, as other authors have asserted, would require much space to examine, and might here produce no satisfactory result. The rude germs of chivalry have been traced by persons whose imagination is fond of travelling in barren and very arid paths, to what they conceive the first seeds amongst the early tribes of the north ; but others, amongst whom is ranked M. de Ste. Palaye, whose authority is of the highest kind, do not admit it as an institution previous to the year of our Lord 900. Whether his judgment upon the subject be correct or not, there is to be found in the introduction to a late edition of his “Memoirs on Chivalry,” so beautiful an account of the origin of knighthood, that I cannot refrain from translating

\* By most authors it is left doubtful whether Vendôme surrendered without resistance, or was taken after a siege. Hoveden, however, distinctly says, “*Rex Angliæ pater vim cepit Vendomiam.*”



it in this place, expressing, at the same time, my full persuasion that there is as much philosophical truth as eloquent simplicity in his general statements.

“Towards the middle of the tenth century,” the introduction says, “some poor nobles, united by the need of lawful defence, and alarmed by the excesses brought on by the multiplicity of sovereign powers, took pity on the wretchedness and tears of the people. They grasped each other’s hands, calling upon God and St. George; and, devoting themselves to the defence of the oppressed, they placed the weak under the defence of their sword. Simple in their dress, severe in their morals, humble after victory, firm and stoical in adversity, they speedily created for themselves an immense renown. Popular gratitude, in its simple and credulous joy, fed upon the marvellous narrative of their high deeds of arms, exaggerated their valour, and united in prayer the generous deliverers of the people with the powers of Heaven. So natural is it for misfortune to deify those that bring it relief.

“In those old times, as strength was a law, it was very necessary that courage should be a virtue; these men, to whom was afterwards given the name of knights, carried it to the very highest degree. Cowardice was punished by them as an unpardonable crime; and surely it is such to refuse support to the oppressed. They held a lie in horror, and branded with disgrace all perfidy and breach of faith; nor have the most celebrated legislators of antiquity produced anything comparable to their statutes.

“This league of warriors retained, during more than a century, all its original simplicity—because the circumstances amidst which it was brought forth changed but slowly; but when a great political and religious movement announced the revolutions that were about to take place in the human mind, then chivalry took a legal form, and a rank amongst the institutions of society.”

Such is the account given by the introduction to the *Memoirs of Ste. Palaye*; and without entering into all the minute points of disquisition which such a subject naturally suggests, we may well receive this statement in regard to the origin of chivalry as generally correct; and proceed to notice the changes in spirit, as well as in external forms, which that institution had undergone previous to the time at which

knighthood was conferred on Richard Plantagenet, by the hand of the King of France. It has been supposed that William Rufus introduced into England what has been called knight-errantry. The statement would have been much more correct if the writers who make this assertion had said, that the vices of himself and his court, and the disorders of his government, made all good men feel that urgent necessity for such an extraordinary institution in England, which had already produced it in other lands. It would seem certain that some enterprises did take place in the reign of Rufus, which might bear the name of knight-errantry—that is to say, that certain noble and well-disposed knights did undertake the defence of persons oppressed, in whom they had no other interest than that which arose from the generous spirit of chivalry.

It very soon happened, however, that the spirit which led men to seek out and to succour the feeble and the wronged, was lost in those qualities which had at first been mere adjuncts to the chivalrous character. The valour, which in the origin of the institution, had been subservient to the humanity; the thirst of enterprise, which at one time was prompted by the desire of doing good; the habit of wandering, which had been acquired in the search for objects of generous deliverance; all soon became the handmaids to other less noble feelings and purposes not quite so pure. Valour required honour and renown for its reward, and that renown became the object: enterprise turned her views towards ambition, avarice, and superstition; the habit of wandering was gratified in tournaments, passages of arms, and distant expeditions; and all these changes had taken place at the time when Richard was dubbed a knight by the hand of the King of France.

Still chivalry was a generous and a softening institution; and the ceremonies which were observed when it was bestowed, the exhortations addressed to the young knight, and the oaths that he was required to take, were all so many bonds and shackles upon the vehemence of human passions, and upon the vices of a barbarous age. The ceremony was a solemn, as well as a joyous one; it required preparation, and was accompanied with various religious rites in various countries. According to the customs of some lands, indeed, the preparations were severe; long fasts, nights passed in prayer,



penances, absolution, and the sacrament, as well as the watching of the knightly arms, were almost always demanded of the young aspirant to chivalry. Many of these acts were undoubtedly symbolical; the watching of arms has been supposed to typify Christian wakefulness; and the bath, which was also often prescribed, was intended to represent the purifying of the mind and heart.

When all these preparations had been gone through, the ceremony itself took place. The time chosen was generally during some great festival, or upon some extraordinary occasion, such as an approaching battle, some great enterprise, or some victory gained. This, however, was not always the case; and a squire who was worthy of knighthood, could almost always obtain it, either from the lord to whom he had attached himself, or from some other knight, if his lord refused to confer that honour upon him. It was necessary, indeed, for him to prove that his claim was justified; and in order not to violate that modesty which was inculcated as one of the first chivalrous duties, few persons ever demanded to be dubbed without being perfectly capable of proving their right to that distinction. On the contrary, indeed, it often happened that gentlemen who had distinguished themselves by high feats of arms more than once declined the honour when offered, alleging their own unworthiness. Let us suppose, however, the young aspirant willing and eager to buckle on his knightly spurs; let us suppose that he has prepared himself, by fasting, watching, prayer, confession, penance, absolution, and the sacrament; let us suppose that he has listened to the exhortations from the pulpit, which were generally addressed to persons about to be received into the order of knighthood; and let us proceed at once to the ceremony itself. The day being come, which was generally, as we have said, on some occasion when the city was full of the nobles of the land; all the friends and relations of the candidate went to seek the squire about to be knighted, and brought him in procession to the church. Very often, if his rank was high, almost all the noble knights and gentlemen of the city, with the bishop himself, each covered in the vestments of his order, the knights in their coats of arms, the bishop in his stole, conducted the aspirant to the cathedral, where the ceremony was to be performed; and then, all taking their places, high mass was celebrated by the prelate.

At the conclusion of the service, the novice, with his sword suspended from his neck, approached the high altar, and either delivering the sword to the bishop, or placing it on the altar, waited, in a humble attitude, while the prelate solemnly consecrated the weapon. He then listened to the bishop's exhortation in regard to the duties of the high station to which he was about to be elevated, and the difficulty of fulfilling them worthily.

To show what the nature of this exhortation was, it may be as well to describe exactly the ceremony, as it was performed in favour of William of Hainault, Count of Ostrevant, in regard to which we possess more complete records than respecting any other occasion of the kind. The father of the young nobleman, the famous William Count of Hainault, led his son to the cathedral of Valenciennes, accompanied by two English bishops and the Earl of Huntingdon, sent by the King of England to do him honour, by four princes of the country, called the Peers of Hainault, and by a number of other noblemen and clergymen, all clad in their canonical vestments and coats of arms. The day chosen was All Saints'-day, and the procession was received at the door of the great Church of St. John, by the Bishop of Cambray, supported by two bishops and four mitred abbots, all in their pontifical robes, and surrounded by a multitude of priests, canons, and monks. After the mass, which was celebrated by the Bishop of Cambray, the famous John of Hainault took his nephew by the hand, and led him to the bishop, beseeching him to accomplish the wishes of the young prince, who demanded to be made a knight. The bishop then turned to the count, and said, "He who wishes to be a knight must have great qualities; he must be of noble birth,\* bountiful in giving, high in courage, strong in danger, secret in council, patient in difficulties, powerful against his enemies, prudent in all his deeds. He must also swear to keep the following rules. To undertake nothing without having heard mass fasting: to spare neither his blood nor his life for the Catholic faith, and for the defence of the Church; to give aid to all widows and orphans; to undertake no war without a legitimate cause; to favour no injustice, but to protect the innocent and oppressed; to be humble in all things; to defend the property of his people; to

\* This point was by no means indispensable.



deny no right to his sovereign, and to live irreproachably before God and man. If you will, Oh William Count of Ostrevant, keep these rules, you will acquire great honour in this world, and in the end life eternal."

Having thus spoken, the bishop took the young count's joined hand in his, and placing them on a missal, asked, "Will you receive the order of knighthood in the name of the Lord God, and observe these rules?" The young count having replied that he would, the bishop gave him in writing the form of the oath he was to take, which, without rising from his knees, he proceeded to read aloud in the following terms: "I, William of Hainault, Count of Ostrevant, and vassal of the Holy Roman Empire, promise upon oath, in presence of my lords, Peter Bishop of Cambray, and the illustrious Prince William Count of Hainault, Holland, and Zealand, Lord of Friesland, my lord and father, and of the noble peers of Hainault and Valenciennes, to keep all the laws of chivalry, by my hands placed on these Holy Evangelists."

The bishop then told him, that he gave him the order in remission of his sins; upon which, his father advanced and struck him with his sword, saying: "I dub thee knight, for the honour and in the name, of God Almighty, and I receive you into our order of chivalry. Remember to keep all the ordinances of knighthood!" Immediately the two heralds of Hainault and Valenciennes bade the trumpets sound, and called aloud three times: "Long live William of Hainault, Count of Ostrevant!" After which, the procession again formed, and moved back to the palace, where a splendid banquet was served up, and the day concluded with a tournament.

Such was the ceremony of conferring knighthood, when all circumstances permitted pageantry and splendour to accompany the solemn act: but it took place upon many other occasions when such could not be the case; and it may be easily conceived, that previous to, or immediately after, a great battle, the proceedings were very different, and perhaps less splendid, but not less solemn. Nor were the duties less strictly pointed out and enjoined on these occasions than on others. Of this we have a very striking instance, in the account given of the reception of the young Prince Joam of Portugal into the order of chivalry, immediately after the storming of the Moorish fortress of Arsilla, by his father,

Alphonso V. In a former campaign the King of Portugal had met with most severe and terrible reverses, and the honour of his arms had been, for the time, sadly diminished; but after a pause of several years, he returned to Africa with a considerable army, and attacked the town of Arsilla, situated on the shores of the Atlantic. The defence was resolute; but the Portuguese monarch was determined to recover his renown; and the city being taken by storm, no quarter was given. The desperate resistance of the garrison, however, had caused a number of the most gallant Portuguese knights to fall in the assault; and amongst these was the Count of Marialva, whose body was carried into the chief mosque, and a crucifix placed upon it. Such was the moment, and such was the scene, in which Alphonso chose to bestow knighthood on his son, who had greatly distinguished himself in the attack. After praying for some time by the side of the dead body, he commanded the prince to kneel down by it also; and drawing his sword, he announced to him his intention of conferring on him the order of chivalry, and arming him with his own hand. "But in the first place, my son," he said, "know that chivalry consists in an alliance between power and virtue, for the purpose of establishing peace among men, whenever ambition, avarice, or tyranny, trouble states, or injure individuals; for knights are bound to employ their swords to destroy tyrants, and to raise good men in their place. They are likewise obliged to be faithful to their sovereign, to obey their leaders in war, and to give them good counsel. It is also the duty of a knight to be frank and liberal, and to look on nothing as his own, except his horse and arms, which he is bound to keep for the sake of acquiring honour, in the defence of his religion, his country, and the oppressed. As the priesthood was instituted for divine service, so was knighthood for the maintenance of religion and justice. A knight ought to be the husband of widows, the father of orphans, the protector of the poor, and the prop of those who have no other support. Those who do not thus act, are unworthy of the name of knight. These, my son, are the obligations which the order of chivalry will impose upon you; are you desirous of obtaining it on such terms?"

The prince replied in the affirmative; the king exacted from him a promise to perform all that the customs of the order required, and then struck him three times with his



sword on the helmet, saying: "I dub you knight, in the name of the Father, of the Son, and the Holy Ghost;" after which, he pointed to the corpse of Marialva, saying: "God make you as good a knight as this, whose body you see pierced in several places for the service of God and his sovereign!"\*

Many variations took place in the different parts of the ceremonial, according to the circumstances of the parties. The words of the adjuration varied in various countries, in reference to the patron saint of each; but the name of St. George was called upon by almost all nations. Thus we find, that the common expression used in France was: "In the name of God, St. Michael, and St. George, I dub thee knight—be loyal, bold, and true."

In general, if the ceremony was performed in the time of peace, the arms were buckled on by the hands of the persons present, and frequently by the ladies of the court in which it took place, commencing, usually, with the spurs of gold, which custom gave occasion of the common expression, when any young aspirant to chivalry had particularly distinguished himself, that he had won his spurs. It must be remarked, also, that according to the rules of that day, the golden spurs were the first ornaments of that precious metal which a young nobleman was permitted to wear; the use of gold in their garments being generally prohibited to all, however high their rank, who had not received the order of knighthood.

I have met with no account of the particular ceremonies observed, when the King of France received Richard, afterwards King of England, into the order of chivalry. They were probably, however, accompanied by all the pageantry and splendour which the court of France could display on such an occasion; but the very fact of his son receiving knighthood from the hands of Louis, must have been a very great mortification to Henry the Second. It was even in some degree a disadvantage, also, to that monarch; for between the young knight and the person who had dubbed him, was created, by the very fact, a sort of chivalrous

\* I have abridged this account a good deal. Mariana does not mention the knighthood, but he confirms the account of the king's observation on the body of Marialva, saying: "Ca murió mucha gente noble, en particular los condes, el de Montesanto llamado don Alvaro de Castro, y el de Marialva por nombre don Juan Coutiño cuyo cuerpo muerto como el Rey le viese, vuelto á su hijo: 'Oxalá (dixo) Dios te haga tal y tan grande soldado.'"

affinity which could never be shaken off. The person who had dubbed the other, was called his godfather, and was looked upon in some degree as his father in arms ; so that, although inferior persons were proud and happy to see their sons receive the order of chivalry from high nobles or distinguished knights, sovereign princes in general conferred the honour themselves on their own children, lest it should be bestowed, as in the case of Richard, by an enemy.

It became a point of honour with every young knight, as soon after receiving the order as possible, to perform some great feat of arms, or enter upon some perilous enterprise, with a view to do honour to the new rank which he had assumed. The unhappy circumstances in which Richard had been led to place himself, of course rendered his first enterprise discreditable to his feelings and his character, and, as it ultimately proved, in no degree honourable to his military name. As soon as the season of the year permitted, he attempted, with a very inferior force, to recover from his father's hands the whole of the county of Poitou ; but before I proceed to notice the result of this enterprise, I must give some account of the events which took place during the winter, and show the progress of the war in other places.

The campaign of 1173 had terminated, as we have shown, in favour of Henry, at all points of his vast dominions. The Scotch had retired discomfited—one of the principal rebels had been signally defeated and taken prisoner, though supported by a foreign army—the King of France and the insurgent princes had been forced to retire with disgrace—the rebels of Brittany had suffered a tremendous chastisement—and Anjou had been forced to submit, even to its most remote dependencies. Such successes on the one part, and reverses on the other, were well calculated to produce a disposition towards peace in the bosoms of the insurgents and their supporters. But the young princes themselves were at the age of exertion, hope, and expectation ; and in regard to their allies, the vanity of a nation greedy of military glory had been deeply hurt, and vanity, we all know, is the most pugnacious and indomitable of all human qualities. The Count of Flanders could not forget the promise of the county of Kent ; and, of the English rebels, some were hopeless of pardon if they submitted, and some were in expectation of gaining great advantages by protracting the war. The King



of Scotland, by nature of a bloodthirsty and restless disposition, looked eagerly for an opportunity of attacking a more prosperous land than his own, should the forces of his neighbour be divided; and thus, instead of commencing negotiations for peace, the whole attention of the insurgents and confederates was turned to the means of renewing the war in such a manner as to overwhelm Henry by their overpowering numbers. As we have shown, the finances of the King of France had been severely strained, in order to carry on the very first campaign against the English monarch; nor did the presence of so many of the insurgents at his court tend to diminish his expenses, especially when he undertook to confer knighthood upon Richard, which was in such cases one of the most expensive ceremonies of those times. Some repose was therefore absolutely necessary to him; and in the course of the winter he negotiated a truce with the King of England, for himself and his allies, till after the festival of Easter. The truce between England and Scotland was also extended to the same time; and Henry, it is to be remarked, on all occasions most eagerly listened to every proposal of a pacific nature.

During the winter, however, and while the truce lasted in the spring, the confederates used every exertion to recruit their forces, to obtain fresh supplies, and to acquire new partisans. In all these respects they were successful to an extraordinary degree. A large army was collected in France and Flanders,—a formidable force was soon ready to take the field under the King of Scotland,—and materials were prepared for enterprises of much greater length and importance than the unfortunate siege of Verneuil. In gaining partisans, the insurgents were but too successful. Emissaries were sent over into England by the younger Henry, whose instigations, bribes, promises, and threats,\* we are assured, shook the faith of almost every nobleman in England. This statement is undoubtedly exaggerated; but, nevertheless,

\* The words of William of Newbury are very decided upon this point. He says, "*Nec cessabat eo tempore Rex junior optimates Anglorum, qui patri adhærere videbantur, per clandestinas literas vel promissionibus allicere, vel comminationibus pulsare: ut eos ad suas quocunque modo partes traduceret. Quamobrem tunc in Anglia pauci admodum nobiles fuisse traduntur, qui non circa regem vacillarent, ab eo pro tempore defecturi, nisi maturius eorum fuisset meditationibus obviatum.*"

we know that a very great multitude of gentlemen, whose honour had previously seemed above suspicion, were actually gained to the party of the rebels, and that a vast number more were suspected, with or without cause. The situation of the justiciary and those who remained attached to the king, thus became very painful, not knowing where to look for aid with any degree of confidence, and not daring to rely even upon those who promised them help. Among those who were most strongly suspected of having been seduced to join the party of the younger Henry, were three great noblemen of the western and midland counties—the Earls of Clare and Gloucester, and Robert Ferrars, Earl of Nottingham. The two former, if they were really gained by the young king, were prudent enough to conceal their treason and wait in order to be better assured of his power to protect them. They were consequently never actively compromised in the rebellion. The Earl of Nottingham, however, did not long leave his treachery doubtful, and we shall soon find him in arms against his sovereign.

By certain movements of the King of England which followed early in the spring, we are led to believe that, in the provinces possessed by him in France, the instigations of the insurgent princes were likewise very successful; so that the aspect of Henry's affairs at Easter, 1174, was as unfavourable as it is possible to conceive, while the preparations of the confederates, though not actually complete, were in a state of great forwardness, and their plans were laid out with skill and forethought, for turning to the best account all the advantages of their situation. Those plans were directed towards a fourfold attack upon Henry's territories. The young King Henry, in conjunction with the Count of Flanders, who had collected an immense force on his coast and had sworn to invade the kingdom of England, was to cross the sea and put himself at the head of the insurgents in this island; Louis, at the same time, was to attack Normandy with overpowering numbers; the King of Scotland was to pour his fierce Galwegians into the north; and Richard, raising the standard of rebellion in Poitou, was to shake his father's authority, and divide his forces by a war in that county and in Aquitaine. Notwithstanding the menacing aspect of the times, it does not appear that Henry



increased the number of his mercenary troops, and it is probable that he did not fully know or appreciate the extent of the preparations against him.

In England, previous to the recommencement of the war on the continent, various movements had taken place affecting the condition of the rebels in this country, in regard to which movements very great obscurity exists. Either before or shortly after Christmas, a large body of Flemings were sent over to the assistance of Hugh Bigot, Earl of Norfolk; and, on the other part, considerable forces were collected from all quarters in the neighbourhood of Colchester, St. Edmundsbury, and Ipswich, for the purpose of reducing Framlingham, and the various castles into which the Earl of Norfolk had received the enemy. Who commanded the royal forces we do not know, nor are we aware of where Richard de Lucy was at this period; but we find that a considerable body of the Flemings were permitted to capitulate and retire through England in safety to their own country, ships being provided for them at Dover for the purpose of conveying them across the Channel. A suspicion of treachery existed at the time, and it was rumoured that a sum of money had been given by the Flemings for permission to depart; but many causes might combine to induce the three faithful servants of the king, Richard de Lucy, Humphrey de Bohun, and Reginald Earl of Cornwall, to suffer the Flemings to retreat quietly and make a bridge for their flying enemy. The foreign soldiers who thus retired from England, amounted to no less than fourteen thousand men; and that the forces of the Earl of Norfolk, without including the Flemings, were very considerable, is clearly proved; so that we may well suppose he had at his command nearly twenty thousand men. At no great distance, Anketille de Mallore, still holding the castle of Leicester for the insurgents, was strong enough to set the royal forces at defiance, and overawe the whole neighbouring country. The Earl of Derby and Nottingham was ready to join his forces to those of Mallore and the Earl of Norfolk; and the faith and loyalty of almost every nobleman in the realm, as well as the steadiness of a great part of the royal troops, might reasonably be doubted by the justiciary. His courage and his conduct were proved by his whole life; his faith and attachment to Henry never varied for a moment in any circumstances; and we may very well suppose that De

Lucy and other faithful friends of the king, after mature deliberation, judged it better to allow the Flemings to return to their own country, rather than drive them and the Earl of Norfolk to despair by cutting off their supplies, and thus force upon them an attempt to join the rebels of the midland and western counties. This will appear the more probable when we recollect that the Earls of Gloucester and Clare, whose forces had formerly swelled those of Humphrey de Bohun, and enabled him to gain the victory of the Earl of Leicester, were now so strongly suspected of an intention to join the rebels, that it was with great difficulty they afterwards made their peace with the king. From all these considerations, it does not appear to me at all doubtful that the king's friends themselves consented to the Flemings' departure, and even, perhaps, received a sum of money for Henry's use, though their conduct was not understood or appreciated by the good clergyman who records it.\*

It was agreed that the Flemings should evacuate England before the end of the Octaves of Pentecost, and the wisdom of the conduct pursued by the king's generals was soon very evident; for ere that period arrived, the King of Scotland was once more in arms and marching with numerous forces,

\* Lord Lyttleton, not finding the account of Diceto corroborated altogether by similar statements in the works of other writers, and not appearing to have perceived the very reasonable motives upon which the king's officers might have acted, gets over the difficulty by disbelieving the whole account.

I cannot, however, admit this course of proceeding to be justifiable. Diceto is one of our most accurate and precise historians. There is a candour and openness in his statements, even upon those subjects where unprejudiced opinions were least likely to be found in a man of his class, which speak strongly in favour of his sincerity, and even of his powers of observation. He was in London at the time these events occurred, filling a high station in the Church, and with every opportunity of knowing the absolute facts. He might judge wrongly of motives, and his reasoning might be incorrect, as indeed I have not the slightest doubt that it was, in regard to the motives of the king's friends. But that the Dean of St. Paul's, professedly keeping a watchful eye over all the events of the day, and noting down those events for the purposes of history, should not know whether a body of fourteen thousand Flemings had or had not landed in Suffolk—should not know that the king's troops, having collected around them, had entered into a composition with them and suffered them to depart in peace on payment of a sum of money—should not know that they marched through Essex and Kent to Dover, watched by the royal forces, and there embarked for Flanders—I must contend is well-nigh, if not altogether impossible. We hear of large bodies of Flemings arriving from time to time in different parts of the country, from other contemporaries; and although Diceto stands alone in recording the particulars of this transaction, yet, as no contemporary author and no known event can be found opposed to his statement, his authority may be perfectly sufficient to establish the fact as beyond doubt.



and wild fury, into England. His first attempt was upon the city of Carlisle, where he left a part of his army to carry on the siege, and proceeded in person to ravage Northumberland and Cumberland. After devastating the open country for some time, he returned to the attack of the city, and concluded a truce with the garrison upon the condition that Carlisle should be surrendered to him if not relieved by Michaelmas. He then, once more, began his march through the unfortunate provinces of the north, took Liddel Wark, Appleby, and several other castles of importance, and despatched his brother, David Earl of Huntingdon, to aid the garrison of the castle of Leicester, and sustain the fire of rebellion in the midland counties. His next effort was against the castle of Prudhoe, which offered a more vigorous resistance than any he had yet met with; and while he was pursuing the unsuccessful siege of that place, he received news from the south which caused him to retreat precipitately upon Alnwick, in order to secure a more easy communication with his own land. There, however, in the immediate neighbourhood of his resources, he seems to have felt himself in perfect safety; and dividing his forces into three bodies, while he himself besieged Alnwick with one division, he despatched the others to ravage the adjacent districts, which was done with such barbarous cruelty as to excite wonder and horror, even in that age of fierce men and violent actions. Neither sex, rank, age, or profession was spared; and unborn babes were torn from the bleeding body of the mother, and tossed upon the spears of the inhuman barbarians who came forth upon this errand of destruction. The whole land howled under the scourge; but it was not long to be wielded, and the day of retribution was at hand.

Before the brother of the King of Scotland could reach Leicester, Richard De Lucy—having been freed by the capitulation we have mentioned from the tremendous body of Flemings, which might have attacked his rear had he, without such a convention, turned his arms against the rebels of the midland counties—had burned the town of Leicester to the ground; and, holding out to the Earl of Northampton the prospect of obtaining at once the earldom of Huntingdon, on which that baron had a legal claim actually before the king's court, he entered the county so called, supported by the earl, and laid siege to the chief town on the 23rd of June.

Scarcely, however, had he left Leicestershire, when the rebellion became more formidable in that part of the country than it had ever before appeared. Robert Ferrars, Earl of Derby and Nottingham, openly took arms on the part of the rebels. Encouraged by his support, Anketille de Mallore issued forth from the castle of Leicester, and gave battle to a body of the citizens of Northampton, whom he totally defeated. Then pursuing his advantage, he joined his forces to those of the Earl of Derby, attacked and took the town of Nottingham, set fire to the houses, pillaged the place completely, and carried off the inhabitants as prisoners. The west of England was now also infected by the same spirit of rebellion; and had the Earls of Gloucester and Clare at this moment joined with the Earl of Derby, whose estates extended into Staffordshire and to the very borders of Wales, while the Scotch king's brother David advanced to their support, and the Earl of Norfolk kept the coast open to the Flemings, Henry the Second could scarcely have preserved the crown, which his son Henry, only waiting for a favourable wind on the coast of Flanders, was prepared to snatch from his head.

The few, but faithful, friends of the monarch, however, made head on all sides against the rebels. The troops in garrison at Huntingdon, on the approach of Richard de Lucy, burnt the city to the ground and retired into the castle; and the justiciary, building a fortress in haste to restrain their further efforts and cut off their supplies, left the Earl of Nottingham in command, and turned his immediate attention to the west. Not having sufficient forces to undertake any very great enterprise at the moment, he applied to one whose good-will the King of England had lately cultivated, and found a zealous and active friend where Henry had previously met with a determined and pertinacious enemy. Rees ap Gryffyth, Prince of South Wales, immediately answered to the call of Richard de Lucy, marched into Staffordshire at the head of a large body of his native troops, and laid siege to Tutbury on the Dove, the principal fortress of the Earl of Derby.

Another gallant warrior also started up in defence of the king, where probably such military skill and valour were not expected. This was in the case of Geoffrey Bishop-elect of Lincoln, Henry's natural son by the beautiful Rosamond



Clifford, known in story and in song as The Fair Rosamond. The young nobleman had neither been consecrated nor taken orders, though he was destined for the Church, and though, according to an evil custom of those days, he had been elected to the bishopric of Lincoln and permitted, by a papal dispensation, to hold the see and receive the revenues till such time as he could be consecrated. He had not yet completed his twenty-first year; but he had already rendered himself popular in his diocese by various acts, and had shown his duty to his father during the preceding year, by endeavouring to raise money in the king's behalf, without however appearing in arms. Finding that the contribution he required was murmured at, though it had been granted as a voluntary act, he restored the whole sum without any deduction; and shortly after, hearing that the neighbourhood of the city of Lincoln was ravaged by the troops of one of the rebels, named Roger de Mowbray, he cast off his clerical character, armed himself as a knight, called his vassals to his standard, and marched to attack the castle of Kinairdsferie, in the isle of Axholm, which belonged to that insurgent leader. As he went he was joined by a number of volunteers, and by his sudden assault the garrison of the castle was surprised, the place taken and levelled with the ground.

Having accomplished this feat, and thus freed the people of Lincoln from annoyance, he dismissed his troops, and prepared to resume an ecclesiastical mode of life; but the representations of the famous Ranulph de Glanville, who was then, or shortly afterwards became, sheriff of Yorkshire,\* induced him again to try the affections of the people of Lincoln, and to call them to arms for the defence of the country. Yorkshire was then threatened by the forces of the King of Scotland, united with those of Roger de Mowbray, who held two strong fortresses called Malesart and Thirsk, from which his troops daily issued forth to ravage that county. Geoffrey was very well disposed once more to draw the sword against his father's enemies; and his appeal to a population which loved and respected him was again eminently successful. A very considerable force was collected in a short time; and,

\* Lord Lyttleton says that he was then sheriff of Yorkshire; but the words of Hoveden imply that such was not the case, unless there were two sheriffs for that county. For in the same sentence in which he mentions Ranulph de Glanville, he speaks of Robert de Stuteville as sheriff of Yorkshire.

marching into Yorkshire, Geoffrey joined his forces to those which had been raised by the Archbishop of York and other barons of the county, and at once attacked and took the castle of Malesart. A number of knights and gentlemen attached to the rebel cause were taken at Malesart; and Roger de Mowbray, flying before his victorious adversary, carried the news of his own disasters, and of the presence of a large army in Yorkshire, to the camp of the King of Scotland, who was at that time, as I have shown, besieging the castle of Prudhoe. This, it appears, was the information which caused him to raise the siege, and march to Alnwick, in order to wait for the arrival of the younger Henry with the vast army of Flemings which had been collected in the neighbourhood of Gravelines, and which was daily expected in England.

The prospect of the young king's coming might well fill the King of Scotland with the most sanguine hopes of permanent success, and the Justiciary of England with apprehensions of the most serious kind. At this period the castle of Tutbury still held out boldly against the efforts of Rees ap Gryffyth; Hugh Bigot had received a fresh reinforcement of Flemings, and had pillaged and burnt the important city of Norwich; the Earl of Derby was still in arms in the midland counties, and the castle of Huntingdon had not yet surrendered. Considering all these circumstances, a council was held by the most faithful friends of Henry II., and it was determined to send over to him Robert Bishop-elect of Winchester, one of his oldest and most faithful servants, charged to represent to the monarch the absolute necessity of his immediate return to England, if he wished to preserve the crown of that country. The bishop set out without a moment's delay; the wind was strong and favourable for his voyage to France; and reaching that country with great rapidity he found Henry at the town of Bonneville, on the very extreme of Normandy, holding a council with his barons for the defence of that part of his territories. Normandy was now daily threatened by the immense army which the King of France had been collecting during the whole of Easter on the frontiers; and nothing seems to have delayed the intended movements of the French, but the firm aspect of the Norman barons, and the preparations made by the King of England. Henry, however, had not been by any



means inactive during the spring; for leaving all those nobles whom he could best trust to defend his Norman territories, he had hastened to quell some insurrectionary movements in the south. He entered Maine on the last day of April, and his presence proved quite sufficient to overthrow all the schemes of the disaffected. The same was the case in Anjou, where the people and the nobles flocked to him from all quarters, and submitted to him readily. But a more difficult task lay before him in Poitou. His son Richard was already in that province; and although it would appear that he was but feebly supported by the King of France, the military population of Poitou and Aquitaine had given the young prince every encouragement and support. From the terms used by the historian, it would appear that Saintonge was not so well disposed towards Richard as the neighbouring country; but to ensure the submission of that district, a body of his troops took possession of the strong and important town of Sainctes;\* and not contented with two towers and the castle, which were already strongly fortified, they seized upon the cathedral, and converted it into a fortress. All the preparations of the insurgents, however, were not completed, when the king, hearing of what had taken place, hastened across Poitou, with that almost incredible rapidity which characterised all his movements; and attacking the strong towers and fortified cathedral of Sainctes, he reduced them one by one, taking in the whole about sixty knights and four hundred archers. Having completed this enterprise, he left six of the most faithful nobles of Aquitaine to govern the provinces in his name, and taking measures for the security of Anjou and Maine, hurried back to Normandy, in order to oppose the King of France wherever that prince might attack his territories.

It was on his return from Sainctes that he was met by the Bishop-elect of Winchester, who communicated to him the

\* The words of Diceto, which do not at all bear the interpretation given to them by Lord Lyttleton, namely, "some of the rebels," leave not a doubt upon my mind that Richard was at this time in the south of France, where he is proved to have been a very short time afterwards. Diceto calls the persons who took possession of Sainctes, "*militiam filii sui Ricardi*,"—the forces of his son Richard, not "some of the rebels." The resistance made by these forces seems to have been very great; and it is clear that, without the excessive rapidity of his movements, Henry could not have captured Sainctes before the great blow of the war was struck in Normandy.

terrible state of affairs in England. Henry had not been ignorant of the difficulties that surrounded his friends in this island, nor of the preparations made by his son and the Count of Flanders for invading his British dominions. He had felt the necessity of his presence in this country long before, and had prepared a large fleet and considerable forces, in order to pass the sea as soon as the state of his continental territories permitted him to leave them without very great danger. The representations of the Bishop of Winchester, and the knowledge that his son was only waiting for a fair wind, now decided the king's conduct at once, though perhaps he had already erred in judgment in not returning to his kingdom at an earlier period. He now, however, hastened to Barfleur, where his fleet had been collected; and taking with him the two queens, Eleanor and Margaret, the Earls of Leicester and Chester, and several noblemen, all more or less in a state of captivity, he embarked for England with a large force of Brabançons, on the 8th of July. The wind was at first directly contrary, and blowing fiercely; but it changed in a moment, and became fair for his voyage to England, though still blowing furiously, when, raising his eyes to heaven, he prayed that if his return was for the good of his people, God would give him a prosperous voyage, but if not, that he might never reach the shores of his kingdom.\* We find from Hoveden, that the attendants of the monarch attributed the change of the wind to a direct exercise of divine power in his favour; and certainly his prayer was well calculated to impress the minds of those who heard him with a conviction of the integrity of his purposes and the justice of his cause. His voyage was prosperous and rapid, and he arrived at Southampton in the evening of the same day.

The speed with which he accomplished his voyage to England, secured to him one of the greatest advantages which could be gained; for the Count of Flanders and the younger Henry had only been detained by contrary winds, and were

\* This appears to me to be a correct interpretation of the various accounts given of this celebrated prayer of Henry the Second, though it is but right to say, that Lord Lyttleton has read his authorities otherwise, and makes Henry pronounce it in the midst of a storm at sea. The wind is certainly represented as blowing violently, and the waves high; but the words seem to me to have been spoken on the occasion of the sudden change of wind from foul to fair.



looking anxiously for an opportunity of embarking, in the hope of reaching England while the royal rights were yet undefended by any one of sufficient authority to overawe the wavering and disaffected. Henry, however, did not employ to the best effect the advantage he had gained ; but, instead of putting himself at the head of his troops, unsheathing his sword against the rebels, and endeavouring to crush the insurrection before the formidable force collected on the Flemish coast could appear in the field against him, he stripped his feet for a pilgrimage to the shrine of the martyr of Canterbury, and caused himself publicly to be scourged at the tomb of Thomas à Becket. It is needless here to enter into the particulars of the degrading penance which Henry now voluntarily performed, nor can I consider at large the motives which could induce him to expose himself in such an extraordinary situation. Some have believed that, moved by remorse and real devotion, the monarch sought to expiate the share that he had taken in Becket's death by this humiliation at his tomb. Others have thought that he was actuated solely by political views, and that he imagined the tide of popular feeling would turn in his favour, as soon as he had offered full atonement to the spirit of the departed saint.

Admitting to the fullest extent Henry's tendency to superstition, it is scarcely possible to suppose that he could believe the proud and treacherous man, with whom he had struggled for so many years, was capable of performing miracles after his death ; nor can we well suppose that he was weak enough to imagine that his people would reverence him the more for such unseemly humiliation at the tomb of one, for whose acts and conduct he had never ceased to show the most marked reprobation. We can very well conceive, however, that Henry, conscious of having uttered words which prompted the assassination of the prelate, and knowing that in his inmost heart his feelings had taken part with the murderers, even though he tried to stay them when it was too late, should now feel almost as much remorse as if his own hand had struck the blow, and that he should yield his mind entirely to the superstitious belief, that penances enjoined by his confessor could clear away his guilt ; although he neither believed that the haughty and grasping archbishop could fall by an easy transition into the odour of sanctity, or that miracles could be performed by the dead body of a man whose whole

life had been passed either in worldly pleasures or ambitious contentions. Under this view of the case, Henry certainly displayed weakness enough, without attributing to him a prostration of mind which could only stamp a fool; or duplicity of conduct, which could alone characterise a knave. After having endured the scourging of monks and bishops, and passed the night on the pavement of Canterbury cathedral in prayers and penances, Henry rose on the morning of the Sunday with apparent confidence in the efficacy of the atonement he had made, and proceeded to London; where, whatever might be the condition of his mind, his body, notwithstanding its great strength, yielded to the combination of stripes, fasting, watching, and fatigue; and the very moment he should have been commanding his armies in the field, he was deprived by illness of his usual activity.

Such was the state of the monarch, and such the bad aspect of his affairs, when suddenly, in the midst of the night, the porter of the royal palace was awakened by a loud knocking at the gates, and having been prevailed upon with great difficulty to open them, he found a young courier on a tired and foaming horse, demanding instant admission to the king. The monarch's chamberlains being roused, all the information they could obtain from the importunate messenger was, that he bore good news, and must instantly see the king. He prevailed upon them at length to lead him to Henry's chamber, where he boldly approached his bed, and woke him from his sleep.

"Who are you?" demanded the king, in astonishment.

"I am the page," replied the boy, "of your faithful Ranulph de Glanville, by whom I am sent to your highness, to bear you good news."

"Goes it all well with our Ranulph?" demanded the king.

"Quite well," replied the boy; "and lo! he holds your enemy the King of Scotland in chains, at Richmond."

The king was as one thunderstruck;\* but the boy brought with him letters, which showed him the following facts.

Enraged beyond endurance at the excesses committed by

\* I, like other authors, have copied this statement almost literally from the graphic account of William of Newbury. The facts, however, are fully confirmed by other writers, though they do not present to our eyes the same picture of the first intimation received by Henry of this great success.



the King of Scotland, and knowing by reports received from all quarters that he had divided his army, and retained with him but a small force at the siege of Alnwick, the noblemen of Yorkshire determined to attack him, and, if possible, to drive him beyond the border. As nothing could be hoped from any other course of action but a sudden assault, Robert de Stuteville, Ranulph de Glanville, Bernard de Baliol, and William de Vesci, who were the leaders of the enterprise, determined to employ no foot soldiers, but began their march at the head of a considerable body of cavalry, comprising, we are told, four hundred knights. As they approached nearer to Alnwick, however, doubts began to take possession of the chiefs, on finding that the King of Scotland had more than eight thousand\* men-at-arms with him; but upon further consultation it was agreed to proceed, especially as it was evident, from the intelligence they received, that the enemy had no expectation of an approaching attack.

They accordingly set out from Newcastle very early in the morning of Saturday, the 13th of July,† and proceeded with

\* In some copies of William of Newbury the number is stated differently, the Scotch army being there made to amount to eighty thousand. This is indeed the case in the best edition by Hearne, in 1719. I have chosen the lowest number, because it seems to me scarcely possible that eighty thousand men should have remained with the King of Scotland at Alnwick, when we find from other authors, that two-thirds of his army had been detached to ravage the country in different directions.

† The date of Henry's arrival in England, as given in the printed copies of Diceto, must be incorrect, though probably not by his own fault, but by that either of the transcriber or the printer; for it is by his own words that we are able to rectify the mistake. He says, that the Bishop of Winchester found Henry at Bonneville, in Normandy, on the festival of St. John; and yet he is made to say, a little further onward, that the king set out for England on the 8th ides of June, or the 6th of that month. Now the festival of St. John is on the 24th of June, showing that the word Junii should have been written Julii, as it stands in Hoveden. If further proof were wanting, it would be found in the fact, that we have a letter of much importance in a commercial point of view, signed by Henry, still on the continent, at a great distance from the coast, dated on the 26th of May in that year. There is some difficulty also in regard to the date of the capture of the King of Scots; for the expressions of both Hoveden and Diceto would lead one to imagine that it could not be so late as the 13th of July. One of those authors says, that Henry proceeded to Canterbury on the day after his arrival at Southampton, and passed the same night at Becket's tomb; the other, that he went from Southampton to Canterbury with great speed; and all writers agree, that the King of Scots was taken on the very same morning that he saw Henry's devotions completed at Canterbury, which, according to Hoveden's account, would have been the 10th of July. All, however, agree that it was on a Saturday; and therefore the account of William of Newbury must be correct; for the 3rd of the ides of July, or the 13th of that month, which he gives as the date, fell in that year on a Saturday, which corresponds exactly with the account of

such speed, notwithstanding the weight of their armour, that they came within a short distance of Alnwick at the end of five hours. A mist, however, had in the mean time fallen upon the country, so dense as well-nigh to prevent them from seeing their way. In these circumstances, it was proposed by some of the party to return; but Bernard de Baliol exclaimed: "Go back who will; sooner than bring such a spot upon my name, I will go on if not one should follow me."

These words decided their proceedings; the whole body marched forward, and in a few minutes the mist suddenly dispersed, leaving Alnwick castle standing out in the clear sunshine before their eyes, with the King of Scotland himself at the head of a small troop of horse, exercising himself in chivalrous games, within a short distance of the head of their line. He had not more than sixty horsemen with him; but at first the Scottish monarch did not interrupt his sport, believing that the body of soldiers he saw approaching, was merely one of his own parties returning from the plunder of the neighbouring country. Speedily, however, the sight of the banner of England, borne in the van, undeceived him; but his heart was incapable of fear, and he might well imagine, that within a bow-shot of his own camp, he would not be suffered to fight unsupported. Without a moment's hesitation, he put his lance in the rest, exclaiming: "Now it shall be seen what it is to be a knight," and led his men on to the attack of the English forces.

So rash an act was more than Henry's officers could have hoped for; at the very first charge the monarch's horse was killed under him, he himself cast to the ground, and taken prisoner, with almost every one of his followers. Many of those even who could have fled surrendered spontaneously, when they saw the king a prisoner. Several other nobles also suffered themselves to be taken, in order to share the captivity of their king; and the small body of English knights, rejoicing in their success, retired unmolested to Richmond, in Yorkshire, carrying their captives with them; while the Scotch army, struck with panic, fled into Scotland,

Henry's voyage, which took place, we are uniformly told, on the 8th of July, which was the 8th ides of the month, and the second ferial of the week, or Monday. Thus Henry, instead of going to Canterbury in one day, or indeed with his usual celerity, and performing his devotions on the next, must have been four days on the road, or must have spent three days in Canterbury.



and all the marauding parties which had been scattered over the northern counties followed the same course, and turned their arms to the destruction of each other.\*

The joy of the King of England, and the country, was immense. The bells throughout the whole kingdom were rung in triumph; and the people of London, though they had not been amongst the sufferers, were amongst the first in celebrating a victory which delivered the land from its inveterate foes. In the mean while, an army had been collected in the neighbourhood of the capital; and taking fortune at the flood, Henry immediately marched to Huntingdon, the garrison of which place surrendered on the 21st of July, receiving a promise of mercy. Turning from Huntingdonshire towards Suffolk, Henry advanced to besiege the Earl of Norfolk at Framlingham, while the King of Scotland's brother, who had been received into the castle of Leicester, effected his retreat into his own land. The English monarch might now have had to contend with a more dangerous opponent than he had hitherto met with, for large detachments of Flemings had already been sent over to the support of the earl, and a few hours' sail would have brought the Count of Flanders, according to his oath, to aid the English partisans of the younger Henry with the immense army he had collected. But the intelligence of the king himself having sailed for England, was enough to discourage the attempt of the count;† and almost at the same time with the news of Henry's arrival, came the tidings that the King of Scotland was taken, and his army dispersed.

Giving up all hope of seeing England conquered by his son-in-law, Louis the Seventh, as soon as this information reached him, called the younger Henry and the Count of Flanders to assist in the most important siege which he had ever undertaken against the English monarch. Thus, before the fall of Huntingdon castle, the count and the English prince had retired from the coast; and on the day following the capture of that fortress, they were both in arms before

\* It would seem that the barbarities committed by some of the Scottish parties, after their return to their own country, equalled those which they had perpetrated in England. See Hoveden and William of Newbury. The Chronicle of Mailros, however, though it mentions the flight of David, the brother of the Scottish king, from Leicester, and his return to Scotland, does not notice these atrocities.

† If the account of Diceto be correct, the young King Henry and the Count of Flanders broke up their camp on the very day the King of Scotland was taken.

the city of Rouen. Hugh Bigot might very well receive intelligence, therefore, that he was abandoned by his allies, previous to the approach of Henry to Framlingham. The number of the Flemings that were with him was not sufficient to take the field against the King of England; and was yet so great as to be burdensome, rather than useful, while shut up in the castles of Framlingham and Bungay. Under these circumstances, the earl determined to capitulate; and consequently visiting the royal camp, he treated personally with the king, who, after considerable discussion regarding the fate of the Flemings, granted him much more favourable terms than he had any right to expect. On surrendering his two castles, paying a fine of a thousand marks of silver, and giving hostages for his future good conduct, he received the king's pardon; and the foreign troops in his service were suffered to depart in peace, upon taking an oath not to fight against Henry any more during the continuance of the war.

As soon as Norfolk and Suffolk were quieted, Henry marched to Northampton, and took up his abode in the castle. He had been before joined by his natural son, Geoffrey, Bishop-elect of Lincoln, who came more as a warrior than a prelate, and who shortly after obtained permission to abandon a profession which he had never loved, and follow that of arms, to which his chivalrous disposition led him. At Northampton the king was visited by many other friends, and there also all the rebels who had not yet submitted came in and made their peace. Roger de Mowbray, who had fled at the time of the capture of the King of Scotland, first sent messengers offering to surrender his castle of Thirsk, and subsequently presented himself to receive the king's pardon. The officers of the Earl of Leicester delivered up to the sovereign the three fortresses of Leicester, Mount Sorel, and Groby; the Earl of Derby gave up Tutbury and Duffield, and universal submission showed that the rebels had abandoned all hope of success. The Bishop of Durham, who was strongly suspected of having favoured the insurgents, came to justify himself; and Henry was not unwilling to receive his apologies, but exacted from him the castles of Durham, Norham, and Alverton, which the prelate had garrisoned with foreign troops on very suspicious pretences. The Earls of Clare and Gloucester subsequently met the king, as he journeyed towards Portsmouth with the purpose of embarking



for France, and gave him every assurance of their loyalty, which had been strongly doubted.

Henry stayed in England no longer than was absolutely necessary to reduce the whole land to obedience ; and having seen that great object accomplished with a rapidity almost inconceivable, he hastened to the aid of his gallant subjects in the good town of Rouen, who were by this time closely pressed by the enemy. The monarch embarked at Portsmouth on the 7th of August, taking with him, still in strict bonds, the King of Scotland, and the Earls of Chester and Leicester. Queen Eleanor and the Princess Margaret, his son's wife, were left behind in England, as a more secure place of abode, now that not the most remote chance seemed to exist of any renewal of the rebellion in this country. The king was accompanied by the whole body of Brabançois which he had brought with him, and several bands of Welsh soldiers, which had been sent to his aid by Owen, Prince of North Wales. The force which he thus carried with him was very considerable ; but the fame of his exploits in England was in itself a host. In little more than three weeks he had reduced to submission a land which previous to his arrival had been in arms against his authority from one end to the other ; nor was the rapidity of this success less wonderful than the means by which it was accomplished—means which were so totally inadequate to the object, and apparently so entirely independent of his own efforts, that the hand of Heaven working in his favour appeared to be manifest, and the superstition of the times attributed to the intercession of the murdered archbishop all the advantages gained by his repentant enemy. His passage to France was rapid and favourable ; and having held a conference at Barfleur with the new Archbishop of Canterbury, and lodged his important prisoners in the castle of Caen, he marched on with all speed towards Rouen, which had now been besieged more than a fortnight.

The city of Rouen, then as now, occupied a large space on the northern bank of the Seine, while an important suburb appeared on the southern bank. Between these two parts, the Empress Matilda had, some years before, built a handsome bridge, which afforded the inhabitants a free communication with the heart of Normandy. The banks of the river are generally mountainous and irregular, but the hills in the

neighbourhood of Rouen afforded no great facilities to an enemy, according to the mode of warfare in that day. The multitude of men which could be mustered by the French and Flemish armies united, would have been quite sufficient to blockade the city and to reduce it by famine, if they could have attacked it on both sides at once. The whole of the southern bank of the river, however, being in possession of Henry, and the population of that part of Normandy being zealous and eager in the cause of their sovereign, the confederate army could only approach from the side of Picardy, in which direction the Norman capital had been left exposed by the fall of Aumale, Driencourt, and Neufchatel.

Amidst the mountains and forests, and through the valleys of that beautiful part of France, by Blangis, Neufchatel, Poix, and Aumale, the French armies had rapidly concentrated upon the capital of the Normans, and sat down before the town itself towards the end of July. The city was defended by walls, ditches, and strong towers; the Norman nobility poured in to defend it; the citizens, trained to military exercises, seized their arms to repel the enemy, and the bridge over the Seine afforded an easy entrance to the abundant harvests of that rich and plentiful land.

The besiegers, however, had every right to expect rapid success, for their numbers enabled them to assail, at one and the same moment, every point of the city itself, except that which was defended by the river, and also to divide their forces in such a manner as to give one part repose while the other continued the attack, and thus render the assault perpetual. They were furnished, also, with every sort of battering engine and implement of war then in use; and the union of different nations in the same attempt, enabled all the various warlike qualities of the Frenchman and the Fleming to be brought into action for the reduction of the besieged city.

The defenders of Rouen, on the other hand, were numerous, vigilant, and brave; the suburb on the opposite bank of the Seine, and the bridge over that river, afforded them a place for repose, and a means of introducing supplies. They, too, divided their numbers, so as to keep a sufficient force constantly employed in the defence of the town at all points, while the remainder sought rest and refreshment.

The battering engines of the besieging army were plied



at all points, and at all hours. The people of Rouen poured down upon the heads of the enemy the incessant shower of arrows and large masses of stone, with which it was then customary to defend a besieged place; and thus the siege proceeded from its commencement, on the 21st of July, till the 10th of August—the day of St. Lawrence, and the anniversary of that day on which the brother of the Count of Flanders had received his death-wound. The festival of that saint was very generally held in particular honour by all Europe at the time we speak of; and, perhaps on that account, perhaps in memory of the death of the Count of Boulogne, the leaders of the enemy proposed a truce of one day to the besieged city, which was very willingly granted.

It would seem, from some accounts, that the French were already straitened for provisions, the woody and mountainous character of the country behind them rendering transport difficult. The town, on the contrary, was still abundantly supplied, and the citizens applied themselves to enjoy a day of repose; some going to the churches to celebrate the festival of the martyr; some spending the time in banqueting and revelry, while multitudes made the streets resound with songs; and others exercised themselves in tilts, and feats of arms, amongst the green meadows which lay on the other side of the river, before the very eyes of their adversaries.

The appearance of perfect confidence which the city displayed, tempted the enemy to a shameful breach of faith. It was the Count of Flanders, we are told, who first proposed to the King of France to attack the walls of Rouen, while the people, trusting in the truce, were unprepared to resist. The King of France, it is said, at first refused, out of reverence for St. Lawrence, but yielded at length to the arguments of all his nobles, who universally took part with the Count of Flanders. Everything then was prepared secretly for the attack of the city, the troops being mustered without the sound of trumpet, and each band warned to follow its commander as silently as possible to the escalade of the walls. There was, however, in the town of Rouen at that time, as in most other cities, a high belfry or tower, overtopping all the rest, and in which was hung a great bell called *Ruvella*, that usually called the citizens to arms in case of danger. It so happened, that on the afternoon of St. Lawrence's day, some of the priests of the town went up

into the tower, and that one of them, looking out of the window into the enemy's camp, was struck with the silence and tranquillity that reigned therein. Presently he descried the movements of the enemy preparing to attack the city, and pointed out the fact to his comrades. The bell-rope was at hand—the sonorous voice of Ruvella sounded far and wide over the town; the citizens rushed to arms, the knights who had been tilting without poured into the city, and all classes rushed in fury to the walls. On their own battlements, however, they met the troops of France, many of whom had already passed the ditch, while a considerable body, having reached the summit, were calling to their companions with triumphant cries, as if the city was already taken.

They encountered a resistance, however, which they did not expect. Indignant at the base fraud which had been committed, the Normans fought with more determination and eagerness than ever. Man to man, and hand to hand, they met the assailants on the walls, cut them down as they stood, or hurled them headlong back into the ditch beneath. Still, however, the scaling ladders being placed, the French troops mounted eagerly, not to lose the advantage which had been gained, and the battle was continued till night fell, and the trumpets of the French and Flemish armies recalled the assailants from their treacherous enterprise.

After this event, the siege must have languished, even if Henry's return had been delayed. The scarcity in the French camp had become great; news from England had arrived daily during the siege of Henry's vast success; the brother of the Count of Flanders, whom he had taken from the clerical profession, to which he was at first devoted, that he might inherit the county of Flanders, was wounded under the walls, and everything contributed to damp the hopes of the besiegers; when suddenly—it would seem before they were at all aware that the King of England had landed on the continent—Henry appeared at the head of a large army the day after the festival of St. Lawrence, and entered his Norman capital with great pomp before the eyes of the enemy. His numbers, it would appear, were not sufficient to justify him in fighting the confederates in the open field; but, having obtained intelligence that a large convoy of wine and provisions was expected in the French camp, he sent out his light-armed Welshmen into the neighbouring forests



to cut it off during the darkness of the night, while he himself produced a diversion in their favour by menacing the quarters of the French king. He accordingly caused one of the gates of the city which had been closed to be opened, and part of the ditch to be filled up, so as to bring out his cavalry two hundred abreast. There is reason to believe, however, that the Welsh were completely successful, without any diversion being made in their favour; the troops which escorted the French waggons were attacked and put to flight, the convoy was destroyed, and the British troops retired again into the woods, having accomplished their purpose with little or no loss.

The scarcity in the camp of the King of France had now increased to a very terrible extent, and, giving up the hope of taking the city, Louis at length ordered his battering engines to be set on fire, and prepared to decamp with all speed. On the evening before this intention was executed, the King of England issued forth from the city, probably misled by the burning of the artillery into a belief that the French retreat was already begun. He was repulsed in his attack on the quarters of Louis, however, and retired, though not without some success, having taken several prisoners of distinction, and slain a considerable part of a body of cavalry which opposed him. The next day the adverse army actually withdrew from before Rouen, the rear of the French being covered by the Count of Flanders and his troops. We do not find from any good authority that Henry attacked his enemies in their march, and the event of their retreat was certainly more honourable to them than the siege itself.

Some authors affirm, and amongst others Hoveden,\* whose

\* Lord Lyttleton frames his account of these events solely upon the statement of Diceto and William of Newbury; two persons who were not present, one of whom lived in a cloister, while the other, there is every reason to believe, never quitted England. The words of Hoveden, on the contrary, are very different. We know that he was very much about the person of Henry, and from his situation followed him upon many of his expeditions. Why, therefore, his testimony should be rejected without any manifest absurdity appearing in the statement, and with many strong probabilities existing in its favour, is difficult to divine. The only reason given by Lord Lyttleton for so doing is that, in his opinion, it was not necessary for Louis to make such an engagement with Henry, as the French king's forces were too numerous to fear attack. This mode of dealing with authorities would appear to me perfectly unreasonable under any circumstances; for surely all men do things that are not strictly necessary too often for any argument to be deduced from the exact fitness of a particular act, against the positive testimony of a person who was probably an eye-witness. The argu-

testimony, as an eye-witness of much that he relates, is well worthy of attention upon these points, that the King of France was only allowed to depart unmolested in consequence of a promise to return in a more peaceable manner on the following day, for the purpose of holding a conference with Henry in regard to the arrangement of a treaty of peace. It is added that he did not appear in person according to his engagement; and although this account is not confirmed either by William of Newbury, or by Diceto, it is, very probably, accurate. We find it admitted, on all hands, that not later than the day after the French king's retreat, the Count of Blois and the Archbishop of Sens visited Henry in order to arrange such a conference; and it is much more probable that Louis should, in the first place, by holding out the prospect of speedy pacification, employ the only means of securing his retreat and saving the lives of his soldiers, than that he should incur all the risk, and then make the same concession.

Whether Henry did or did not permit the French army to retire unmolested in consequence of an agreement between him and the French king, to the effect that negotiations for peace should be speedily renewed, it is certain that such a proposal was made by the King of France immediately before or immediately after the commencement of his retreat, and that a truce was concluded till a meeting could take place. The town appointed for a conference was Gisors, and the day the 8th of September following, being the Nativity of the Virgin.

The King of France was now, as well he might be, eager to terminate a war which had produced no glory to himself; but which, on the contrary, had displayed him to the eyes of

ment is still less tenable in the case of Louis, who was notorious for inconsistency of conduct. But, in this instance, it would appear that he acted most reasonably, according to the account of Hoveden. Lord Lyttleton admits that the very next day the King of France sent messengers to make a proposal, which then could be of little or no service to him; whereas, if, as Hoveden states, he suggested such an arrangement only the day before, the advantages he gained were immense. By it he secured the retreat of his army, already somewhat enfeebled by famine and reverses, through a large extent of very difficult country, where Henry—possessing the whole adjacent territories, near to his resources, provided with an assured retreat, and accompanied by a body of light infantry, which had already done signal service against the French—could attack him incessantly, harass his march, and perhaps totally defeat him. It would, therefore, seem to me that there is every reason to receive rather than reject the testimony of Hoveden.



Europe in a pitiful and inferior point of view. Once more he had undertaken great efforts and had failed in carrying them into execution; once more he had appeared at the head of immense armies, and had led them to nothing but reverses; once more he had contended with his neighbour and feudatory, and had been repelled at every point, frustrated in every attack. His finances were exhausted, his troops disheartened, his enemy confident from success, and strengthened by great renown. In these circumstances his desire of peace cannot be doubted; and it would seem that he entirely dictated to the younger Henry and his brother Geoffrey the conduct which they were to pursue towards their father.

Richard, however, was at a distance from the spot, and was not likely to submit so easily. At the head of a small body of forces in the south of France, he was endeavouring to gain absolute possession of Poitou and Aquitaine. The successes of his offended parent, the defeat of his friends, discouraged him not; he was not of a character to abandon the advantages which his own exertions had already acquired for him; and although there can be no doubt that the King of France sent messengers to summon him to the conference at Gisors, yet when the day of the Nativity of the Virgin arrived, Richard did not appear, but still protracted the struggle in Poitou. It is true that very little time had been allowed for him to decide, for only a fortnight intervened between the day of the retreat of the French forces from the walls of Rouen and that of the meeting at Gisors; and allowing the time necessary for arranging that meeting, only twelve days remained for the French king to send messengers from Gisors to a distant part of Poitou, a distance of more than three hundred miles, and for Richard, after holding councils and making any arrangements he thought fit, to return to the north and meet his father at the place of conference. Considering the difficulties of travelling in those days, the length of way, the disturbed state of the country, the interposition of a large part of Henry's territories between the camp of the King of France and the English monarch's insurgent son, it was decidedly unreasonable to suppose that Richard could, without some very extraordinary exertion, be present at the conference at Gisors. This will be the more evident if we recollect that it had taken four days and a half for a messenger, proceeding at all speed, to carry to Henry the news of the capture of the

King of Scotland, though the distance was less than that which lay between Richard and the French monarch, and though the courier of Ranulph de Glanville travelled night and day. Notwithstanding these circumstances, and notwithstanding the oath which he had taken to make no peace with Henry that did not include all the sons of the English monarch, the perfidious King of France and the brothers of Richard met their successful adversary at Gisors, and without any consideration for the young Duke of Aquitaine, prolonged the truce which had been concluded after the delivery of Rouen, till the 29th of September, when a new conference was appointed to be held between Tours and Amboise. In the mean time, they agreed to give no assistance whatsoever to Richard, but to leave his father free to compel him by force of arms to submit. We have not the slightest reason to believe that the prince, whose interest they thus betrayed, had shown any obstinacy, though that fact has been asserted by modern writers; indeed, we do not know that the messengers of the King of France had brought back his reply, or had even found him; and therefore we are fully justified in looking on the concessions made by Louis and the rest of the confederates at Gisors, as a gross and scandalous abandonment of one of the confederates by the others; in which point of view, as I shall soon show, it was regarded by Richard himself.

Henry lost not a moment in taking advantage of the opportunity thus basely afforded him, and marched with a large army to attack his son in Poitou. The force left at the disposal of the English king by his treaty with the King of France was so great that the insurgent prince could have no hope of contending with him unaided, although we find that he had already taken a number of fortresses in that county. Not conceiving it possible, however, that his brothers and the other confederates who had first led him into rebellion, would now altogether abandon him, he resolved to hold out, in the hope that they would give him assistance, or at least effect some diversion in his favour. His heart was too bold and firm to believe that mighty princes and kings, supported by the whole power of two warlike nations, and bound by the most solemn vows to each other, would fall prone under the first touch of adversity, and leave one of their number without the slightest aid or support. He therefore retreated before



the royal army from castle to castle, in the daily hope of receiving succour from his allies. At length, however, intelligence reached him of the convention entered into at Gisors; and, finding himself utterly betrayed and abandoned to the wrath of his father, his resolution gave way under a sense of danger and of wrong; and with one of those bursts of fearless generosity which characterised him, without making any terms or demanding any hostages for his safety, he mounted his horse, sought the camp of the English king, and cast himself with tears of mingled sorrow and indignation at Henry's feet.\*

His submission was accepted with paternal kindness, the king and his son entered the city of Poitiers as friends, and

\* I do not scruple to affirm that the account of this transaction given both by Lord Lyttleton and Mr. Berington, as well as that of Dr. Lingard, are altogether contrary to history. I have shown that the time which was allowed for messengers to seek Richard and to summon him to the conference at Gisors, and for the young prince to reach that town, was unreasonably short, and I know of no contemporary author who declares that any answer was returned by Richard at all. Gervase does not tell us anything that took place at the conference at Gisors, neither does Diceto, neither does William of Newbury. None of them mention that Richard refused to be included in the truce. None of them say that he knew of it at all, and yet Lord Lyttleton declares that Richard refused singly the conditions proposed. Pompous Mr. Berington calls him the "stubborn youth;" and Dr. Lingard says that Richard alone, the king's second son, refused to be included in the provisions of the armistice concluded at Gisors. For the whole of this account he quotes Hoveden, a contemporary who was certainly with the court of Henry, and probably about his person, during the whole expedition. But what does Hoveden really tell us? If there be not some secret manner of translating the words of an historian, Hoveden says the direct contrary, and by his whole account shows that Richard probably did not know of the conference at all, and certainly knew none of the "provisions" of the armistice. The words of Hoveden are these:—"A few days after (the delivery of Rouen), the King of France sent the aforesaid Archbishop of Sens and Count Theobald to the King of England, fixing the day of conference at Gisors, for the Nativity of St. Mary; but when they came there is was not possible to agree upon anything on account of Richard Count of Poitou, who was at that time in Poitou, making war against the castles and men of his father; and therefore they agreed upon a conference elsewhere, that is to say, on the feast of St. Michael, between Tours and Amboise; and a truce was agreed upon between them on this condition, that Richard Count of Poitou should be excluded from the truce, and that the King of France and the young King of England should give him no succour. This being agreed on both parts, the elder King of England marched his army into Poitou. Richard Count of Poitou, not daring to wait his father's advance, fled from place to place; but *when it was told him that the King of France and his brother had excluded him from the truce*, he was moved with indignation thereat, and coming with tears, he cast himself prone on the earth at the feet of his father, and praying forgiveness, was received into his father's bosom." These are the exact words of Hoveden as I find them, and yet this is the authority quoted by Dr. Lingard, when he declares that Richard refused to be included in the provisions of the armistice.

went thence together to the conference between Amboise and Tours, which took place on the morrow of St. Michael.

If the King of France and the rest of the confederates had been anxious for peace before the subjection of Richard, they were, of course, not less disposed to it now, when they saw him appear, restored to his father's friendship and favour, and detached altogether from their cause, by their own ungenerous conduct. This fact, as well as other great advantages which Henry had lately gained, acted, undoubtedly, as the motive for diminishing to a very great extent the concessions which the King of England had previously offered to make; and, probably, had he been so inclined, he might have resisted still further the pretensions of his children, so much were they depressed by the reverses which had befallen their arms. He was inclined, however, to concede much for the sake of peace; and in the conference between Tours and Amboise certain terms of agreement were speedily drawn up, in the presence and with the consent of a vast body of Norman and French nobility, which were afterwards confirmed by a treaty signed at Falaise. The particulars of the latter convention are as follows, and although some slight difference exists in the wording as given by various authors, the meaning, in all the principal copies, is the same.

This is the agreement made between the king and his sons :

1. Be it known to all persons, both present and to come, that peace is renewed, God willing, between our lord Henry King of England, and his sons, that is to say, Henry the king, and Richard and Geoffrey.

2. Henry the king and his said brothers shall return to their father and to his service, as their lord, free and absolved from all oaths and engagements which they have made, either amongst themselves or with others, against him and his adherents.

3. And all barons and vassals who, upon their account, have withdrawn their allegiance from their father, they have proclaimed free from all oaths which have been taken to them; and thus free from all oaths, and absolved from all agreements which have been made to them, the said barons shall return under the dominion, and to the allegiance, of their lord the king.

4. And our lord king, his barons and vassals, shall have



restored to them all their lands and castles which they possessed fifteen days before his sons fell away from him; in the same manner, the barons and vassals who abandoned him and followed his sons, shall have restored to them their lands which they possessed fifteen days before they fell away from him; and our lord the king remits all ill-will towards his barons and vassals who left him, so that on this account he will never do them any harm, so long as they continue to serve him faithfully as their liege lord.

5. And the king his son, in a similar manner, has freed from his displeasure all those, whether clergy or laity, who have been with his father; and he swears before our lord the king, his father, that he will never either do, or seek to do, any injury or evil whatsoever to them on this account throughout the whole of his life.

6. And our lord the king, by this convention, gives to the king his son, two proper castles in Normandy, at the choice of his father, and each year fifteen thousand pound Angevin; and to Richard his son, two fit dwelling-places in Poitou, whence there can be no evil done to our lord the king, and also half the revenues of Poitou in money; to Geoffrey his son, however, he gives in Brittany half the revenues of the dower of the daughter of the Count Conan, whom he is to wed; and afterwards, when he shall have wedded her with the consent of the Roman Church, he shall have the whole of the revenues of the said dower, as is expressed in the charter of Count Conan.

7. \* The prisoners, however, who had entered into compo-

\* This clause and the preceding one are worthy of remark on various accounts. In clause No. 6 it will be seen that Conan the Less, Duke of Brittany, is merely called Count, which, as he always took the title of duke, and also received it from Henry, is sufficiently remarkable to make us doubt the genuineness of this treaty altogether, did not the seal and various other internal marks, as well as the concurring testimony of all contemporaries, prove to a certainty that it is the original document. In the clause No. 7 will be found stipulations regarding the freedom of certain prisoners, who are said to have already entered into arrangements with the King of England for their liberation, amongst whom are the King of Scots, and the Earls of Leicester and Chester. Now if this treaty had been drawn up between Tours and Amboise, as almost all writers have asserted, in consequence of having wrongly read a loose expression of Hoveden, we should feel inclined on that account also to reject the document as spurious, because it mentions events which did not take place till afterwards. The King of Scotland, and the Earls of Leicester and Chester, had at that time entered into no agreement with Henry whatsoever. He had left them all in Normandy in strict imprisonment. But what is the true history of this treaty, generally said to have been signed between Tours and Amboise? The fact is, that it was signed long afterwards at Falaise,

sition with our lord the king before the conclusion of peace made with our lord the king, that is to say, the King of Scotland, the Earl of Leicester, the Earl of Chester, and Raoul of Fougères, and their hostages, and the hostages of other prisoners whom he previously has had, are not comprised in this convention. All other prisoners, however, on both parts, are to be freed in such a manner, that our lord the king shall receive hostages from such of his prisoners as he chooses to have them from, and who can give them; and from others he shall have security by their own oaths, and the oaths of their friends.

8. The castles which have been built or strengthened since the war began in the territories of our lord the king, are at his will to be restored to the state in which they were fifteen days before the war.

9. Besides, it is to be understood that the King Henry the younger agrees with our lord the king, his father, strictly to hold and confirm all charitable donations which have been given, or were to be given, out of his lands; and all donations of land given, or to be given, to his vassals for his service.

10. He agrees also to observe firmly, and without alteration, the donation which our lord the king, his father, has made to his brother John,—namely, a thousand pounds of revenue in England, from his domain, and from his escheats at his pleasure; and his castle of Nottingham, with its county and appurtenances; and the castle of Marlborough, and its appurtenances; and in Normandy, a thousand pound Angevin, and two castles, at his father's pleasure; and in Anjou, and in the lands which belonged to the county of Anjou, a thousand pound Angevin of revenue, with one castle in Anjou, one in Maine, and one in Touraine.

and bears upon the face of it the name of that town. If Lord Lyttleton had attended to this fact, it would have given him an insight into the history of the whole transaction, elucidating points which appeared dark and difficult to him, and in order to explain which, he was driven to suppositions, in which I believe he was wrong. He finds no express motives in the historians of the day for Henry neglecting to secure himself by including the King of France in the treaty; and he imagines that the French monarch and the other confederates being merely considered as allies of the young King Henry, the war with them dropt as soon as that prince concluded a peace with his father. This is not at all credible; and it is much more probable that a treaty was concluded with the King of France, as we shall show hereafter. The convention here given was undoubtedly sketched out at the conference, but was afterwards altered and signed at Falaise.



11. It is also agreed by our lord the king, for the love of his son, that all those who have left him after his son, and by so leaving him have become forfeit in the lands of our lord the king, shall be received again to his peace in such a manner as not to be accountable for the chattels which they might have taken away with them ; but for murder, robbery, or maiming, they shall answer according to justice and the law of the land. Whosoever also has fled upon any account before the war, and came into the service of his son, shall, for the love of that son, be permitted to return in peace, if they give security to abide the judgment of the law in those matters which preceded the war.

12. Those also who were impleaded when they went over to his son, may return, and their causes shall be considered in the same state as when they departed.

13. To hold this agreement faithfully, the King Henry, son of the king, took an oath in the hand of his father. Besides this, he, Henry, the son of the king, and his brothers, have pledged themselves that they will never exact more from our lord the king, their father, beyond the afore-written and definite donation, against the good-will and pleasure of our lord the king, their father ; and that they will never withdraw from him, their father, either their persons or their services.

14. Richard and Geoffrey, sons of our lord the king, have done homage to him for that which he has granted them ; but when his son Henry wished to do homage also, our lord the king refused to receive it, because he was a king, but took security from him.

Such were the terms of the famous treaty by which the younger Henry and his brothers were reconciled to their father ; and certainly, if we recollect the superiority which the monarch had gained in arms, and the commanding position in which he presented himself at the conference between Tours and Amboise, we may well wonder at the moderation he displayed. We are not, however, to suppose that the treaty as here given was precisely a counterpart of that signed at the conference which we have mentioned. Such is proved not to be the case, as it is not only dated from Falaise, but makes mention of the agreement between the King of Scotland and the King of England, which did not take place until some time after the meeting between Tours and

Amboise. We cannot doubt, however, that it was there sketched out and in all probability some preliminary agreement was drawn up, as a foundation for the subsequent convention. We are compelled, indeed, to suppose that a general treaty of peace, comprising the King of France and the Count of Flanders, was signed nearly at the same time, though the document has been since lost to us, and the particulars are unknown. Very few of the records of that time are any longer to be found ; but it is not at all reasonable to imagine that Henry would be induced to sheathe the sword which he had wielded so powerfully, without some better warranty of the pacific intentions of his principal enemy than a mere abstinence from aggression. I therefore conceive it is not too much to assert, that some treaty was absolutely entered into by Henry and Louis, the more especially as, besides the prisoners belonging to the English monarch's own territories which were liberated by him after the conference, there were a number of French knights and nobles set free, who certainly were not contemplated by any of the articles of the known treaty ; as from all the prisoners therein mentioned, Henry reserves the right of taking hostages for their future good conduct, which could only be applicable to his own vassals. Indeed, we find in the records of after transactions remote allusions to a treaty concluded between the Kings of France and England at this time, though they are not sufficiently distinct to give us an insight into the terms agreed upon.

The moderation of the King of England, the forgivingness of his disposition, and his love of peace, were never more strikingly displayed than upon the present occasion. It must be remembered, that the prisoners in his hands were not in general merely enemies taken in battle, but that many of them were rebels of the most ungrateful character—that many of them had broken every bond which ought to bind a subject to his sovereign, or a man of feeling to his benefactor—that some had even instigated the young princes to rebel against their father, bringing all the horrors and miseries of war upon a happy and peaceful country ; and yet Henry sought no vengeance. He did not even require what the customs of the day justified him in exacting, but freed without fine or ransom no less than nine hundred and sixty-nine gentlemen of the knightly degree ; if he had been



as avaricious as some persons have asserted, he might well have drawn from that number of prisoners, by a very moderate and lawful exercise of his power, a sum which would have defrayed the expenses of his late warlike operations.

Those prisoners who were reserved from the amnesty promised by the agreement entered into between Tours and Amboise, were somewhat more hardly dealt with; and it is probable that, in order to hold the sword over their heads, Henry did not sign the definitive treaty with his sons till after they had agreed to the terms which he thought fit to dictate. In regard to the King of Scotland, the English monarch showed himself more severe than in his dealings with any of the others, exacting from him the submission of his crown to the crown of England; and binding the bloodthirsty and barbarous neighbour, who had countenanced and commanded the most atrocious cruelties against the English provinces on the border, by the strong bond of feudal homage. Henry required that this submission should be full and perfect, and that it should be approved of and warranted by the nobles and clergy of Scotland, so that at no future period the vassalage of the Scottish crown to that of England should ever be called in question, in consequence of any informality in the act.

The Scottish barons and prelates were permitted to confer with their sovereign in the castle of Falaise, to which he had been removed not long before; and at their entreaty, and by their advice, he agreed to the terms demanded by the English king. He did homage to Henry himself, and to his eldest son, not as any of his predecessors had done to English monarchs, for particular territories in England, but for the whole kingdom of Scotland and all his possessions whatsoever. He swore fealty as to his liege lord—he submitted the Church of Scotland to the Church of England; and such of his clergy and barons as Henry thought fit to summon, also did homage and swore fealty. At the same time the King of Scotland agreed to receive into his dominions no fugitives from England accused of felony, the same agreement being entered into by Henry in regard to fugitives from the neighbouring state. As security for the performance of his promises, the Scottish monarch gave up to the King of England five strong places, and also assigned twenty-

one hostages, amongst whom were his brother David and the chief noblemen of the realm.

These concessions were embodied in a convention between the two monarchs, and the barons and prelates of Scotland pledged themselves in writing to ensure the fulfilment of the treaty on the part of the King of Scotland; and promised that, if he should in any degree violate the terms, they would abandon him and serve the King of England as their liege lord.

Thus was established a claim upon the crown of Scotland, which produced in after years a long series of bloody and brutal hostilities, fruitless and injurious to England, and ruinous to the neighbouring country; as indeed must always be the case when the submission of a people is effected by violence, unless the memory of that violence be subsequently obliterated by kindness, generosity, and good government, producing that gratitude and affection which is in truth the liege homage of the heart.

To the treaty between the Kings of Scotland and England, which was antecedent to the convention signed at Falaise between Henry and his sons,\* is affixed the name of Prince Richard as one of the witnesses. He here takes the title of Count of Poitou; nothing having been said, apparently, on either part, in regard to his claims upon Aquitaine. Every circumstance, indeed, shows that there must have been many negotiations and conferences about this time, of which we are totally ignorant. In some of these transactions it is not improbable that the name of the unhappy Queen Eleanor was mentioned, and that an effort was made to free her from that imprisonment to which her unfaithful husband had subjected her, as a punishment for inciting rebellion against him in his own family and dominions. It is scarcely possible to conceive that the children whom she had nourished with such tender affection, and over whose minds she possessed such power, should make no effort to soften the indignation of their father; or that Louis, King of France, notwith-

\* In the convention between Henry and his sons, this treaty is clearly referred to; the expression used to express the agreements entered into with certain prisoners being exactly the same which is placed at the head of the convention with the King of Scotland. In the treaty between Henry and his sons we find, "Prisones vero, qui cum Domino Rege *finem* fecerunt;" and that with the King of Scots is entitled, "Hæc, est conventio et *finis*, &c."



standing the mean acts of which he was frequently guilty, should, after his solemn oath, so entirely forget the interests which he had vowed to uphold, as not to make some attempt, by persuasion, threat, or negotiation, to liberate his former wife. If any such efforts were made, however, Henry continued obdurate, and the queen was destined to remain in prison for a long series of years. Perhaps the passions of the English king had in this result a greater share than his policy; and that in confining a rebellious and artful queen, he delivered himself from the restraint of a jealous and irritable wife. We are, at all events, justified in believing that such might be his object, by the great and notorious licentiousness which disgraced the monarch's character.

In regard to the Earls of Leicester and Chester, we have no very satisfactory information. It would appear, however, that both were set at liberty about the same time as the other prisoners, though all their vast domains remained for some time in the hands of the king. There is much obscurity as to Henry's conduct towards these two noblemen during some years; for it would appear, from a cause which was tried in the king's court, that the Earl of Leicester was still considered the lord of his former territories, though he did not possess them; and it is therefore certain that Henry had not proceeded to absolute forfeiture for rebellion according to law. At the same time, however, we find that the town and forest of Leicester had been adjudged absolutely to the Crown, at the time when Henry thought fit to restore the earl's possessions. This act of clemency took place in 1177; but it was not brought about without the most profound humiliation and penitence on the part of the earl. He declared, in a cause tried between him and another baron, who had previously held lands as his vassal, and who now sought to transfer his homage to Henry, that although he had in his possession charters which clearly established his title to the estates in question, he would urge no plea against the will of his sovereign, but yielded all his rights to his sovereign's mercy. Those words, and probably still more substantial proofs of his repentance and submission, induced the King of England to pardon his offences, and to restore him to the whole of his possessions, with the exception of one feof in England, which was found to have belonged to the royal domain; and one in Normandy, which the king

judged right, from its dangerous capabilities, to retain in the possession of the Crown. The same course of lenity was pursued towards the Earl of Chester; and thus Henry's conduct at the conclusion of the war displayed mercy and forbearance to the end.

Little remained to be done, in order to terminate the various transactions arising out of the unhappy insurrection of the monarch's children; and Henry hastened in person to superintend the demolition of the rebel fortresses in Anjou. To Geoffrey he entrusted the same care in Brittany; and, confiding fully in the frank and open character of Richard, he despatched him into Poitou, to rase the castles which had been erected to support his own cause.

Henry thus made a marked difference between his two younger and his eldest son; and it would seem, indeed, that Prince Henry had given his father some fresh cause of offence, though on what occasion does not absolutely appear. The King of France took upon him once more to interfere between the parent and the son, and, it is said, strongly recommended the younger Henry not to return with his father into England, endeavouring to fill his mind with apprehensions. A conference which was held at Gisors, and at which the prince, as well as his father and the King of France, was present, does not appear to have at all diminished the feelings of jealousy that existed on all parts; and we find that when at length, early in the year 1175, Henry II. prepared to set sail for England, and summoned his eldest son to join him at Caen, for the purpose of accompanying him, the young king at first refused, giving him to understand that he was taught to doubt his sincerity in the reconciliation which had taken place. Henry, however, sent to inform him that such suspicions were unfounded; and the young king in consequence returned to his father's court, accompanied by the Archbishop of Rouen and some other prelates, and casting himself at the monarch's feet, with many sobs and tears besought his forgiveness and mercy. He assured Henry, however, at the same time, that he could never believe his father was really reconciled to him, unless he were suffered to do homage and swear allegiance, as had been the case with his brothers; and he entreated the king, consequently, to permit him to perform that act, which more than any other bound two persons to one another in the feudal ages. Henry was much affected,



we are told, by the humiliation and penitence of his son, and assenting to his request, received his homage; after which the younger Henry swore voluntarily, upon the relics of saints, to serve his father faithfully in all things, to act by his advice alone, never to do any injury whatsoever to those who had adhered to their sovereign in the late war, but, on the contrary, rather to promote and honour them as faithful servants both to father and son, and to order his whole household and establishment according to his parent's pleasure. As pledges for the fulfilment of this promise, the young prince presented the Archbishop of Rouen, three bishops, the Earl of Essex, and a number of other barons; and he promised confidently that the King of France, the Count of Flanders, his brothers Richard and Geoffrey, the Counts of Blois and Champagne, and all the nobles of Henry's dominions on both sides of the water, should bind themselves to stand by his father, and take part against himself, in case of his infringing the convention\* then made.

This transaction took place at the castle of Bure, on the 1st of April, 1175. The tranquillity of the King of England seemed now to be established on a foundation not to be shaken; and he suffered his son once more to visit his father-in-law the King of France, although that monarch was assuredly the most dangerous counsellor which the English prince could meet. No evil, however, resulted at the time; and the younger Henry rejoining his father very speedily, they appeared together during the festivities of Easter, at the town of Cherbourg, displaying towards each other every sign of renewed affection and confidence.† They thence pro-

\* The letter in which Henry announced these facts to his English parliament, held at Westminster shortly after, is preserved by Diceto.

† We are told that they ate at the same table and slept in the same bed. The young Henry could not have been long absent from his father, *if at all*, as Easter-day happened on the 13th of April, and they were then certainly at Cherbourg, having been at Bure, near Caen, on the 1st of the month. After some hesitation, I have admitted the visit of the younger Henry to the King of France into the text, because Lord Lyttleton has admitted it; but it is to be remarked that Hoveden says nothing of such a journey at this time, and the more I study the work of that writer, the more I am inclined to trust with confidence to his statements, especially regarding the reign of Henry the Second. He is accused of having borrowed very largely from Benedict, abbot of Peterborough; but after the strictest examination, I am not disposed to believe that this charge is at all just, as far as regards the reign of Henry the Second, during the course of which he had far greater opportunities of knowing what really took place than the abbot himself possessed; for Benedict, till he became abbot of Peterborough, remained

ceeded to Caen, in order to meet the Count of Flanders, who desired an interview with the two English princes. The motive of his coming is somewhat differently stated by contemporary writers, and it is very probable that more than one inducement led him to the conference at Caen. He had assumed the cross some short time before in the great church of St. Peter, at Ghent; and the English authors of that day uniformly declare, that the cause of this act, which bound him to go in arms to the Holy Land, was remorse for the part he had taken in the war against Henry. The Flemish historians, however, attribute his crusade merely to zeal for religion; and it is very probable that such a cause might operate in some degree. Nor is it unlikely that one of his objects in coming to meet the King of England at Caen, was to make some atonement for the offence he had committed, although it is certain that another was, to regain the pension which he had formerly received from Henry, and to renew his alliance with a powerful monarch whom he had so justly offended. However that may be, in the conference which now took place, he gave up into the hands of the two kings the charter of donation with which the younger Henry had weakly purchased his co-operation, and formally freed that prince from all engagements to himself. In return the treaty was renewed which

almost always at Canterbury; while Hoveden was attached immediately to the king's court, enjoyed his full confidence, and was, shortly before this period, employed by him in a very important negotiation. Benedict was in the first instance a monk, and as such mingled but little with the world. He was attached, however, to Richard Archbishop of Canterbury, who succeeded Becket, and was named his chancellor on his elevation. In this situation he remained during the difficulties which the archbishop had to encounter from the opposition of the young King Henry, and I believe that he accompanied the prelate to Rome. After the confirmation of the archbishop's election by the Pope, Benedict was chosen prior of Canterbury, the former prior, Odo, having been removed to the abbacy of St. Martin. He was afterwards appointed abbot of Peterborough in 1177. Thus, in fact, he had very little opportunity of knowing much from his own observation, at all events before the year 1177. As there must have been some communication between him and Hoveden, however, it is likely that he derived his facts—till the beginning of the reign of Richard, when he himself obtained greater facilities for observation—from Henry's chaplain, and put them into more elegant language, rather than that Hoveden took his materials from a person who had less opportunities of real knowledge than himself, and then barbarised that which he stole. After the coronation of Richard, at which Benedict was present, his authority is undoubtedly great, as he spoke probably from his own knowledge, and very likely the chaplain borrowed a part from him relative to the subsequent events, Hoveden himself having, by that time, retired from the world, and devoted himself to the composition of his history.—*See Gervase and Diceto.*



had been entered into several years before the commencement of the war between Henry II. and the Flemish sovereign,—and the count retired with the assurance that his territories would be safe during his absence on the crusade. His remorse for the blood which had been shed, and his purpose of visiting the tomb of his Redeemer, did not prevent him from committing a fearful act of cruelty before he went,—if the account of Diceto is to be believed. He is stated, immediately after his return from the conference at Caen, to have taken one Walter des Fontaines in adultery with the countess his wife; and notwithstanding the example of patience set before him by his ally the King of France, we are assured he put the adulterer to death in the most inhuman and barbarous manner. In the mean time, Henry and his eldest son returned to England; and the first unhappy rebellion of Richard against his father being now at an end, I shall pause to notice several events which took place during the years 1173, 1174, and 1175, which give us some insight into the state and progress of society at that time.

The simplicity of the first ages of chivalry was at an end, and a more gorgeous and ostentatious epoch was now beginning. The generosity and liberality which had been inculcated as virtues of a principal order, had now deviated into profusion and extravagance. The arms and clothing of the knights were of the most sumptuous and costly description. Their shields were covered with gold, and painted or enamelled with various colours; their tents also were ornamented in every different way that their fancy could devise; the crests of their helmets blazed with the precious metals, and sometimes with jewels; and the robes and the surcoats which they wore, were formed of the richest silks and cendals, of scarlet and every other bright and dazzling hue. Fine linen, which was then a rarity, was eagerly sought amongst them; and we find from John of Salisbury, that it was becoming the custom in that day to make the garments of the male part of society, when not absolutely in the field, fit so tightly to the body as to resemble a skin. At the great meetings of princes, every sort of pageantry and luxury was displayed; and in the year 1174 one of those conferences occurred, in which splendour and profusion were carried to an excess that more resembled some of the wild follies of the Roman tyrants or the extravagant pomp of eastern barbarians, than anything that

modern Europe has produced. In the course of that year, the Count of Toulouse, as much, in all probability, with the design of being absent from a scene of warfare, where he might have been obliged to take part with one of two princes to each of whom he had done homage, as for the purpose of arranging some difficult affairs on his eastern frontier, retired from his capital towards the Gulf of Lyons, and held what was then called a *cour plenièrè* at his castle of Beaucaire.

It is affirmed, that Henry King of England himself had appointed to meet the King of Arragon at that place, in order to mediate a reconciliation between him and the Count of Toulouse. The English king, however, was prevented from attending by the war in which he was engaged; and the time passed in festivities and sports. Nearly ten thousand knights are said to have been present on the occasion, one baron alone, name William de Martel, having three hundred knights in his train. Every one endeavoured to surpass the other in extravagance; the Count of Toulouse gave a hundred thousand solidi, or two thousand marks of fine silver, to a knight named Raymond d'Agout, who immediately distributed them amongst the other persons present. William de Martel required all his repast to be cooked by the heat of wax candles. Bertrand Raimbaud ordered the fields in the neighbourhood of the castle to be ploughed, and sown with small coin, in which insane act he scattered thirty thousand solidi; and Raymond de Venous, to add brutality to folly, caused thirty of his finest horses to be burnt before the whole assembly.

Such were the amusements of the famous *cour plenièrè* of Beaucaire, as described by a contemporary; but as out of evil continually springs good, it would seem not at all improbable that this extravagant meeting, by the multitude of merchants and dealers which it called together from all parts of the world, gave rise to the well-known annual fair of Beaucaire, which for so many years was one of the greatest commercial marts in the world.

The *cour plenièrè* of Beaucaire, however, afforded by no means a solitary example. In a thousand other instances, human vanity and pride, unchecked by accurate notions either in taste or morals, and acting in the free license of a state nearly approaching to barbarism, produced results scarcely less wild and extravagant. But although it is al-



ways to be lamented that men should fall into such absurdities, yet the consequences are not altogether so evil as they appear. Society has always hitherto vacillated between one excess and another; in some stages going backwards and forwards to the very extremes, and even in more refined and cultivated ages trembling like a finely balanced lever at the slightest impulse, and continually passing to and fro over the accurately adjusted mark without ever pausing at the exact point. But from these continual fluctuations, and from the deviation from what is perfect in taste, in feeling, and in thought, arises that boundless variety which in itself is admirable. One epoch may not always improve upon another; and it occasionally happens that, in consequence of some great convulsion, the world is cast back for many centuries. But in the common course of events, each age, in its deviation from that which preceded it, produces new and beautiful combinations in its progress to the extreme opposite of that which went before.

To the extravagant splendour and ostentatious magnificence of these ages, may be attributed very many improvements in various arts, and in none more than architecture. Superstition, indeed, joined with the love of display; but superstition almost always derives its character from the circumstances that surround it, and though it acts upon the spirit of the age, it receives in return an impression from that spirit which characterises all its efforts, in whatever direction they may be turned. Mere superstition would never have produced the Crusades, had not other circumstances given to that impulse a great military development; and though, as some writers have asserted, superstition might have a share in producing the magnificent edifices which at this time rose thickly throughout every part of Europe, yet she might have restrained her efforts to raising the mighty stones of the Druids, or piling up the rubble temples of the early Saxons, if the ambition of exciting wonder by performing vast and extraordinary things in every course that presented itself to the human mind, had not brought about the second great change in the architecture of modern Europe.

Various splendid buildings had been erected in the time of Stephen, and some remains thereof are probably to be seen in our own day; but, towards the period to which we have now conducted this history, a catastrophe took place which

produced one of the greatest efforts in this art that Europe had ever witnessed. The cathedral church at Canterbury, in the year 1174, was suddenly found to be on fire, and a considerable part of the building, though not the whole, was destroyed, to the grief of those who fondly believed it to be the most magnificent structure that human skill and diligence could produce. The choir was the part which suffered the most; and one of the monks who witnessed the conflagration has written a long and enthusiastic account of repairs, which occupied the next ten years to complete. A number of the columns were so injured that for some time a great difference of opinion existed as to whether it would or would not be necessary to pull down the whole of the building. All the great architects of France and England were called to consult upon the subject, and, after much discussion, the plans of William of Sens were adopted, who declared it necessary to take down the choir, and every part of the edifice which had been affected by the fire. The work of reparation was then commenced with great activity; and day by day the monk Gervase noted down all that took place, and transmitted it to posterity, but in so tedious and discursive a manner, that although his account is invaluable as a source of information regarding our early architecture, it is perfectly impossible to admit it into a work of a wider scope, or so to abridge it as to render it at all interesting to the general reader. We may mention, however, one or two points of difference between the choir as now rebuilt by the Archbishop Richard, and the former structure, erected by Lanfranc in the year 1071; which alterations will serve, in some degree, to mark the progress that architecture had made at this period. The capitals of the ancient pillars, we are told, were plain; in the new building they were richly sculptured. The number of columns also was increased. The arches, too, and every other thing, we are told, were previously plain, being cut with the axe and not with the chisel. In the new building everything was fittingly sculptured. No marble pillars were formerly in the church; but in the structure built under Archbishop Richard they were numerous. In the church of Lanfranc, the vault was of wood, ornamented with extraordinary paintings; in that which was raised at the period of which we speak, it was of stone. Another change which is particularly mentioned, is not so easily understood, though



it is evident that Gervase means to point out a great change in the forms of the arches. He declares that the arches in the circuit outside of the choir were plain in the old building, but that in the new one just erected they were *bowed and keyed, or studded*. His exact meaning is certainly obscure; but I am inclined to believe that the arches he spoke of were those particularly noticed by Mr. Rickman, in his valuable work upon the styles of architecture in England, where he says, "At Canterbury, in the choir, are some curious pointed horse-shoe arches, but these are not common."\*

Such are a few of the changes made at that time in the choir of Canterbury cathedral, which may, perhaps, be considered the first building of what is now called the early English style, though the plans were those of a French architect. It was finished, indeed, by an Englishman; but we are not told that he introduced any changes into the designs of his predecessor.

In the history that we have of this building, it is to be remarked that there is not the slightest trace of the work having been undertaken or carried on with any superstitious feelings. In building a church, religious ideas must always, as a matter of course, have some share; for except in a very narrow and limited view, such an undertaking is not merely the erection of a large and convenient receptacle for a certain number of people; but the solemnity of the object for which they are to assemble, the majesty of the Being whom they meet to worship, the awe and reverence which His attributes inspire, must all have an effect upon the minds of those who attempt such a task, and they can never forget that they are raising an edifice in some degree to the glory of God, as it is intended for His adoration by His grateful creatures. We trace such feelings in the account given by Gervase of Dover, and they are of course modified in their expression and direction by his habits and religion; but we find much fewer

\* See Rickman's "Attempt to Discriminate the Styles of Architecture in England," p. 60. The words of Gervase, which will be more intelligible probably to an architect than they are to the author of these pages, are as follows:—"Ibi in circuitu extra chorum fornices planæ, hic arcuatæ sunt et clavatæ." Let it clearly be understood, that the author of these pages makes no pretension to a knowledge of architecture; and that he only mentions the above facts because they form a part of the general history of the period, which it is impossible for him to omit, as affecting greatly the progress of the human mind during the age to which his work refers.

evidences of superstitious motives in his record of the rebuilding of the choir of Canterbury, than in the accounts which have come down to us of the erection of the abbey of Croyland, which was commenced just sixty years before. So much is this the case, indeed, that taken in conjunction with other facts, it tends to show that the people of England had in the intervening period become more enlightened in mind as well as improved in taste, notwithstanding all that had been done to obscure truth and reason by the mist of falsehoods which rose from the tomb of Thomas à Becket.

That superstition did still exist as one of the grand motives of society in that day, there can be no doubt. Nor is it to be denied, that though it might not stimulate genius to great undertakings, for which genius is in itself sufficient, yet it constantly directed the course of human efforts, and often supported enterprise in its struggle with the obstacles and difficulties of the world. Thus we read in William of Nangis, that three years after the period of which we are now speaking, Benedict, who constructed the famous bridge over the Rhone at Avignon, when he first presented himself with his plan in that city—then a young and obscure man, without any apparent means to execute the immense task which he undertook—declared and undoubtedly believed that he had been inspired by God for the accomplishment of his vast design. Sustained by this idea, he persevered in the attempt, although the people of the city turned him into ridicule; and at length, winning converts by his own confidence and enthusiasm, he accomplished one of the greatest works of the age in which he lived.

The influence of superstition, however, seems to me to have been considerably decreased before the end of the reign of Henry the Second, although there were still many gross and absurd acts committed under the sway of that powerful spirit.

Civilisation had also made great progress in other directions; though here, also, a thousand instances might be adduced to show that the people of Europe were still in a very savage and uncultivated state. Henry himself, notwithstanding his usual lenity, occasionally gave way to acts the most barbarous and disgraceful. We have seen him in the war with Welsh princes, mutilate his hostages; and, in his contention with his sons, ravage and destroy part of his own



territories in Anjou, as if they had been those of an enemy. Notwithstanding these facts, however, though superstition was of course not extinguished, yet it had less power and less extension—and though barbarism still displayed itself from time to time, men recovered sooner from the convulsions into which it occasionally cast them, and learned to be ashamed of acts in which they at one time gloried. Upon the whole, I do not believe that a period of forty years selected from any other portion of modern history, will show so great a change in society as that which was effected between the years 1140 and 1180.

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### BOOK III.

SOCIETY never returns to the same state after it has been violently moved. All great convulsions leave effects behind them, which operate long after they themselves are over; and immediate consequences are always mingled more or less with evil, even when the ultimate results are in the highest degree beneficial. The eruption of a volcano, or the concussion of an earthquake, sometimes tends to fertilise the ground, and produces riches and abundance after a certain lapse of time; but in the mean while, loss, inconvenience, and often destruction, ensue; and no one can doubt that the calm, ameliorating progress of nature's ordinary advance is far preferable to rude and sudden changes of any kind.

The insurrection of Henry's children, however, was not accompanied by benefits of any kind that we can discover, and the evil consequences remained long after the rebellion itself was suppressed. It was only in Aquitaine that these consequences extended so far as to affect the history of Richard in any degree; and I shall therefore pass over as briefly as possible the events that followed the war in other parts of Henry's dominions without entering into any minute investigation of the causes or the circumstances.

A number of castles belonging to rebel leaders were thrown down or dismantled; the fortresses which the King of Scotland had pledged himself to give to Henry, were duly delivered into the hands of his officers. The nobles and clergy of England met their sovereign in parliament at Westminster,

and on every occasion testified their entire submission to his will, and their firm purpose of maintaining inviolate the peace which had been so happily restored. The Archbishop of Canterbury adopted the best means for withdrawing the clergy from the grasp of the constitution of Clarendon by enacting such regulations as were calculated to free them from those vices which put them within the power of that code.

Whether Henry was the agent or the instrument, certain it is that the superstition of the age, which had once acted so unfavourably to his views, now had a contrary effect. The happy change which had taken place in his fortunes immediately after his visit to the shrine of Thomas à Becket, was attributed by the people, and perhaps in some degree by the king himself, to the intercession of the martyr. The monarch encouraged the idea; and shortly after his return from France, he visited the tomb of the archbishop, whose sanctity had not been affected by the conflagration of the pile in which his body reposed. Henry evidently showed an inclination to adopt Becket as his tutelary saint; and thus, with great success—whether from wisdom or weakness is uncertain—he turned the miracles of the martyr's tomb to his own advantage.

His presence in England, and the fortune which seemed to attend all his measures, overawed his enemies in every quarter; and the King of Scotland came unresistingly with the nobles and prelates of his realm to do homage to the King of England, according to agreement. This ceremony took place at York, on the 10th of August, and the concourse of people must have been immense; for we are told that the Scottish monarch brought with him the bishops, earls, barons, knights, and freeholders of his kingdom, from the greatest to the least, in order that the complete subjection of the land might be clear and indisputable.

Not long after, the English sovereign was visited at Windsor by the ministers of Roderick King of Connaught, who sent them to negotiate a treaty of peace with Henry, and entrusted them with powers to submit the crown of Connaught, which had hitherto been held supreme in Ireland, in a formal and distinct manner to the monarch of the neighbouring island. Some sort of tribute, we are told, had been previously paid by Roderick, but the accounts thereof are in-



distinct and doubtful. We now find, however, a distinct treaty, recognising Henry's sovereignty over the whole of Ireland, conceding to Roderick the territory of Connaught as king under Henry. The Irish prince was to hold himself always ready to serve the King of England as his vassal, and was to pay him a tribute. The treaty goes on to provide, that the whole of the rest of Ireland, with the exception of those parts which Henry retained as his own demesne lands, or as grants to the English barons who had commenced or aided in the subjugation of the neighbouring country, was to be under the supreme dominion of Roderick. The districts excepted, however, comprised Dublin, Wexford, and Waterford, each with a large tract of territory attached, as well as the rest of Leinster and Meath. All the petty sovereigns of Ireland brought under the sceptre of Roderick were to pay their tribute to the King of England through the hands of the former, and were to be compelled by him to discharge that tribute, and perform their other engagements towards Henry. In case of need, Roderick was to be supported by the forces of the King of England and his constable in Ireland; and the aid thus promised seems to have been the only equivalent held out to the Irish monarch for the great concessions that he now made.

Roderick, however, obtained one more advantage, of no slight importance, which was the termination of a war that had already proved disastrous to him, and which, now that Henry was delivered from the intestine dissensions that followed the revolt of his sons, must soon have overwhelmed the King of Connaught, if he had not obviated it by negotiations with the English sovereign.

It is not possible here to afford any detailed account of the long series of savage hostilities which had taken place in Ireland since the breaking forth of the rebellion against Henry. They had commenced, it would appear, by a treacherous attempt on the part of the chieftain O'Ruark, or O'Roorck, to murder in cold blood Hugh de Lacy, who had been left as the king's locum-tenens in Ireland. The attempt was frustrated by the wit and courage of a gallant young Welsh knight, named Gryffyth, the nephew of the famous Maurice Fitzgerald. Suspecting the designs of the Irish in a conference proposed between O'Ruark and De Lacy, he took judicious precautions against them, and attacking O'Ruark him-

self, as soon as his treachery had become indubitable, at the moment he was about to mount his horse after having attempted to kill De Lacy with his battle-axe, he pierced both horse and man by one stroke of his lance, casting them dead upon the earth together. The head of the deceitful prince was struck off, and placed upon the gate of the castle of Dublin as a warning to others; and he certainly met with a just reward for his treachery, although his enmity towards the English was by no means unprovoked.

From this period, hostilities continued, with various success on both parts, during the whole of the wars between Henry and his sons. The Earl of Pembroke, it would appear, was the aggressor on one or two occasions; and afterwards, being called away from that country to serve his own king in Normandy, he left his enemies the opportunity of confederating for the purpose of his destruction. On his return, he not only found a powerful combination amongst the Irish princes to throw off the English yoke, but he was also embarrassed by the scantiness of his finances, a mutinous spirit in his troops, and the too great popularity of one of his principal supporters, Raymond Fitzgerald; who, to the shining character of a gallant and accomplished knight, added attractions which were in the eyes of the inferior soldiers no less desirable in a leader—an enterprising and adventurous spirit, a boundless liberality, and an unscrupulous love of plunder. In addition to all this, Fitzgerald was madly in love with the sister of the earl; and Strongbow did not choose that one who was already in some degree his rival, should be still further elevated by alliance with his own family. It may be easily conceived, that in these circumstances the power of the English for some time declined, while that of the Irish increased; and the Earl of Pembroke having formally refused his sister to Fitzgerald after a fortunate expedition made by the latter, Raymond retired indignantly into Wales, leaving the earl to his fate.

As soon as he was gone, Pembroke put himself at the head of his forces, and marched to Cashel, in order to attack Cork. A large body of his troops, however, was surprised at Ossory, on its march to join him, and was nearly cut to pieces by the enemy; and about the same time tidings reached the earl that armies were gathering to oppose him in every quarter. Pembroke was enabled to effect a hasty



retreat to Waterford; but almost the whole of Ireland had already risen in arms against the English power. Chieftain after chieftain marched to attack him in the place where he had sought refuge; and Roderick, King of Connaught, raising a large force, entered Meath, which had been left unprotected. Hugh de Lacy having gone over to England to support the party of his own sovereign against the rebels, by whom he was at this time assailed, the situation of the Earl of Pembroke was most lamentable. Dublin itself was menaced; the inhabitants of Waterford waited but an opportunity to rise against the English, and join their fellow-countrymen without; and Strongbow had no resource but to call Raymond Fitzgerald back to his aid, promising him the hand of the lady that he loved. To a knight of those days, such an inducement was irresistible. Raymond waited not to collect a large force in Wales; but taking one-and-thirty knights who were with him, a body of one hundred men-at-arms, and three hundred Welsh foot, he cast himself into the first vessels that he could find, and sailed at once for Waterford. The wind was favourable and strong—the banners of England were displayed on the masts of the adventurer—and his little fleet entering the port of Waterford in full sail, appeared just in time to overawe the citizens, and save the English garrison from destruction. The grateful earl and his old companion-in-arms marched out in triumph to Wexford, and there Pembroke immediately bestowed upon Fitzgerald the promised hand of his sister Basile. Their marriage was such as might well besit chivalrous times; for on the morrow of his wedding-day, Fitzgerald led forth his troops to attack the King of Connaught, and with extraordinary rapidity recovered the whole county of Meath. He then turned towards the strong city of Limerick; and though it was defended by massy walls, by a powerful force, and by the river Shannon, he determined to attack it with one hundred and twenty knights, three hundred light-armed horsemen, and four hundred archers. The deep river was forded—the town assailed; the Irish, astonished at such inconceivable boldness, abandoned the defence, scarcely striking a blow—and Limerick was taken with a terrible slaughter of the citizens.

Representations had been made in the mean time to Henry against the character of Fitzgerald, which were in some

degree just, and the English monarch sent over envoys to bring that leader into Normandy; but just as he was on the eve of setting sail, fresh efforts were made by the Irish, the troops of the Earl of Pembroke refused to act without the presence of Raymond, and the messengers of Henry unwillingly consented that he should remain. Once more Fitzgerald led forth his troops to conquer; with a handful of men he attacked O'Brien, Prince of Limerick, strongly entrenched in a pass not far from Cashel, forced the barriers which had been raised against him, routed the troops of the enemy, and relieved Limerick, which had been attacked. Struck with these successes and some others which followed, the Irish princes declared their inclination to submit; and the embassy of Roderick, King of Connaught, in the autumn of 1175, was one of the principal results of Raymond Fitzgerald's victorious career.

Thus were the two neighbouring kingdoms of Scotland and Ireland rendered fiefs of the crown of England; so that the whole extent of these islands was now more or less under the dominion of one man, Wales having long been subjected to the same sway. In that country, indeed, some disturbances had taken place, though but very slight. All had remained at peace so long as Rees ap Gryffyth, to whom Henry confided the powers of grand justiciary in South Wales, continued on the spot, for he had executed the trust reposed in him with zeal and fidelity; but the moment that he was summoned to attack the fortress of Tutbury, on behalf of Henry, an inferior lord named Jorwarth (to whom, as I have before shown, deep offence had been given at the time that Henry was called from Ireland into France) broke out into rebellion again, and captured the strong town and castle of Caerleon upon Usk, which had formerly belonged to him. Previous, however, to receiving the homage of the King of Scotland at York, Henry and his son had held a parliament at Gloucester, for the purpose of securing the tranquillity of the adjacent parts of Wales, and to this assembly Rees ap Gryffyth persuaded Jorwarth and all those persons who had joined with him in his rebellion, to go voluntarily, in the hope of obtaining pardon and favour as a result of their submission. Henry fulfilled to the utmost the promises which Rees ap Gryffyth had made. He left Caerleon in the hands of Jorwarth, received the homage of the rest, and, in order



to insure peace to the country as far as oaths would go, he caused all the chieftains of Wales there present to confederate by a solemn vow, engaging mutually to defend each other in case of attack by any of the other Welsh princes.

Thus, throughout the whole of his dominions Henry's power seemed secure,—and yet, strange to say, at this period he displayed apprehensions for his personal safety which he manifested at no other time. During his whole life hitherto he had gone from place to place but scantily attended, and all persons could gain admission to his person at reasonable hours; but a change now came over his feelings. It is true that confidence lost can never be recovered,—that when we find we have been deceived in those we have trusted,—that neither the bonds of gratitude, nor of honour, nor of kindred, have power to bind the passions of men, we never can feel that full reliance again upon any human being which we once entertained in the days of happy inexperience, and our shaken trust leaves us uncertain and doubtful of where to find faith on earth, or truth amongst the children of men.

Whether it was this loss of confidence alone that made the king apprehensive of danger, or whether any private intimations were given to him that the peace which seemed fully restored, was in reality hollow, and that the rebels whom he had forgiven wanted but opportunity to renew their insurrection; or whether the murmurs reached his ear which were either unjustly excited by the demolition of some of those fortresses which had been used only to resist himself, or were called forth with better cause on account of the severities he exercised on all who had violated his severe forest laws, cannot be told; but it is certain that he caused proclamation to be made, forbidding such persons to come to his court as had taken part in the late insurrection, unless summoned by himself; that he established regulations in regard to strangers and visitors lingering about the precincts of the palace at unusual hours; and that he forbade the use of common arms—such as the bow—which in those days were seldom out of the hand of the English yeoman.

It is not improbable, indeed, that the regulation in regard to the bow and other weapons of a similar character, had more immediately for its object to preserve the lives of the king's deer than his own. During the insurrection, either from the want of power to restrain the people, or for the

purpose of detaching them from the rebels, the king's forests had been left almost entirely free for any one who might think fit to take the game contained therein; and it is even asserted by the best contemporary writers, that Richard de Lucy, the grand justiciary, openly produced a letter from the king, authorising him to throw open all the royal forests of England to the people. Notwithstanding such motives for moderation, however, Henry proceeded against those who had transgressed the forest laws in a severe and cruel manner, causing a strict inquisition to be made into all cases of trespass on his woodlands, and authorising the judges appointed for the trial of such causes to take hearsay evidence against the accused.\* In this unpopular proceeding he displayed none of the better qualities which distinguished him, except impartiality. The loyal and the rebellious were treated exactly in the same manner, and, according to the magnitude of their offence, were punished with death or maiming, or pecuniary amercement. The latter, indeed, was the course which the king so frequently adopted, that writers have suspected he was moved less by indignation for the violation of his rights, than by the desire of remedying the penury of his treasury. Whatever was the cause, Henry's conduct was most unpopular through the whole transaction; and the course of proceeding which he permitted or ordered was evidently unjust, and calculated to bring condemnation on the innocent. Whatever might be the motive, it was ungenerous and unwise to punish offences of such a character, which had taken place in times of general disorder and anarchy; and, if the object was to wring from his people fresh supplies of money by the means employed, no words are sufficient to express the reprobation which such conduct deserved in the case of one who knew what was just so well as Henry the Second.

Such a view of Henry's behaviour on this occasion is entirely distinct from the consideration of whether the forest

\* The words in which Diceto mentions these facts are as follows:—"Inquisitio generalis facta per Angliam pari discrimine Comites, Barones, milites, privatorum quoque multitudinem infinitam involvit. Omnes quidem hi juris jurandi religione minus reverenter artati, modo regi, modo justiciariis publicarunt quos à tempore dissensionis inter regem patrem et filium habitæ vitæ ferarum insidias tetendisse vel auditu solo perceperant. Hoc ergo prætextu multi clericorum quos sola fama resperserat, venatoriis occupationibus irretitos fuisse, jussu vicecomitum ad forum civile pertrahebantur; archiepiscopo vel episcopis non reclamantibus. Quorum quidam ut regiam indignationem evaderent offerentes pecuniam audiebantur."



laws were in themselves just or unjust. The vague and illogical pieces of declamation which have been current against the preservation of game by kings and private persons on their own lands, scarcely require refutation; for so long as the idea of property exists, so long must it be admitted that each man has a right to apportion a part of that which he possesses for the purpose of his own amusement and recreation. It might, indeed, be objected, and justly, in countries where a dense population exists, that the occupation of large tracts of ground by forests, reserved for the purposes of the chase, produces a general evil, by withdrawing soil from cultivation, the continuance of which no individual right can justify. But the case of a dense population and a scanty soil did not exist in those days; and even if it had existed, we must recollect that, the principal fuel of the whole country consisting at that time of wood, much larger forests were then absolutely necessary than are now required for the mere supply of timber. Wherever the forests did exist, there the right of the proprietor to the animals of all kinds which were fed and nourished therein, was as clear and distinct as the right of a grazier to his sheep or other cattle, or that of the agriculturist to the corn which he has grown. The distinction between the wild and the tame is a mere subtlety, unworthy of the law, and is still less applicable to those days, when the beasts were not migratory, but were kept in particular tracts, tended with care, and often provided with food\* besides that which the soil itself afforded them. There were, however, two considerations which, with perfect justice, might greatly affect the decisions of a lawgiver in regard to beasts of the chase; and those considerations would operate in the most opposite directions. The first of these was, the much greater difficulty of preserving this kind of property than almost any other; the second, the much greater temptation that existed to plunder it on every occasion. The legislators of those times seem to have directed their attention solely to the first of these considerations, and, consequently, to have endeavoured to guard those objects which were naturally exposed, by sanguinary and cruel laws, which, as all cruel laws must be, were without effect. If it were an

\* The deer were, for many ages, during the first and second race of French monarchs, regarded exactly as domestic animals; and in the laws and regulations of those times, we find them spoken of with the cow and the horse.

ascertained fact, that man could be deterred from crime by the fear of punishment, the severest laws would be the most merciful ; for by them alone we could hope, by preventing the offence, to spare the chastisement. But if it be recognised, as is now very generally the case, that lenient laws, firmly administered, afford the surest means of arriving at the least possible portion of evil, then we must recur to the first principles of justice, and, in apportioning the punishment, weigh the temptation with the crime.

The lawgivers of Henry's time, however, in the infancy of a science regarding which much is still to be learnt in our own day, could hardly be expected to arrive at conclusions which are, unfortunately, only furnished by experience. To guard, therefore, the property of the lord of the soil in the beasts which it fed, they rendered the laws severe in proportion to the facility of infringing them. No forests, however, could ever be fenced round by fears ; and in the endeavours, on the one part, to snatch the forbidden pleasure, and, on the other, to preserve the law, frequent crimes occurred of a still more serious character than the infraction of the rights of property. Scarcely, indeed, had Henry returned to England, when a case of this kind was brought before him. Four knights were charged at Woodstock with having killed one of his foresters, doubtless in some dispute regarding the royal chase. The facts, it would seem, were proved, and the criminals were condemned by the king and hanged without mercy.

Wherever he went the king pursued the same course of severity, showing especial harshness at Nottingham, and the districts adjacent to any of the large forests belonging to the crown. He was in general willing, however, to accept a pecuniary fine instead of corporeal punishment ; and by this means he replenished the royal treasury, while he chastised those who had infringed the law.

In the course of these proceedings, he wrung large sums of money from the clergy, who were in general passionately fond of the chase. From being a pleasure forbidden to their order by the Church discipline of the day, it was, of course, the more desired ; and there is every reason to suppose, that they had offended in this particular more than any other class of the monarch's subjects. The monkish writers complain vehemently of the king's extortions ; and the clergy, it



would seem, appealed to Cardinal Hugo, or, as many authors write it, Huguson, who at that time came into England as a legate à latere, to settle various matters in dispute between the Archbishops of Canterbury and York. Cardinal Huguson, however, gave no protection to the monks and priests whose unlawful pastimes had called on them the indignation of the king. His want of consideration for his clerical brethren in this respect, might proceed from one or two causes. In the first place, the Church of Rome had strictly prohibited all the clergy from following the sports of the field; and in the next place, the purse of the legate being somewhat empty, it is more than probable that Henry assisted to fill it, employing for that purpose the very fines of which the ecclesiastics complained. Certain it is, that Hugo himself, in the various tours which he made through different parts of the country, added not a little to the burdens which the Church already endured, by extorting, we are assured, large sums from abbeys and monasteries upon different iniquitous pretences.

The cardinal's residence in England was at length brought to a close in a somewhat disgraceful and unpleasant manner. A synod was summoned by the king, to meet at Westminster on Midlent Sunday, in the year 1176, and the legate pompously announced that he was about to declare to the assembly the mandates and precepts of the supreme pontiff. On the day appointed, at the very opening of the hall, a most scandalous scene took place between the Archbishops of York and Canterbury. Each claimed the right hand of the legate; and the Archbishop of York, it would seem, gained the advantage so far, as to seize upon the station he desired, before the other prelate could occupy it. The Archbishop of Canterbury remonstrated; and while he was endeavouring to make his opponent give up the place which he had taken, all the monks of Canterbury who were present, and all the attendants upon the primate, rushed upon his rival, threw him down, beat him severely, and broke his mitre. Several of the bishops assisted in this outrage; and the legate rising, dissolved the assembly, declaring that he would bring the scene he had witnessed under the cognisance of the Roman pontiff.

The Archbishop of York, on his part, summoned the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of Ely to the presence

of the Pope, and then left the hall ; while the monks of Canterbury showed clearly in what feelings the tumult had arisen, by shouting after the prelate as he retired, " Go, go, betrayer of St. Thomas ; your hands still smell of blood."

It is scarcely possible to conceive that a man in general so mild and placable as the Archbishop of Canterbury, should promote an assault of such a disgraceful character ; though it would seem that he certainly made an effort to assume his right place, which was but too violently seconded by those who saw in the Archbishop of York nothing but the enemy of the popular saint of Canterbury. Notwithstanding the strong inclination shown at this period to plunge the Church of England into new disputes, Henry subsequently prevailed upon the two archbishops to meet in a synod at Winchester, where the Archbishop of Canterbury, who had previously found means to mitigate the indignation of the legate, effected a reconciliation with the Archbishop of York on somewhat singular terms.

They mutually took an oath that they would suspend all enmity and anger towards each other for five years, which was certainly a most unchristian way of terminating an unchristian quarrel. The cardinal legate, in the mean time, had retired from England into Normandy, and thence returned to Rome, leaving behind him neither the purest personal reputation, nor the most favourable impression of the integrity of the papal court.

The real cause of the legate's coming to England is in some degree doubtful ; for one of the historians of the time, namely, the monk of Canterbury, informs us, that Henry entertained a design at this period of divorcing his wife Eleanor, whom he still held strictly imprisoned, and for whom his aversion had undoubtedly not diminished since she had contrived to incite his sons to rebel against his authority. It would seem by the account of Gervase, that Henry sought the presence of a legate in England, in order to open negotiations regarding this delicate transaction, and that he took every means of corrupting Huguson, and bringing him over to his own views. Did Gervase state this as a positive fact, the proceedings affecting which he had witnessed, I might be inclined to give credit to the statement ; but as he speaks only of a design conceived in the breast of Henry himself, and never put into execution, I am inclined to suspend my



belief in the statement till I find it confirmed by other authorities. None such have I hitherto met with; and it seems so improbable Henry should conceive a project, the execution of which must have been completely destructive of the grand political scheme of his whole life, that it would require a great mass of evidence to remove the doubts which naturally present themselves. In the first place, the monarch could not have divorced himself from his queen on any pretext which the Church of Rome would admit, except that of consanguinity. Such a plea, though not operating to bastardise his children according to the English law, must have had that effect according to the law of France. Normandy indeed might have been secured, and Brittany was the portion of his son's wife; but Anjou and Maine could not have been transmitted to his descendants without inevitable wars, and difficulties innumerable. Poitou and Aquitaine would have been immediately separated from the crown of England; for Henry could not be so weak as to imagine that the King of France would regard the investiture of those territories which he had given to Richard, as conferring a stronger right than that which he himself had possessed as the husband of Eleanor, and which he had faithfully resigned as soon as his divorce from the princess was pronounced. In dissolving his marriage, therefore, with the queen, Henry must have restored to her the vast possessions which she had inherited from her father; and there could be very little doubt in his mind, that the indignation of a slighted woman would produce results most disastrous in the uncertain state of European politics at the time. Henry himself, however prone he might be occasionally to give way to passion, was not a man to suffer his anger so far to overcome his prudence, as considerately and deliberately to take those means of revenging himself upon his wife, which would at the same time have the most pernicious effect upon his own situation; and indeed, the very measures that he was actually employing to chastise Eleanor for her share in the late conspiracy, were far more severe than those which Gervase supposes he now proposed to adopt. He held her already in strict imprisonment; and surely it is absurd to say that he sought to punish her further by setting her at liberty, and putting her in possession of one quarter of all France.

If we are to credit the tale at all, some strong motive must

be suggested, totally independent and distinct from Henry's indignation against the queen; nor have the imaginations of historians failed to seek, amidst the scandal of the day, for other inducements. Lust, however, could hardly be the incentive, for Henry was not a man to suffer his union with Eleanor to restrain, even in the slightest degree, his passion for other women.

We are told, indeed, that his purpose was to marry the Princess Alice, or Alais, the daughter of the King of France, who had been promised to his son Richard at the conferences of Montmirail in the year 1169; but there are various causes for supposing that such a statement is quite visionary. The Princess Alice was the daughter of Louis by his third wife, Adelaide of Champagne, whom he married in the autumn of the year 1160, after the death of Constance of Castile. I cannot discover at what precise period she was born; but it would seem probable that the statement of Mon. Henault is right, and that the eldest child of Louis the Young by his third wife, was Philip, afterwards known as Philip Augustus, in which case, Alice, who was the eldest of his two daughters by that wife, could not have come into the world earlier than the autumn of the year 1166, Philip having been born in the autumn of the year 1165. Cardinal Huguson arrived in England in the latter part of 1175; so that at this time, Alice of France could have been but nine years old, and between eight and nine when Henry sent to demand the presence of a legate. Thus at the time we speak of, love for the princess could have no part whatsoever in the proceedings of Henry, if the statement be correct that the birth of Alice did not precede that of her brother. I shall have occasion to show hereafter, however, what are the causes for believing that some mistake may have taken place on this point. At all events, the princess, at the period when Henry sent for the legate, could not have been much more than thirteen years of age, even supposing that she was the eldest child of Louis by Adelaide of Champagne; and it is scarcely possible to imagine, that however fierce and violent might be the passions of Henry, he could have conceived such a desire of marrying a mere child as to lose sight entirely of every consideration of policy, prudence, and good sense. I cannot help therefore believing, that historians in general have been deceived in regard to the views with which Huguson was



brought to England ; and there is certainly not the slightest historical ground for stating, as many authors have stated, that, at this period, Henry's intentions towards the Princess Alice\* were anything but perfectly pure.

During the stay of the legate in England, a council was held at Northampton, on the 2nd of February, 1176 ; in which, with the advice of his eldest son and all the nobles and prelates of the realm, Henry confirmed the constitutions of Clarendon, much to the horror and indignation of the monks of Canterbury. It would seem, that no sooner had this been done, than the outcry of the monasteries became great, and that Huguson himself joined in requesting the king to abandon those parts of the statutes of Clarendon which brought the clergy under the secular arm. Henry would not consent to annul the constitutions, and we consequently find no law to that effect ; but at the same time, he is reported by Diceto, who seems to me in every respect worthy of credit, to have given the legate a letter for the Pope, in which he stated—"That out of love for the Church of Rome, as well as for Alexander himself, and at the solicitation of the legate, he had granted, notwithstanding the opposition of the principal people of his realm, that certain 'articles should be observed in his kingdom,' which were to the effect,—that no clergyman should be taken before any lay judge, except for offences against the forest laws, and in cases where a lay fief held by the clergy was concerned ; that no vacant bishoprics or abbeys should be held in the king's hand for more than a year, unless on account of some urgent necessity or some evident cause ; and, moreover, that the wilful and premeditated slaying of the clergy, when proved by conviction or confession before the king's justiciary, '*the bishop or his official being present*,' † besides the usual punish-

\* This princess is called by various writers Alix, Alais, and Adelais or Adelaide ; but her name, according to modern use, is simply Alice.

† It is worthy of remark that Mr. Berington—who has written a book which shows, amongst other curious things, how flat the pompous language of Gibbon would be without his powers of thought, and how dull his sarcastic forms appear without the wit that animated them—has translated the whole of the king's letter as it appears in Diceto, except the very important words, which I have printed in italics, and which he has thought fit to omit entirely. In taking them into consideration, we must never forget that the clergy were strictly forbidden from being present at any judgment which went to the shedding of blood, and that therefore this clause, omitted by Mr. Berington, affected the concessions made by Henry in a very extraordinary manner. It was, evidently, the object of

ment for the murder of a layman, should be attended by the criminal's forfeiture of all inheritance by himself and his heirs for ever; and, moreover, that the clergy should not be compelled to undergo trial by battle."

This concession was by no means so important as it seems, for Henry so framed it as to have a tendency to bring the clergy to seek rather than oppose any longer the execution of the constitutions of Clarendon. The obligations imposed upon the bishop or his official to be present on trials, in secular courts, where the murder of a clergyman was concerned, could have but one of two effects,—either to make the clergy abandon the regulation which prevented them from appearing in cases affecting the life or limbs of the accused, or else to leave offences committed against ecclesiastics almost altogether unpunished. Henry was too wise and too just to retaliate upon the clergy, which he might have done on the very first opposition offered by Becket. He might have openly put them altogether beyond the protection of those laws which they themselves refused to recognise; and the argument would have been unanswerable if he had said, "When a clergyman refuses to submit his own actions towards others to a certain court, how can he expect that court to take any cognisance of the actions of others towards him? It is he who virtually outlaws himself. I concede to him the privilege of doing so if he likes it; but if he requires me to protect him, he must recognise my laws in full." But Henry knew that if he pronounced such an ordinance, however just, a terrible massacre of the clergy would assuredly take place, and he was never inclined to sanguinary proceedings. Without declaring the principle, then, upon which he acted, he left the law regarding the presence of a bishop or his official, in cases concerning ecclesiastics, to have its

the king to drive ecclesiastics by various inconveniences to abandon voluntarily those privileges for which they strove. If a clergyman was murdered, the case must either have been brought to the court of the king's justiciary, which could punish with death or loss of limb, or it must remain in the clerical court, as when the murderer was a clergyman; but the king exacted, that before the full punishment he assigned to the crime could be awarded, the clergy should take part in the proceedings of the secular court, which was the first step towards bringing them under the secular jurisdiction. If they refused to take part in the proceedings, they left the matter just where it was before; and it is shown by a letter of the Archbishop of Canterbury, written about this period, that the clergy who claimed immunity from the penalties of the secular law, derived little protection from it.



natural effect, and suffered the immunities which the clergy claimed to gall them.

Thus at an after period we find the Archbishop of Canterbury declaring, "If a Jew, or the meanest layman be murdered, sentence of death is immediately pronounced against the murderer; but if a clergyman, whatever is his rank, be murdered, the Church, content with excommunicating the murderer, does not call in the aid of the material sword;" and further, "The king claims to himself the vengeance of such enormous crimes, but we, at the risk of our salvation, reserve it to ourselves; the effect of which is that impunity is established, and the swords of the laity are whetted by us against our own throats."

It is true that Henry did not altogether suffer offences against ecclesiastics to go unpunished; and thus we find that, about this very time, he visited severely upon various persons injuries offered to men in orders. The clergy themselves likewise endeavoured to obviate the inconveniences, which Henry's regulations imposed upon them, by a hypocritical evasion of one of their own strictest regulations; frequently satisfying their consciences in regard to taking part in criminal trials, by withdrawing when the sentence was about to be pronounced.

Another point to be remarked in the concessions made by Henry to Cardinal Huguson is, that he still clearly and distinctly maintained the great principle of the constitutions of Clarendon; that great principle against which the priesthood had so vehemently struggled—namely, that they were amenable to the secular courts. It is true that he only adheres to this point in regard to offences against the forest laws;\* but having once established the right of trying them for any secular offence, it was evident that he would soon be able to bring them into his courts for all other but spiritual crimes.

At the parliament of Northampton, where the constitutions of Clarendon were re-enacted, a number of additional statutes and regulations were proposed by the king, and re-

\* It seems from the words of Hoveden that Cardinal Huguson fully and entirely confirmed the laws of Clarendon, so far as regarded subjection of the clergy to the secular power, in cases of offences against the forest laws. He says distinctly, "*Prædictus autem Hugezun Cardinalis, et Apostolicæ sedis Legatus, dedit domino Regi licentiam implacitandi clericos regni sui, de forestis suis, et de capione venationis.*"—*Hoveden*, p. 547.

ceived the sanction of the great council. Amongst these a very important arrangement was made, by which the kingdom greatly benefited. The whole country was divided into six circuits for the regular administration of justice by itinerant judges; and though the number of circuits was afterwards reduced to four, this mode of carrying the law into effect in all parts of the land has descended to the present times with very little variation.\* It appears to be ascertained beyond

\* The laws enacted at Clarendon are generally known in history as the Constitutions of Clarendon; the confirmation of them by the parliament of Northampton, including the additions made to them by the council held in that city, is called "The Assize of Northampton." To each of the six circuits three judges were appointed, and the whole is thus related by Hoveden. "Post natale domini in festo conversionis sancti Pauli venit dominus Rex pater usque Notingham, et ibi celebravit magnum concilium, de statutis regni sui, et coram Rege filio suo, et coram archiepiscopis, episcopis, comitibus, et baronibus regni sui communi omnium concilio, divisit regnum suum in sex partes; per quarum singulas, tres justitios itinerantes constituit, quorum nomina hæc sunt.

1.	{ Hugo de Cressi Walterus filius Roberti Robertus Mantel	{ Norfolc. Sutfolc. Cantebrigesire. Huntedunesire. Bedefordesire. Bukinhamsire. Estsere. Hertefordesire.
2.	{ Hugo de Gundevilla Willielmus filius Radulfi Willielmus Basset	{ Lincolnesire. Notingamsire. Derebisire. Staffordesire. Warwikesire. Northamtesire. Leicestresire.
3.	{ Robertus filius Bernardi Richardus Giffard Rogerus filius Reinfrai	{ Kent. Surrie. Suthantesire. Suthsexa. Berkesire. Oxenefordsire.
4.	{ Willielmus filius Stephani Bertram de Berdun Turstani filius Simonis	{ Herefordisire. Gloucestersire. Wirecestersire. Salopesire.
5.	{ Radulfus filius Stephani Willielmus Ruffus Gillebertus Pipard	{ Wiltesire. Dorsete. Sumersete. Devonia. Cornubia. Everwikesire.



all doubt that itinerant judges had been previously sent into various parts of the country, and that their functions were very similar to those ascribed to the persons now appointed. But it is also clear that their visitations were irregular, and that no certain districts were appointed to them. The division of the country into circuits, and the nomination of certain persons to dispense justice therein, is a much more striking mark of the progress which had been made in society, than is apparent at the first glance. The advance of civilisation is more strongly evinced, perhaps, by efforts for the establishment of regularity and order in all things, than by any other circumstance—except, perhaps, the clear definition of rights.\* At the accession of Henry the Second, little, if any, regularity existed in any proceedings. Society was issuing out of that state of uncertainty and confusion, which the rise of a completely new institution naturally produced; nothing was clear; nothing was ascertained; nothing was orderly. The vast multitude of tenures and the existence of allodial lands in the midst of feudal countries; the want of written laws, the diversity of customary laws, the uncertainty of the rules regarding succession, the extreme dubiety of every question affecting property, all show that society was at that time nothing in fact but a chaos, the elements of which were just beginning to separate themselves from each other, and take some form and order. William the First, by his great statistical efforts, did indeed accomplish much to bring about or to restore a degree of regularity; but William Rufus

6. { Robertus de Wals  
Radulfus de Glanville  
Robertus Pikenot

{ Richemundesire.  
Loncastre.  
Coylande.  
Westmerilande.  
Northumberlande.  
Cumberlande."

It will be remarked above that the name of the place where this parliament was held is written Nottingham instead of Northampton, whether from an error in the original manuscript or not, I do not know, but it is afterwards corrected in the title of the Assize.

\* My friend Dr. Taylor, in his excellent work on the Natural History of Society, observes, "That the primary element of civilisation, according to the common sense of mankind, is progress, not from one place to another, but from one condition to another, *and always in advance.*" Without entering into the question whether *civilisation* be a state or an action, I agree with him if by the words "in advance," he means *towards improvement*, as, indeed, I am sure he does. There is no mistake more common, however, than to confound activity with energy, and suppose that movement is progress.

saw many of the evils without removing them ; and Henry the First contented himself with palliating existing inconveniences, without any view towards future improvement. Henry the Second, however, made vast efforts to effect a beneficial change ; and there is evidently throughout all his proceedings a tendency to establish the uniformity, order, and stability of laws and institutions, which afford to the mind of man the best assurance of peace, security, and justice.

Still we must not forget that he was but making the efforts, that he had not succeeded, that he was constantly frustrated by the passions and the ignorance of others, and that he was himself affected by the general inexperience of the age in the very science which was necessary to accomplish his purpose. He was like a man arranging various objects in a dark room—and surely it is not at all wonderful that, such being the case, various things should be found amiss when a light is brought in. Many—nay, most modern writers have forgotten this fact, and have expected to find regularity and fixed forms at least in the institutions which did exist. No such things, however, were then in being ; and the very want of regularity itself was much more apparent than any other want, and a much greater evil also, for it brought a thousand others in its train. Numerous instances have been given to exemplify this fact already. The greatest and most important territories seldom remained fifty years undisputed ; in a less space of time the county of Toulouse and many of its dependencies were three or four times not only the subject of controversy, but actually in possession of different persons who could show no right to them. Matthew, the brother of the Count of Flanders, obtained the county of Boulogne, by carrying off from a convent the daughter of Stephen. He sent her back to her convent and married another woman, but yet retained the county without dispute. The Lord of Porhoet laid claim to Brittany, in right of his wife, and apparently to the county of Richmond also, to neither of which she had any right but that which she derived from her first husband, who was dead and had left a son. Many, however, supported his claim, and even after the death of his wife the Lord of Porhoet still contended for the duchy, and found people to aid him strenuously in making his claim good by the sword against her son. The same occurred in a thousand other in-



stances, and everything showed that no ascertained rule was established in such cases. The illegitimate children succeeded in one part of the country, the legitimate only could inherit in another; and even the very names and titles by which people were known, changed from year to year, so that a prince was called Duke of Aquitaine or Brittany one day, Count of Poitou or Count of Brittany the next.\* Territories were granted this year which were resumed the year after; and the fact of the barons often sealing treaties and deeds with the pommel of their swords, afforded no bad emblem of the manner in which such covenants were kept, for arms always had a share, and that the greatest, in the maintenance of every title and of every compact. It is in vain, therefore, that we endeavour to deduce the existence of certain rules from the acts of men living in a state the great characteristic of which was disorder, or attempt to reconcile anomalies with one another at a period when most things were anomalous. Rules, institutions, and laws, were forming themselves gradually by the accumulation of precedents; but in a thousand cases no established regulation as yet existed, and difficulties were decided for the first time often by man's general sense of equity, but often by passion, violence, and fraud.

While the division of the country into circuits, the appointment of judges to visit those circuits regularly, the definitions of the functions and powers of the judges, and various other particulars set forth in the assize of Northampton, all showed the progress of society, and announced that an ameliorating spirit had gone forth to establish civil order and afford security to all, numerous other portions of the very same laws displayed in a striking and horrible manner the folly, the superstition, and the ignorance of the very first principles of justice which yet overshadowed the age.

\* I have noticed already some of these variations, and ere long I shall have to show, that in the case of Richard as great a change took place in the fact as in the name. Henry, apparently, never considered any of his engagements with his sons as permanent; and not even the fact of receiving homage from them for a particular territory, which was the strongest feudal title that they could show, was regarded by that monarch, it would seem, as giving any right whatsoever to absolute possession of the lands. Lord Lyttleton has endeavoured by various suppositions to reconcile these acts with the general principles of justice, and, on the part of Henry, the laws of that day. But it seems to me that the effort to do so has been made perfectly in vain, and that the only explanation of such transactions is to be found in the passions and the purposes of the king, and the ill-defined and unascertained state of all rights and privileges at the time.

Into all the particulars of those statutes it is not my purpose here to enter. Suffice it as an exemplification of what I have just asserted, that the three ordeals, by water, by fire, and by battle, were now solemnly recognised and appointed by the law. That is to say, the peculiar sort or kind of evidence, which by no possibility could have any reference whatsoever to the cause tried, was admitted as conclusive in cases where life and death were concerned. To the honour of the Church of Rome be it spoken, the clergy, as a body, had generally set their faces against this most iniquitous and absurd manner of judging; but princes and barons still retained it, clinging with the fondness of old habit to every remnant of the fierce and superstitious code which they had derived from their ancestors; and the clergy themselves could hardly hope to do away such practices, when they were proceeding against heretics, and all persons from whom they differed in religious opinion, in a manner as unjust, cruel, and barbarous.

I must not pause to discuss these questions any further; but before I go on to notice the events in the life of Richard which took place rapidly, now that he had fully entered upon that active career from which he never drew back till the close of his life, it may be as well to notice briefly various proceedings which occurred in England and the neighbouring countries at this period, displaying in a remarkable manner the spirit of the times and the character of the people.

About the time of which I now speak, several changes occurred in the domestic circle of Henry the Second, the effects of which were felt afterwards on many occasions. In the year 1175, a few months after Henry's return from France, his uncle Reginald, Earl of Cornwall, died. He was a natural son of Henry the First, and had shown very great attachment to his nephew, supporting his cause in periods of the utmost difficulty with his whole power and military skill. He lived to see the king triumphant over all his enemies, and to meet him on his return to England, but died almost immediately afterwards, in the commencement of the month of July. Another faithful servant of the monarch did not long survive the termination of the insurrection in suppressing which he had taken a prominent part. This was Richard de Lucy, the grand justiciary, who, worn out with labours in his master's service, and seeing peace fully re-established, retired shortly



after to a convent which he himself had founded, and assuming the cowl spent the rest of his life in calm tranquillity, terminating his days peacefully in 1179. Universal respect and esteem followed his memory, and men honoured in him a brave and gallant knight, a skilful and successful general, a just though stern judge, a clearsighted and prudent politician, and a faithful servant of his king and of his God. Some men have scoffed at him and at others, who—in those times, and with the feelings of those times—thought fit to pass the last years of their existence in monasteries; but it seems to me, that—while an opportunity of encouraging reflection, thought, and repentance is very necessary to those who have spent their days in vice and crime—a state of calm seclusion from worldly cares and anxieties, a gentle dis severing of earthly ties, a dedication of our last hours to the thoughts of that new condition to which we are approaching, is no ungraceful conclusion for a well-spent life.

If the loss of old, tried, and sincere friends can ever be said to receive compensation, the bereavement which Henry sustained by the death of the Earl of Cornwall and Richard de Lucy, was in some degree made up to him by the acquisition of several new allies. His two unmarried daughters were, about this time, sought as brides by two European princes of great distinction. One of these was Alphonso, King of Castile, a monarch who had distinguished himself in the wars which then, as now, continually desolated the Peninsula. The Princess Eleanor was finally united to him early in the year 1176, having been long betrothed. Joan, the youngest daughter, was also sought about this time by William, surnamed the Good, King of Sicily, who had rendered himself famous in the wars of Italy, constantly supporting the party of the Pope against the imperial faction. The lenity of his government and the equity which he displayed in the administration of justice, seem to have entitled him to the name which a grateful people bestowed; and the firmness with which he refused to wed the daughter of the emperor when her hand was offered to him, on account of his engagements with the Pope, showed that stability of purpose and integrity of character which rendered his alliance doubly desirable to a monarch surrounded by friends so little to be trusted as those whom Henry the Second had about him. The King of Sicily had also, it is said, refused

the hand of another child of an imperial house, though it is doubtful whether the marriage, which was at one time proposed between William and the daughter of Manuel Comnenus, was broken off by himself or by the Greek emperor. At all events, his reputation as a warrior and a politician were at that time very high in Europe; and there can be no doubt that Henry received with no slight pleasure the ambassadors which he sent to demand the hand of the Princess Joan, in the year 1175. The Pope himself is supposed to have taken part in the arrangement of the alliance; and the Bishop of Syracuse, who was an Englishman by birth, is also said to have had some share in promoting an event so desirable to his native sovereign. Rich presents were sent to England by the King of Sicily, as soon as it was known that the consent of Henry had been obtained to the match; but the gifts were lost at sea, together with two Sicilian ships. In the year 1176, however, the young princess was sent to her husband, who received her joyfully, and settled on her a rich dowry. About the same time a marriage was negotiated between Henry's youngest son John, and Isabella, daughter of the Earl of Gloucester. The object of the king in promoting a match between that prince and the child of a subject, connected with his own royal house by not very desirable ties, namely those of illegitimate birth, was to secure the large possessions of the Earl of Gloucester to John. Some difficulties presented themselves; but Henry promised to give portions to the amount of a hundred pounds yearly to the earl's two married daughters, on condition that his cousin of Gloucester would settle upon Isabella the whole of his estates. The treaty was concluded; but neither the bride nor bridegroom being yet marriageable, the alliance was postponed.

Besides the ambassadors who came to England to negotiate the marriage of the king's two daughters, and the various princes who daily flocked to offer at the shrine of Thomas à Becket, envoys on a matter of considerable moment added lustre to the court of Henry, about the period of which we now speak. The occasion of their being sent was a dispute between Sancho, King of Navarre, and Alphonso of Castile, regarding some territories claimed by both those monarchs. Each, it would appear, had usurped a portion of his neighbour's kingdom; each refused to give up what he had taken;



and the only agreement that they could come to was, to refer their quarrel to the decision of Henry, taking care, at the same time, to send two champions to his court to fulfil that part of the judicial system of the day, which in many such disputes required a trial by combat, in case the King of England should judge that resource necessary. In a chivalrous age, no greater compliment could be paid to any monarch than that of referring a cause of this kind to his arbitration.

The ambassadors arrived in the beginning of the year 1177, and the letter of Peter of Blois, Henry's secretary, giving him an account of their having landed, affords us a curious picture of Henry's habits. The writer laments therein the utter impossibility of finding out where the king was, from the excessive rapidity of his movements; and adds to the four things which puzzled the wisdom of Solomon to discover, a fifth, which was to trace the path of the king in England. The letter reached Henry at length, however; and he immediately summoned a parliament to meet on the first Sunday in Lent, not choosing to decide so important a question without due deliberation. On the council being assembled, the ambassadors displayed their powers, and put in a Latin statement of their several masters' claims. They swore, also, that the two kings should abide by the decision of Henry, which submission to his decree is provided for likewise by the treaty between Alphonso and Sancho, who had, moreover, placed in the hands of neutral parties four strong places on each part, as security for the fulfilment of the arbitrator's sentence. In the statements made by the ambassadors, there was no denial that mutual usurpations had really taken place, and the decision of the King of England, which was given on the succeeding Sunday, seems to have been dictated by a strict sense of equity. He adjudged both parties to restore that which had been forcibly taken; and he likewise condemned his son-in-law, the King of Castile, to pay to the King of Navarre a certain sum of Spanish money yearly, for ten years.

This sum is stated in Rymer to have been three thousand marabotins; but I am unable to say what was the value of that coin, the name of which was probably derived from the Moorish word Marabout.

It very frequently happens that from the mere wording of

state documents, we derive valuable information regarding the condition of the countries to which they refer; and it is worthy of remark, that one-half of the strong places given as security by the Kings of Castile and Navarre, are stated to be of, or belonging to, the Jews. We shall have occasion to notice hereafter the state of the Hebrew nation in Europe at this period; but it would seem, that in Spain their treatment was much better than in any other country.

Shortly after the king's decision of this cause, he received intimation that the Count of Flanders was about to visit England, on a pilgrimage to the tomb of Becket, previous to his setting forth on his long proposed expedition to the Holy Land. That expedition, indeed, had been delayed, both by the consequences of his own cruelty, in the case of Walter des Fontaines, and also by a message from Henry himself, sent towards the latter part of the preceding year, by the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of Ely. In the case of Walter des Fontaines, we are assured by the English historians, that a war had been the result of the count's unjust conduct; the relations of the murdered man being powerful in the north of Europe, and taking arms universally to avenge his death. Other causes combined to raise up numerous enemies against the count; it was with great difficulty that the hostilities which ensued after his return from France could be brought to a conclusion;\* and from

\* The Flemish historians, in general, pass over the stain upon the count's memory, in regard to the death of Walter des Fontaines, very lightly; many of them not mentioning it at all. Neither do they connect it with the war which at this period took place between the count and James of Avesnes and other noblemen, but attributed it entirely to a different cause. The historians of England, however, are diametrically opposed to such statements; and even in regard to the results of the war, D'Oudegherst says that the count merely made war upon James of Avesnes, because that nobleman had rebelled against the Count of Hainault, his brother-in-law; and the learned editor Mon. Lesbroussart assigns another cause; namely, that James of Avesnes had murdered Robert, Bishop of Cambray and Chancellor of Flanders. Now, before proceeding further, it is necessary to remark that this Chancellor of Flanders is supposed to have been the person who instigated the count to break his faith with Henry King of England. However that may be, Hoveden distinctly says (p. 546, ed. Saville), that the sons of Walter des Fontaines, "with James of Avesnes and others of his relations, having prepared his castles, rose against the count and devastated his territories with fire and sword, and thus at length compelled him to make satisfaction for the death of Walter des Fontaines." The Flemish historians, on the contrary, declare that James of Avesnes was forced to submit; but it seems from their whole account, that there is something concealed by them either from fear or favour.



1175 till the end of the year 1176 the war continued and occupied the whole forces of the Count of Flanders. At length, however, a treaty was entered into by which he was left free to pursue his march towards Jerusalem; and he proposed to set out about Christmas of the year 1176, when the message from Henry to which I have alluded reached him, holding out the expectation, that if he would delay his departure till the Easter of the following year, the English monarch would either accompany him in person, or give him aid of some kind in his expedition.

That Henry ever entertained the slightest intention of really taking the cross, I do not believe; but it is perfectly certain that on many occasions he asserted his determination of so doing, and deceived others as well as the count with promises of joining them in their enterprises for the delivery of the Holy Land. It is probable therefore that the coming of the Count of Flanders to England at this moment was not the most agreeable event in the world to the English monarch, although he had manifold reasons to assign for not fulfilling his engagement. We shall have occasion very soon to show what those causes were; and in the mean while it is only necessary to say, that Henry received the count most graciously, furnished him with pecuniary aid, sent, or suffered to go with him, the Earl of Essex, and several other noblemen, with their retainers, and made such excuses for not accompanying him himself as were deemed sufficient by the count.

It is not improbable that Henry was very willing to see some of his barons engaged in such distant and perilous expeditions; for it would seem that by this time he had once more strong cause for entertaining suspicion of many of the principal persons in his dominions; but the gift of money which he made to the Count of Flanders showed much more real kindness than the mere act of suffering any of his nobles to follow to the crusade. Notwithstanding all the exactions which had been made in consequence of breaches of the forest laws, the treasury of the King of England was by no means so well filled as before his unfortunate warfare with his sons, and several events had lately occurred to render it difficult to procure supplies from his people. Various pestilential diseases had afflicted England; one of which was an epidemic cough, by which many were destroyed; and in the

years 1175 and 1176 another pestilence followed by a famine took place. Little money was to be found in the land, and at the same time Henry was compelled to enter into great expenses by the appearance of fresh dangers, and rumours of general disaffection throughout his dominions. Whether this disaffection had been produced by the severity he had exercised regarding every breach of the forest laws, or by other causes less apparent, we are not told; but we find that in the year 1176 the king thought fit to take possession of almost all the strong places belonging to his vassals not only in England, but in Normandy. This was done with the advice of the council; and, consequently, as almost all the barons of the land were themselves present, it is scarcely possible to suppose that the authors who state this fact could mean to comprise under the name *castle*, those fortified houses in which the nobility of the land then dwelt.\* The act, however, did not tend to render the king popular; and, whether it originated in fears already well grounded, or gave rise to the discontent that followed, he had soon cause to apprehend that his eldest son was once more caballing against his authority, if not upon the eve of breaking out into insurrection against him.

It may now, however, be necessary to turn our attention towards the events which had lately occurred in Henry's continental dominions, and to trace the conduct of Prince Richard, who was now fully launched in that brilliant military career during which he won and merited the name of Cœur-de-Lion.

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## BOOK IV.

WHEN Henry the Second returned to England, accompanied by his eldest and favourite son, he had left the two younger brothers, Richard and Geoffrey, occupied in the painful and dangerous task of demolishing, in the provinces assigned to them for their inheritance, those castles which had been

\* Hoveden does not say that this was done by the advice of the council. His words are, "Eodem anno Henricus rex Angliæ pater saisivit in manu suâ omnia castella Angliæ et Normmanix, tam Episcoporum quam Comitum et Baronum, et custodes suos in iis posuit."



either raised or strengthened to support them in rebellion. The operations of Geoffrey were attended with much less difficulty than those of Richard; for his claim to the obedience of the people of Brittany, in consequence of his alliance with Constance, was much stronger than that of his brother to the submission of Anjou and Poitou. The Bretons also, though a brave, hardy, and even contentious people, were not so light, irritable, and rebellious as those of Aquitaine, who at all periods of history have shown a factious and turbulent disposition, carrying many of the vices as well as the high qualities of the French nation to an excess. With the latter Richard had to deal when he was despatched by his father into the provinces south of the Loire, shortly before Henry returned to England in the year 1175.

Scarcely had the young prince entered upon the task, when he met with opposition of the most determined character. The flame of insurrection broke out in the extreme south, at a fortress called, by the writers of the day, *Castellonium above Agen*, which is generally translated Chatillon.\* This castle was in the hands of a powerful noble of that part of the country, named Arnold de Boville, who gathering together a large body of his allies and followers, stored the place with everything that was necessary for resistance, and refused to surrender it on the summons of Richard. That prince, however, attacked it without delay or hesitation, though it seems to have been one of the strongest places in that part of France. The siege was long; for the only means of forcing the garrison to submit was the employment of those large and cumbrous battering engines, which could not be constructed or removed with any great rapidity. During two months it detained the prince before its walls; but at the end of that time it was obliged to surrender,† and the

\* No place of the name of Chatillon that I can discover is to be found in the neighbourhood of Agen; and I was for some time inclined to believe that this fortress was one of the many places now called Castlenau, of which there is one in the vicinity of Albi. There is also, upon the Gers, a small town called Castera, which might be the fortress referred to; but if similarity of name be received as any guide, the small town of Castillonnet, in the Lot and Garonne, was meant by Hoveden, though why it should be called *supra* Agiens, I do not know, being below rather than above the latter town, from which it is distant about fourteen leagues.

† Lord Lyttleton has left it in doubt whether this castle was or was not taken by Richard, having recorded its resistance, and not its fall; but that Richard never quitted it until it did surrender, is placed beyond all possible doubt by the account of Hoveden.

thirty knights by whom it was defended became prisoners of the English prince. I do not find that Richard, upon this occasion, exercised any severity against the insurgents who were thus placed in his power; but his further progress was stopped by the rebellion of a number of other nobles in all parts of the provinces which had been left under his rule. The chief of these rebels was one of the most powerful lords of the whole territory, the Count of Angoulême, who, not contented with the strength of his castles, which were many, well fortified, and difficult of access, nor with a considerable native force, which he could at any time rally round him, engaged a large body of Brabançois to support him and his allies against the power of his sovereign, and showed a determination of resisting to the last extremity.\*

There can be very little doubt that the Count of Angoulême and his allies were encouraged to such a daring opposition of the royal power as much by a knowledge of the scanty forces which Richard had at command, as by contempt for a youthful prince, the vigour of whose arm they had not yet felt. Richard indeed was himself sensible that, without some assistance, he could do but little to repress the rebellion of Aquitaine; and consequently, leaving that province, he hastened towards England as soon after the surrender of the Lord of Boville as possible. Early in the year 1176 the future king took ship with his brother Geoffrey, and arrived at Southampton on Good Friday, the 2nd of April in that year. The two princes hastened to Winchester, where their father's court was then resident; and Richard there laid the state of Aquitaine before Henry, and begged for immediate aid, to subdue the insurgents in that duchy, and Poitou.

In the mean while, the ambitious yearnings of the king's eldest son, Henry, had not suffered him to remain tranquil and contented in England, although his father had done everything not only to make him happy by reasonable means, but to satisfy the cravings of youthful vanity. Shortly before this time the monarch had paid his debts, which were large and had pressed heavily upon him; and he had likewise admitted him to share in all his public proceedings, though not perhaps as an equal in power, yet certainly as his nearest

\* It is to be remarked, that Diceto, through all these transactions, styles Richard, Duke of Aquitaine, while Hoveden calls him uniformly Count of Poitou.



counsellor and first vassal. All the king's acts are recorded as having been pursued by his advice, or pronounced in his presence, and with his consent; and it is evident that his father strove anxiously to remove every cause for that sort of restless jealousy which animated the bosom of his son. The young prince, however—instigated, some persons have supposed, by the preference of his wife for her native country, and some think, by his own desire of ruling even a less important territory, independent of his father—had made every effort and excuse to obtain Henry's consent to his quitting England, and had at length succeeded, by pretending a vehement desire of making a pilgrimage to the shrine of St. James of Compostella. The king's slow leave having been wrung from him, the younger Henry and the Princess Margaret had proceeded, about the end of Lent, to the town of Portsmouth, with the intention of embarking for Normandy. A contrary wind, however, detained them for some days in that port; but the same wind served to waft over Richard and Geoffrey; and the news which they brought to their father induced him immediately to call his eldest son back to Winchester.

It has been justly observed, that Henry showed consummate policy in seizing the present opportunity of plunging his eldest son into hostilities with that rebellious party which had previously given him support. It is evident that Henry had cause to be doubtful of the young king's sincerity in regard to the proposed pilgrimage to St. James of Compostella; but if that prince really sought to journey thither, Aquitaine was directly in his way; and, at the same time, the company of Richard, who was bitterly exasperated against the insurgents, might, there was reason to believe, act as a check in preventing the younger Henry from being seduced once more into open rebellion by the persuasions of the rebels. The king accordingly not only called the elder prince to consult with himself, Richard, and Geoffrey, in regard to the subjugation of the revolted nobles, but he directed him to join with Richard in his military operations against them. It is true, that in so doing he gave to his second son an unwilling and tardy coadjutor; but to remedy this evil, he furnished Richard himself with a considerable sum of money, in order to levy fresh troops for the defence of the provinces committed to his custody.

A considerable force also was put under the command of the younger Henry; and, after spending the festival of Easter with their father, the three princes passed over into Normandy, and there separated; the eldest hastening to Paris to waste his time in sports and amusements, while Richard hurried at once into Poitou, to make head against the enemy without delay. During his absence, it would seem, his lieutenant, Theobald Shabot, and John, Bishop of Poitiers, had collected a considerable force, in order to oppose the bands of Brabançois, which had been called to support the Count of Angoulême in his rebellion; and Richard was very speedily in a situation to encounter the enemy in the field.\* Though his numbers, we are assured, did not amount to more than one-fourth of those which the enemy could bring against him, he marched at once to meet the mercenaries, and encountered them in the neighbourhood of Barbezieux, where a battle immediately took place. The result was a complete victory on the part of Richard, the Brabançois being routed with great slaughter, and the way being left open for the offended prince to march on at once to attack the towns and castles belonging to the rebel lords. The fame he acquired by this exploit was very great; for the hireling bands he had vanquished were not only the pest of the country round, but had rendered themselves formidable by their skill and daring courage, which had in almost all previous instances obtained for them complete success.

Whatever might be the auguries which the Count of Angoulême drew from these events, the defeat and dispersion of his mercenary forces did not so far depress him as to render him willing to abandon the struggle which he had commenced. His own fortresses and those of his allies were strong and well garrisoned, and he prepared to offer a vigorous resistance at every point. No preparation was found available, however; against the fiery courage and military genius of

\* Diceto does not mention that Richard was present at the battle with the Brabançois, but Hoveden and others, of good authority, distinctly state that he was so. In comparing the account of Diceto with that of other authors, I was for some time inclined to think that two battles had taken place, one before and one after the return of Richard, in the first of which Theobald Shabot and the Bishop of Poitiers commanded; but I am at length satisfied that but one battle was fought, which was that in the neighbourhood of Barbezieux, where Richard is proved to have been present in person. I have, therefore, adopted the account of Diceto in regard to the levying of troops by Shabot during Richard's absence, while I have relied upon the other authorities in regard to the battle itself.



the English prince. Without a moment's delay, Richard proceeded to carry the war into the territories of the Viscount of Limoges, not the least considerable of the insurgent barons; and, laying siege to a fortress called Aessa, he speedily forced it to surrender, although it was defended by a numerous body of soldiers, amongst whom were forty knights. No sooner was this conquest achieved than the prince marched against the great and important city of Limoges itself, which likewise proved unable to resist, and was taken as rapidly as the lesser fortress.

While Richard was thus marching from victory to victory, his brother Henry, after wasting much time in Paris, was advancing with slow and unwilling steps to give him aid in Poitou. The news of his coming was undoubtedly agreeable to Richard, whose mind was now wholly bent upon the reduction of his barons to obedience; and it would seem that he had forgotten any jealousy which he had formerly felt towards the heir-apparent of the throne, and hailed his approach with joy. From Limoges the victorious prince accordingly turned back to Poitiers, in order to join his forces to those led by his brother; but the only result of their united efforts was the fall of a town called Neufchatel, which could not be of any very great importance, as the site of it is now unknown.\*

The season of the year was still favourable for military operations; but either Henry was unwilling to see Richard regain peaceable possession of their mother's territories, or some new dispute arose between them; for, contenting himself with the reduction of one unimportant place, the elder prince refused to proceed any farther; and, leaving his brother to pursue the war alone, in consequence of evil counsel, as the historian justly calls it, he retired into Normandy, taking his way back through Poitiers. A good deal of mystery hangs over the whole of this transaction; but there is some reason to believe that the quarrel between Richard and Henry, if such a quarrel really did take place at this time, originated in a communication made to one or both by the king, their father; for we find that the elder prince, while leading back his forces towards Normandy,

\* It is probable that this place was Lussac les Chateaux, but the fact is by no means certain.

caused his vice-chancellor, a respectable priest, named Adam de Chirkedun, to be seized in Poitiers and publicly scourged through the streets of that city, on the charge of having betrayed his secrets to the king, Henry the Second. It seems to be certain, indeed, that Adam de Chirkedun, who had been placed in the household of the younger Henry by his father, did write a letter informing the monarch that his eldest son had entered into close communication, if not with the actual rebels in Poitou, with many nobles whose faith was more than doubtful, that he was continually surrounded by persons inimical to his brother, and gave ear with dangerous facility to their persuasions and advice. One of his letters to this effect was intercepted and laid before the prince whom he accompanied; and it was in vain that the unfortunate priest pleaded either his sacred character, his allegiance to his sovereign, or the duty which rendered it imperative upon all subjects to reveal any treason that they discovered. The young king was inexorable; and not only did he inflict with barbarous severity the punishment I have mentioned, but he caused it to be repeated in every city through which he passed on his way back to Normandy, where no other refuge was afforded to the unhappy victim than the walls of a prison.

There can be very little doubt that these events were connected with the separation which took place between the two brothers; and it is probable that Richard, whose confidence in his own powers was great, and whose progress had rather been delayed than advanced by the feeble assistance given him by that prince, was in truth glad of his departure. No sooner indeed had the young king left him, than he advanced to the attack of a castle called by Hoveden, Mulinows.\* The fortress yielded, as all others had done, before the vehement attack of Richard, and the garrison became prisoners of war. Angoulême† still remained to be taken, and the strong posi-

\* Perhaps this was some place named Les Moulineaux, though I do not know any so called in Angoumois at present. There are two or three small towns of that designation in the north of France.

† Hoveden says, that the Count of Angoulême and all the principal insurgents were taken in the castle of Mulinows, and he makes no mention at all of the fall of Angoulême itself. We know, however, that Angoulême was taken by Richard; and the abbot of Peterborough and others give us to understand that it was in that city that the count and his friends were taken, which seems so much more



tion of that town rendered it almost impregnable by any of the ordinary means of warfare in those days. It also fell, however, early in the autumn, though we do not know the particulars of the siege; but the fact that the noblemen within it—who comprised in their number all the principal insurgents of Poitou—were compelled to surrender at discretion, shows with what vigour the assault had been conducted. By the fall of these last two places, William Taillefer, Count of Angoulême, Bulgar his son, called Viscount of Angoulême, the Viscount of Limoges, together with the Viscounts of Ventadour and Chabannes, and an immense number of knights and soldiers, fell into the power of Richard. Six other castles were immediately surrendered in consequence of the capture of Angoulême; and although the spirit of discontent was certainly not yet subdued, no force appeared in any part of the country to oppose the lion-hearted prince of England, who had thus, at the age of nineteen, routed an army four times as numerous as his own, and in one single campaign had taken by dint of arms a number of strong places amply garrisoned and provided, several of which had been previously deemed impregnable. The use which the prince made of his victory was moderate and generous; and his conduct at this time shows none of that want of humanity of which, at an after period, he was accused by the very same rebellious vassals whom he now conquered. He did not take upon himself to punish any of them for their rebellion; we find no harsh or brutal act recorded against him; and towards his father he displayed that dutiful reverence, for the want of which on a former occasion he now evidently sought to atone. Instead of arrogating to himself the power of disposing of the prisoners as he thought fit, or demanding ransoms which would have swelled his own resources, and enabled him to defend himself more speedily against any renewed opposition, he sent all the principal insurgents over to the court of his father, in order that they might receive judgment from the lips of him whom he still justly considered as his sovereign and theirs. Henry the Second, on his part, with the clemency which he usually evinced, did not take vengeance upon the

probable than that they should risk everything by shutting themselves up in a very inferior fortress, that I have adopted the latter account instead of that of Hoveden, especially as she does not mention Angoulême in the list, which he afterwards gives, of fortresses delivered by the count to his conqueror.

revolted lords of Aquitaine, as the feudal law would have justified him in doing ; but highly pleased with the conduct of his second son, he sent back the prisoners to Richard, promising soon to visit France himself, and ordering the prince to detain them till his arrival.\*

Well might Henry the Second learn to value every act of obedience and reverence on the part of any of his children ; for the eldest son was now proceeding in a manner which could not fail to be both grievous and alarming to his father. Freed from the restraint under which he had lain while in England, the young king now gave himself up to all his former evil counsellors ; and though he did not refuse to send Adam de Chirkedun over to England at his father's bidding, yet he sent him in chains. The British monarch was indignant, as he well might be ; and it would appear, from some expressions of Bromton,† that the younger Henry would not consent that his vice-chancellor should be released, in consequence of which a severe dispute took place between himself and his father. The termination of the affair is very obscure, and all that we know is, that the king consented to leave the poor priest still in durance, but consigned him to the milder custody of one of his own body. At the same time, it is evident, from all Henry's acts, that in the course of this year he had very serious cause to apprehend that a new insurrection was on the point of breaking out ; and we may well connect together the dangerous intimacy of the younger Henry with the comrades of his former rebellion, and the decisive measure adopted by the king at this time to

\* Diceto gives us to understand that the English monarch pardoned them at once, on their casting themselves at his feet, with every appearance of humiliation, which took place at Winchester on the 21st of September in the year 1176. This would seem to be a mistake, however, so far as the free pardon of the prisoners is concerned ; but the date of their arrival in England is valuable, inasmuch as it shows with what extraordinary rapidity Richard reduced the revolted nobles of Poitou.

† The Chronicle of Bromton is generally merely a compilation from other authors ; but from time to time the writer, whoever he was, adds some explanatory matter of his own, with much apparent candour and sincerity ; and though these passages rarely consist of more than one or two lines, they are valuable as throwing light on that which would otherwise have remained in darkness. Such is the case in the present instance ; as, after copying Hoveden almost word for word, he adds a line or two regarding Adam de Chirkedun, which are not to be found in that author. The Chronicle of Bromton is also very useful for the purpose of correcting the names of places, which are frequently found sadly disguised in Hoveden and other contemporary authors.



guard against a fresh revolt by putting garrisons of his own into an immense number of castles belonging to his nobility, and destroying many other strong places which he did not think fit to retain.

Perhaps the display of such wakeful suspicion had the good effect of crushing insurrection ere it had power to raise its head on high; and England, Normandy, Anjou, and Maine remained in tranquillity for some time longer, while Poitou, Saintonge, and Angoumois, as well as the Limousin, were held in awe by the vigorous administration of Richard, whose name was daily rising in military renown, and whose fame had by this time spread to all parts of Europe. Before the close of the year, however, he was called from Poitou, to pursue the same brilliant and victorious course which had there distinguished him, in a distant part of the territory committed to his charge. Taking advantage of the opposition and difficulties which he had for some months been forced to contend with in Poitou, several of the principal barons of the southern part of Aquitaine had concerted measures for a fresh revolt, and were already in arms before Christmas. Trusting to the strength of their fortresses, more than to their power in the field, they hastened to provide the towns of Agen and Bayonne with all that was necessary for a long defence, and also added to the fortifications of many places in Bigorre and the Agenois. The Count of Bigorre himself and the Vicount of Agen, both holding immense territories in the most defensible part of Aquitaine, were at the head of the conspiracy; while behind them was a race of rude but active and courageous people, very different indeed from almost all the populations that surrounded them, and whom we trace—under many variations of the name of Basques—as a distinct tribe, up to a very remote period of history. Inhabiting a large portion of Biscay and the mountainous parts of Aquitaine, they mingled with the Navarrese and with the more modern people of Gascony—of which district they were probably at one time in complete possession—but kept their own language and their manners perfectly distinct from those of the Spaniards on the one hand, and the French on the other. These Basques were frequently at war with their neighbours, and were always willing to aid the revolt of any baron in their vicinity against princes whose power might one day become dangerous to themselves. Naturally fond of

warfare, active and enterprising, the hostilities in which they were frequently engaged rendered the passes of the Pyrenees dangerous to travellers, while a propensity to plunder induced them not even to spare the persons and purses of the numerous pilgrims who flocked to the shrine of St. James of Compostella.\* It would seem that towards this period the habit of plundering the wayfaring devotees had assumed a more regular and organised form, so as to have deviated in fact into a tax, which was levied at the point of the sword, it is true, but the exaction of which was held to be a prescriptive right of the Basques and Navarrese. St. James, the patron saint of Spain, was at this time in great favour with the English; and it was natural, therefore, that to establish a free passage through the mountains should be a very great

\* All the evils which attended a traveller in those days were so great as really to render a pilgrimage an act of severe penance as well as devotion. Even an ordinary journey was then no slight undertaking; and Diceto gives a curious and almost ludicrous account of an expedition made by the Bishop of Norwich, which is worth transcribing in this place. "*Johannes Norwicensis episcopus, mandato regis in Siciliam suspectissimo tempore proficiscens, sæpe variis est affectus incommodis. Nam dum Romam recto petere debuisset itinere si non in scismate perstitissent Lombardi, pars australis qua transitus sibi relictus est in subsidium panis plurimum laborabat inedia. Pabula jumentorum vix aliquo quæstu procurabantur. Iter habens per Arverniam jacentium in plateis, et fame tumentiumangebatur clamoribus. Valentiam urbem ingressus adhuc in bonâ valitudine manens, in venalibus disquirendis fidem hospitum causabatur. Ad noctes pertrahendas insomnes lectisternia pulices vendicabant. Ebredunensium fines præteriens, Jani montis declinans confinia, limites attigens Italicos, dum equis Januæ relictis se mari commisisset Tirreno, promuntoria Januensium, maritima Pysanorum, Veneris portum et Herculis, ostii Tiberini fluentia velis in altum expassis, à sinistra reliquens urbem applicuit Gaetanam. Exin pro varietate locorum vario desudans navigio, modo sagittario, modo lintre, nec tam utens velo quam remo, ducatum Apuliæ, Capuæ principatum, evexa Calabrie, cum aliqua remoratione pertransiit. Regium et Messanam urbes Pharo conterminas hinc et illinc de vicino respiciens. Ut autem maris pericula post eversionem Ilii Trojanis quondam tendentibus in Italiam haut prorsus incognita non omittam, Palinuri discursus, Scyllæ scopulos, Caribdis voraginem non intrepidus evitavit. Nec enim ad momentum suo versabatur in animo quod mare multociens evertitur in momento. Proinde nusquam quies, nusquam securitas, fervor nimius navigationem dampnabat. Metuendus piratarum incursus constantissimo cuilibet incussisset timorem. Remigantium illæ notabiles immundiciæ provocabant ad nauseam. Intima præcordiorum pestilens inficiebat aer. Quid enim inter tot discrimina gentem regionis externæ dixeris incurrisse periculi, dum apud Siculos idibus Augusti tunc temporis effluentibus folium in arboribus, in vite pampinus, arundines in palustribus prorsus exaruerint. Dum divertebatur ad litus, lintres vix. viij. tantum capaces animarum advesperascente die fluctibus extrahebantur. De reficiendis ergo corporibus cura propensior sub divo discumbere multis ebdomadibus satis ægre sustinuit. Ad quiescendum vero de noctibus nunc lapis durior stramentorum repensabat mollitiem, nunc indulgentior tractus maris offerebat harenam, et sternere lectum in sabulo magistra necessitas edocebat."*



object with Henry the Second. Representations of the evils which daily occurred had been made to Richard, and as soon as he had completed the subjection of the insurgents in Poitou, he marched to the south, and spent the Christmas of 1176 at Bordeaux, with the double object of suppressing the revolt in that quarter, and compelling the people in the mountains to leave the passes open both to merchants and pilgrims.

It is probable that the Count of Bigorre and the Viscount of Agen never for a moment imagined that the English prince, whatever might be his intrepidity and daring, would undertake the siege of two strong cities, in a difficult country, and in the midst of a severe and inclement winter; but Richard's whole soul was animated with the thirst of military renown; apprehension of any kind he knew not, and dangers and difficulties presented themselves to his eyes but as new enterprises to be achieved, new paths to glory and to honour.

After passing Christmas-day at Bordeaux, the prince, putting himself at the head of his troops, marched to the siege of Agen; and notwithstanding the length of time which had been allowed for the insurgents to fortify themselves, so fierce and unremitting was the attack of the English prince, that within ten days after he had sat down before the walls, Richard saw himself in possession of Agen, and the hopes of the insurgents utterly blasted in that quarter. To the south-west, however, Bayonne still remained to be taken; and at that season of the year it possessed many additional defences besides the strong fortifications by which it was surrounded. Between Agen and Bayonne lay a tract difficult to be passed at any time for an army encumbered by the vast battering machines which were required in those days in order to conduct any siege to a successful termination. On the one hand, Richard had before him a road which lost itself among the extensive sands that skirt the Bay of Biscay, and in pursuing which the wheels of his carriages must soon have sunk into the shifting soil, thus preventing his further advance. On the other hand, however, he had a mountainous and difficult district to traverse, where rivers, forests, and precipices presented themselves at every step, and where heavy falls of snow are frequent throughout the winter. None of these impediments, however, stopped him on his way; but marching with a degree of rapidity truly astonishing, he was

at the gates of Bayonne before the inhabitants could have heard of the fall of Agen. The resistance that he encountered was strenuous, but Bayonne met the same fate as the other cities of the insurgents. Richard attacked it with the fury and pertinacity which he had always displayed, and again the siege was terminated by the capture of the town, before ten days had elapsed after the arrival of the English prince under its walls. There is every reason to believe that the fall of Bayonne was immediately followed by the submission of the principal insurgents; and Richard, freed from all apprehensions of being attacked in his rear, or opposed on his return, marched to a place then called *Portas Sizaræ*, on the frontiers of Spain, and attacked the strong castle of St. Peter's,\* which was held out against him, apparently by the Basques. This was one of the principal stations of the marauders; and as a punishment for their cruelties and exactions, the English prince demolished the castle, and marching through the country, reduced a number of other places, striking terror into the hearts of the Basques and Navarrese. At length, yielding all resistance, the leaders of the tribes inhabiting the passes of the mountains met the English prince at a place called *Sorges*, and entered into a treaty with him, by which they agreed both to keep peace amongst themselves, and to leave the passes free to all pilgrims, abolishing at the demand of Richard all those evil laws which had grown up amongst them, and declaring that their submission should be perpetual. In regard to the latter part of the treaty, it is probable that Richard did not put any great faith in a clause which has filled a place in most documents of the kind, but which never yet received accomplishment; and it was sufficient for him, without believing that the pacification of those districts would be perpetual, to know that he had opened the passes for the time, and facilitated, if not secured, the safe passage of pilgrims to the shrine of the Gallician saint.†

\* This was undoubtedly one of the various places called *St. Pé*, and I have no doubt that the small town of that name which lies a few miles to the east of *St. Jean de Luz*.

† It would seem from the account of Bromton that this was the great object of Richard's proceedings after the capture of Bayonne. He says, "*Et Basclenses et Navarrenses pacem jurare et tenere postea vi coegit. Destruxit etiam apud Sorges et Lespurmi omnes malas consuetudines introductas, ubi mos erat peregrinos sancti Jacobi depradare.*" The exact situation of the two places mentioned here I do not know. I was at one time inclined to believe that Richard had advanced as far as *Soria*, but afterwards found cause to alter my opinion.



What was the cause of such frequent quarrels between the Navarrese and the Basques, we are not told; but the view with which Richard interfered was evidently to remove the obstructions which their contention had thrown in the way of pilgrims; and it will not seem strange that an object apparently of so little importance should move the young prince to undertake this expedition, when we recollect that the fame of the wooden image of St. James was so great, that Henry the Second himself proposed to visit it in the course of this very year, and sent into Spain for a passport to ensure his safety.

Having accomplished all that he had undertaken with a degree of skill, vigour, and determination, which brought him an immense addition of renown, Richard marched back from the scene of his distant conquests, and ended the most brilliant enterprise which he had yet achieved, by returning to Poitiers before the 2nd of February, not six weeks from the day of his departure from Bordeaux. His first act was to send messengers to his father, announcing the splendid success which had attended his arms; but whether any other objects were or were not treated of in the messages and letters despatched by the young Duke of Aquitaine to the king, the historians of the day do not inform us. Nevertheless, we have much reason to believe that such was the case; for, in the course of that very year, dissensions arose between the monarchs of France and England, in which Richard himself was deeply interested; and it is scarcely possible to conceive that he took no part in the preceding discussions.

Before we notice the events connected with this transaction, however, it may be necessary to give some account of the termination of the schism which had long desolated the Church, by the unexpected reverses which suddenly befel the arms of a prince who had for many years gone on in a course of almost uninterrupted success. Although nothing like defeat had attended the efforts of Frederic Barbarossa, and although as soon as one anti-pope was dead, the emperor raised up another in his stead, yet the power of his enemy Alexander had been steadily though slowly increasing ever since a pestilence, attacking the imperial army, had forced Frederic precipitately to quit the ancient capital of the world. Dependent in some degree upon the good-will of the electors

of the empire, the resources of the German monarch were subject to constant fluctuations, as, indeed, was ever the case with the long line of princes who filled the same imperial throne. The people of Bohemia, too, frequently in revolt, afforded a continual diversion in favour of the papal party in Italy; and although Frederic obtained some succour from the Diet assembled at Worms in 1172, yet Alexander, acknowledged by England, supported by France, and strictly allied with the brave King of Sicily, daily extended his power, and saw the rival popes sink into insignificance.

In the course of the year 1174, Frederic resolved to make a greater effort than he had yet done since his retreat from Rome; and, entering Lombardy, he marched towards a town which had been founded in honour of his enemy, Alexander, and which, receiving his name, has ever since been called Alexandria. The inhabitants of the city had prepared themselves to make a vigorous and pertinacious defence; and although the place was not in those days strongly fortified, the garrison contrived to keep the emperor at bay during many months. The statement made by Godefridus, that the town was only defended by a deep ditch without any walls, is of course not to be credited, and is merely one of the many marvels of the monkish scribes, whose own account of the siege shows their assertion in this respect to be indubitably false. Some authors state that the walls were very strong, but still it would seem that the defences of the place were imperfect. The courage of the inhabitants, however, supplied all deficiencies; and, although Frederic employed against the walls various battering engines of great power, the town remained unsubdued from the 29th of October far into the spring of the following year.

The winter was rigorous in the extreme, the cold weather was followed by incessant rains, which inundated the whole of the flat country round Alexandria, and, together with the want of good food and forage, spread a pestilential disease among both the men and horses of the imperial camp. Frederic, however, persisted, evincing that determined resolution which characterised him, although, besides his loss by war and by the pestilence, the Saxon troops, who had followed him unwillingly, left his standard, I believe, almost entirely. Not having succeeded in effecting a practicable breach by means of his battering engines, the emperor proceeded to



employ the mine, and carried forward a large excavation without the knowledge of the inhabitants, till it had passed under the ditch and wall of the town. He had now remained between five and six months in tents before Alexandria, and success seemed about to crown his efforts, notwithstanding the terrible loss which he had sustained in the siege. The people of the town, too, were beginning to be pressed by famine; but they contrived to give notice of their distress to the confederate cities of Lombardy, and fifteen principal towns joined together to raise a large army, both of cavalry and infantry, with which they marched to the relief of the besieged place. The formidable force thus brought into the field arrived in the neighbourhood of Tortona, ten miles from the imperial camp, on Palm Sunday, the 6th of April, 1175.

The emperor now found himself in a most difficult and dangerous situation; and on Thursday of the Holy Week he had recourse to a dishonest stratagem, which justly turned to his confusion and dishonour. In order to escape from the great peril which menaced him, by forcing Alexandria to surrender ere it could be relieved, Frederic feigned to grant the inhabitants a truce for three days, that they might keep with due devotion the most solemn fast of the Christian Church; and as soon as the garrison, implicitly confiding in his good faith, had retired to rest after the ceremonies of Good Friday, he endeavoured to effect an entrance by means of the mine, having prepared two hundred of his bravest soldiers to rush into the city as soon as an opening was made. From the account which we have received of this transaction, it would appear that the mine now employed differed very much from those generally used against besieged places in that day. The usual mode of mining was to excavate a subterranean passage, which was pushed forward till it reached the foundation of the wall. The superincumbent weight of earth and stones was supported by large piles of wood, and when the mine had been carried to the spot desired, a fire was lighted at the bottom of the stakes beneath the wall, which by consuming the wood-work, left the mass of masonry above without support. The pressure generally broke the pillars before they were altogether destroyed by the fire, and a large part of the wall was thus thrown down with tremendous violence.

In the present instance, however, the mine must have been

carried on for some distance within the line of walls, and was contrived with a view to afford the besieging force an entrance into the town, without throwing down the ramparts, or causing any noise. The two hundred chosen men were introduced into the cavity towards midnight, and the thin layer of earth which remained between it and the interior of the city was speedily removed. But in effecting this, it would appear, a part of the ground forming the vault of the mine was shaken, and gave way, burying a number of the soldiers alive. Several, however, made their way into the town; but they were instantly perceived by some of the sentinels, and before they could rush to the gates and give admission to the forces of the emperor, which were drawn up in arms without, the inhabitants of the city were roused. The intruders were now attacked with fury and indignation; and, driven through the streets to the ramparts, they were forced to cast themselves down or to meet death where they stood.

Successful in arms, and animated by the most vehement hatred towards the besiegers, the people of Alexandria followed up the defeat of the intruders by a sally, in which they slaughtered a number of the Germans, and penetrated into the camp so far as to set fire to the wooden pavilion or castle which had been erected for the residence of the emperor himself. They then retired with little loss, leaving all Frederic's hopes of capturing the city blasted for ever.

Thus failed the attempt of Frederic upon Alexandria on the night of Good Friday, 1175; and although Muratori himself evidently felt a doubt in regard to the statement, so generally made, that the emperor was guilty of a gross breach of faith towards the defenders of the place, yet I am strongly inclined to believe that such was really the case, for we can scarcely believe that the laborious operation of opening the mine into the town could have been effected so quietly, unless some deceit had been employed to lull the suspicions of the besieged.

With forces diminished and dispirited, and threatened every day by an army much greater in number than his own, the emperor gave up the attempt to reduce Alexandria, and turned towards Pavia, determined to force his way through the confederated Lombards. In regard to the proceedings which now took place, the German and Italian writers are directly opposed to each other. By some it is affirmed that



Frederic marched to attack the enemy; by others, that the Lombards hastened to intercept him in his retreat to Pavia. By the Germans, it is said, that the Lombards, terrified at the approach of the Teutonic bands, sent messengers to cast themselves at the feet of Frederic, and to beseech him to grant them peace. By the Italians, it is stated, though in a less distinct and decided manner, that the suspension of hostilities was sought by Frederic himself. It is certain, however, that he marched with a bold face as far as the town of Guignella, and there prepared to encounter his enemies.

By some means, however, at the very moment when it was supposed a battle was inevitable, a truce was agreed upon, and a convention was signed at Monbello on the 16th of April, by which the emperor gave a vague promise to preserve the rights of the confederate cities, and the Lombards, on their part, agreed to respect the rights of the emperor.

I should be strongly inclined to believe that this pacific termination of the campaign was sought by Frederic, as his army was far inferior in point of number to the forces of his enemy, but on account of one or two circumstances which the Italian writers themselves suffer to appear. In the first place, it can scarcely be supposed that the Lombards with their superior force would have granted to Frederic the truce which was so necessary to his safety, if they had any strong inclination to encounter him in the field; and at the same time, we find that the two persons, who by the statement of the Italians themselves took the greatest share in negotiating the truce on the very day that the battle was about to take place, were Eccelino da Romano I., and Anselmo da Doara, the two great leaders of the Lombard forces, who, be it remarked, style themselves, in the same year, Rectors of Lombardy. Neither can there be the least doubt that on presenting themselves in the presence of Frederic they testified every kind of humility and reverence for his person. It appears, at the same time, that instead of taking the direct road towards Pavia, Frederic went much nearer to Tortona than was necessary, as if for the purpose of giving battle to his enemies.

When I consider all these facts, and yet weigh the great justice of Muratori's observation, that Frederic "was not a man, if he had not found himself at the ebb of fortune, and in great peril, to put his sword into the scabbard for a

trifle.”\* I am inclined to believe that the Lombards, satisfied with having delivered Alexandria, and hoping that by that act they had secured their own liberties, were very well contented to spare the effusion of blood, both on their own part and on that of the enemy, and that, therefore, being in a commanding position, they took advantage of it to propose terms of peace to the emperor. On the other hand, I imagine that Frederic, well weighing the doubtful chances of battle when his army was reduced and dispirited, was very willing to temporise till such time as he could recruit his forces.†

To suppose that either party was really affected by fear, or made a base submission, is impossible for any one who considers well the character of the persons concerned. Frederic, more decidedly outnumbered than he was on the present occasion, had before attacked and defeated the force of the papal partisans in the neighbourhood of Rome; and Eccelino himself had gained undying renown in the crusade of the Emperor Conrad. Thus much is to be said in favour of the Lombards, however, that they were undoubtedly sincere in their expressed desire of peace, while Frederic, on the contrary, was apparently playing a more deceitful game, and only seeking to gain time, in the hope of obliterating his late defeats by fresh efforts and fresh success.

It is true, that during the rest of year 1175, negotiations

\* Non era egli uomo, se non si fosse veduto in bassa fortuna e in pericolo, da rimettere sì per poco lo spada nel fodero.

† It is curious to remark how the prejudices of historians affect their sincerity, even when they have no intention of perverting the truth. In everything where the papal jurisdiction was concerned, the tumid and somewhat vapid account of the Mr. Berington, whom we have before spoken of, displays an extraordinary instance of prejudice assuming the tone of candour. In relating the events connected with the siege of Alexandria, he suppresses many facts which are necessary to guide our judgment; and by not giving all which is told even by the papal scribes themselves, he raises into a miracle the resistance of the inhabitants, and the magnanimity of the Lombards. Thus he declares that Alexandria was surrounded only by a deep ditch, and concealing altogether that some contemporary authors assure us the walls were exceedingly strong, and that almost every other historian alludes to those walls more or less, he declares that the besieged presented nothing “against the emperor’s machines but the noble spirit of freemen.” All this is very silly and very wrong, for undoubtedly the emperor did not make use of his catapults against a spirit. Mr. Berington also conceals the fact, that the mine fell in and crushed a number of the imperial soldiers; and he suppresses altogether the strong motives that we have for supposing that Frederic, instead of marching direct to Pavia, sought the Lombard forces with a view of giving them battle. All these things should assuredly have been told by an historian affecting sincerity.



were carried on between the emperor and the Pope, as well as between Frederic and the Lombard states, with a view of effecting some arrangement by which the general pacification of Italy might be secured ; and in justice to Frederic I am bound to say, that he himself sought to treat with Rome, and displayed great courtesy and kindness, both to the papal and Lombard envoys, collected round him at Pavia. Nevertheless, we find that, in the course of the year 1175, Frederic vehemently urged his chief supporters in the empire to give him aid in carrying on the war ; and although it was very necessary that he should be prepared against an unfavourable termination of the negotiation with the Lombards, yet there was a degree of eagerness and haste in his levies at this time, that spoke unfavourably for his sincerity. The Pope and the confederates, at the same time, declared his demands to be exorbitant, and at the conclusion of that year it had become evident that hostilities would soon be renewed.

Many of the princes of the empire hastened to obey the emperor's summons ; but William the Lion of Saxony refused his presence, and did not send his troops. A large army, however, was collected, and prepared to march early in the year 1176 ; and immediately after Easter it set out, under the command of the Archbishop of Magdeburg and the Archbishop of Cologne. Tidings of the approach of the imperial army soon reached Italy, and both parties in that country instantly flew to arms. The people of Milan, Brescia, Piacenza, Novara, and Vercelli, with the inhabitants of several other places, hastened to defend the liberties of their country, while the Marquis of Monferrat and the citizens of Pavia, as well as those of Como, prepared to join the standard of the emperor.

As soon as Frederic, who had remained at Pavia, heard that his army had advanced into the defiles of the Alps, he hastened to put himself at its head, and met the two archbishops in the neighbourhood of Belinzona, at the top of the Lago Maggiore. He then proceeded slowly down towards the south, by the course of the Ticino, and then between the lakes, till he reached the city of Como, where his career was destined to be arrested by that fatal battle which broke the sceptre of his sway in Italy.

I have mentioned that at the first news of the march of the imperial army, the cities of Lombardy began to arm in their

own defence; but the prelates of Magdeburg and Cologne, notwithstanding the early season of the year and the difficult passes which they were obliged to follow, had made so much haste that the emperor was marching down in force upon Italy before several of the confederates had time to join their allies. The citizens of Milan, however, with those of Brescia, Piacenza, and three other cities, advanced at once to meet the emperor, ere he could effect his junction with the forces which were advancing to support him from the side of Monferrat and Savoy. As in the case of the famous battle of the standard in England, in order to give the vigour of religious enthusiasm to the troops, the sacred banner of Milan, elevated upon a car, called the Carroccio, was borne in the midst of the Lombard army; and as the whole force, we have reason to believe, was composed of tried and chosen soldiers, confidence and determination reigned throughout the host. Advancing with great rapidity, the Lombards soon arrived within a short distance of the imperial camp, and finding that the emperor was marching down the course of the Ticino, they halted, and drew up their army in battle array between that river and Legnano, near the small town or village of Busti, a little to the right of the road leading from Domo d'Ossola to Milan. The little river Olona was to their right, and not far in advance the rivulet of the Lombard Arno: the Ticino was at some short distance on their left; and thus it was well-nigh impossible for the emperor to escape them had he been so inclined.

Such was not the case, however; but, on the contrary, he marched forward with a bold face, throwing out a body of three hundred German knights to reconnoitre the country in advance. On the part of the Lombards, seven hundred horse were despatched to ascertain the movements of the enemy; and on the 29th of May, 1176, these detached parties encountered each other, it being the day of the Saints Alexander and Sisinnius. Though the German knights, who first commenced the battle, were so much inferior in number to the body of Lombards opposed to them, they did not give way, but maintained the fight boldly, till the army of Frederic approaching, the seven hundred Lombards retreated to the main body of their forces; and the emperor marched on without pause or hesitation to attack the enemy.

The first shock was tremendous, but the result here also



proved favourable to the imperial arms. The people of Brescia, who composed the vanguard of the Lombard host, offered a desperate resistance, but in the end their phalanx was broken, and they were put to flight. A number of Frederic's horsemen now inconsiderately left their ranks to pursue the fugitives, although the great body of Milanese around their sacred standard still maintained their firm array, and presented a front impenetrable to the imperial arms. In vain Frederic attacked this body with fury and determination—in vain he himself performed prodigies of valour at the head of his knights; no impression was made upon the hardy band of Milanese, who after supporting frequent assaults, became in turn the assailants, and in the end changed the fortune of the battle.

While yet the result of the day was in suspense, various fresh bodies of Lombard troops, which had been marching to join the confederates, arrived upon the field; and all the efforts of the emperor and his gallant soldiery now proved in vain. The conflict was continued with desperation during many hours, and the slaughter was terrible on both sides. The people of Como, however, who had abandoned the party of the league to join the emperor, suffered more severely than the rest, and scarcely a man of them, we are told, escaped alive.

The struggle on the part of the Germans, though unsuccessful, would probably have been protracted till nightfall, had not the well-known crest of the emperor, which had been seen in every part of the field, and in the thickest of the battle, suddenly disappeared, and the rumour spread through his army that he was killed. The flight then became general; much slaughter took place in the pursuit, and many of the imperial partisans were made prisoners, while many others were drowned in the Ticino in attempting to escape. The whole baggage of the imperial army, the banner of the empire, the cross, the shield, and the lance of the emperor, the treasure which had been sent him from Germany, with an immense quantity of arms, and vestments of gold and silver, fell into the hands of the Lombards; while the brother of the Archbishop of Cologne and the nephew of the empress were found amongst the prisoners.\*

\* Such is the account given by the people of Milan themselves in a letter written immediately after the battle to the town of Bologna, to communicate the joyful news of their victory.

The fugitives who fled from this bloody field dispersed themselves over the country, some seeking Pavia, some flying to Como, and bearing to the empress, who had been left in that town, the sad intelligence of her husband's defeat and supposed death. Even the confederates themselves believed that he was slain; his body was sought for amongst the dead, and the empress put on mourning; but suddenly, several days after the battle, Frederic appeared uninjured in the town of Pavia, and his escape from that fatal field still remains a mystery which has never been solved. Certain it is that he was seen fighting with the most desperate and determined valour at a very late period of the day; and it would appear that his horse was either killed under him or fell with him, making those around him believe that he was slain. But what took place after that moment no one has satisfactorily explained, though we are told by one author that the emperor surrendered to some of the people of Brescia, and was conducted to that city, whence, either by his own skill or the connivance of his gaolers, he effected his escape to Pavia. This tale, however, has not obtained credit, and is rejected entirely by the most acute critics of Italian history.

The pride of Frederic Barbarossa was effectually humbled by the terrible defeat which he sustained near Como. The struggle was certainly not inglorious on his part; for there can be no doubt that the force with which he attacked the Lombards was greatly inferior to their own. He also had received no support during the action from any but the troops that he first led to battle; while it is clearly shown that several large bodies joined the confederates in the course of the day. But the great depression of mind which fell upon Frederic would seem to prove that the numbers could not have been by any means so unequal as the German writers would lead us to believe. He appears to have been impressed, for the first time in his life, with the idea that the hand of Heaven was visibly exerted against him; and in this frame of mind he immediately opened negotiations with the Pope and the confederates for the restoration of tranquillity to the north of Italy, and for his own reconciliation with the Church. The first treaty signed was one between Frederic and the Pope, who, to his honour be it spoken, showed himself very willing to receive the emperor once more into the bosom of the Church on terms milder than



might have been expected after the signal success which had attended the arms of the papal party. The negotiations between the Pope and Frederic were kept secret for some time ; but the terms of reconciliation were speedily settled, and Alexander engaged to use his influence with the Lombards to procure a peaceable adjustment of the respective claims of the empire and the confederate cities. Great difficulties ensued in coming to any compromise respecting demands which were undoubtedly excessive on both sides ; and after proceeding to Venice and to Ferrara in order to mediate between the contending parties, Alexander, finding that notwithstanding the most zealous and truly Christian efforts to restore peace, he could not arrive at any exact definition of the rights of the emperor and the Lombards, proposed that a long truce should be substituted for a definitive treaty of pacification : and this suggestion was ultimately followed.

Frederic seems to have been sincerely grateful to Alexander for his endeavours to serve him in this negotiation. He agreed to meet the Pope and to receive absolution in the city of Venice ; and the terms of a truce of six years having been arranged with the Lombards, while a similar suspension of hostilities for fifteen years was agreed upon between the emperor and the King of Sicily, Frederic repaired to Venice in July, 1177 ; and, on the 24th of that month, was met by the Pope at the door of the church of St. Mark. The emperor then cast himself at the feet of the pontiff, having previously received absolution from the hands of the papal legates ere he crossed from the main land ; but Alexander instantly raised him from the ground, shed tears of joy at his reconciliation with the Church, embraced him and gave him his blessing. Frederic on his part displayed every sign of repentance for his long contumacy, led the Pope by the hand into the church, and, in the course of that and the following day, rendered all those honours to the Roman bishop which had been conceded by previous emperors.

Thus terminated one of the fiercest schisms which ever desolated the Roman Church ; and Alexander, freed altogether from apprehension, prepared to exercise his increased power and influence—which had now, indeed, become almost irresistible—in a manner that greatly affected the destinies both of England and France, of Henry the Second and of his son Richard. What precautions Frederic took to secure

from danger the anti-pope Calixtus, I do not know; but although those were times in which the clergy were not wont to spare an offending brother, yet Alexander seems to have been satisfied with the complete triumph which he had obtained, and to have desired no further vengeance upon his rival, than by leaving him at Viterbo to neglect and oblivion. The submission of the emperor to the power of the Church, however, gave Alexander such an immense increase of influence that all his opponents sought eagerly to obtain terms of pacification. The turbulent citizens of Rome, within the gates of which city Alexander had ceased to reside, now negotiated with the pontiff and sought to call him back to their walls. Alexander would not consent without submission on many points, in regard to which the Romans had hitherto made strenuous resistance; but these matters were at length settled, and it was agreed that the senate should remain and the members be elected according to the usual form, but that each should take an oath of fidelity, and do homage to the Pope; and, moreover, it was stipulated that the church of St. Peter, and all the royalties which had been occupied by the Romans, to the prejudice of the right of Alexander, should be restored to him.\*

These arrangements being satisfactorily made and solemnly sworn to, the Pope returned to Rome on the 12th of March, 1178; and before the conclusion of that year he had the gratification, while passing the grape season at Tusculum, of seeing his rival Calixtus come voluntarily to cast himself at his feet. Resuming the title of John Abbot of Struma, the anti-pope, on hearing that the friends of Alexander—apparently without the supreme pontiff's knowledge—were ravaging the territories of those who had supported him, hastened to extinguish the last spark of the schism, by submitting to the superior fortune of his rival. Alexander took no unworthy advantage of the humiliation of his adversary, but raised him with kindness, received him into his familiarity, and granting him the absolution which he sought, sent him to Beneventum on a mission of importance.

\* It is probably the word *Regalia*, which I have translated *Royalties*, which has misled Mr. Berington into making the assertion that it was stipulated "the rights of a sovereign should be surrendered to Alexander." The meaning of the annalist, however, is quite clear, and only implied that all those estates or properties which belonged of old right to the head of the Roman Church, should be given up to Alexander without further contest.



## BOOK V.

AT the time when Richard undertook his victorious expedition into the south of Aquitaine, although Frederic had not yet cast himself at the feet of the Roman pontiff and made that submission which virtually, though not actually, as some authors have stated, placed the sandal of the monk upon the neck of the emperor and, with him, of all other Christian monarchs, yet the fatal battle of Como had been fought, and the terms of accommodation between the empire and Rome were already determined. Thus armed with the power of giving law to Europe, Alexander proceeded to support one who had been his steady and most bigoted friend against a monarch whose power and prudence had threatened to annihilate some of the most dangerous privileges of the Roman clergy. The renewal of the Constitutions of Clarendon, and the concession of Huguson, by which the clergy were placed under the secular arm, in case of offences against the forest laws, showed Alexander that the reforming spirit of Henry was not yet at rest, and that it would be well to afford some fresh occupation to his active mind which might divert his attention from the proceedings and exemptions of ecclesiastics.

The jealous, restless, and uncertain character of Louis, King of France, soon gave to Alexander an excuse for interfering in the affairs of England. Henry, the young king, had, as we have seen, incurred his father's displeasure; and, though the several acts by which he daily increased the monarch's anger and excited fresh apprehensions are not told, yet we find it clearly proved, that such anger and apprehensions did so augment; and there can be no doubt that, to his present conduct, he was instigated by the counsels of the King of France.

So serious did the aspect of Henry's affairs on the continent soon become, that early in the year 1177 the monarch collected a large army at Winchester; and the ports upon the coast of England were filled with shipping, in order to convey to Normandy the immense force which he evidently thought absolutely necessary to crush the spirit of revolt in his own subjects, and to repel any attack which might be made upon him by his pertinacious enemy the King of

France. What communication he had previously held with Louis we do not know, but it is supposed, though not clearly ascertained, that the Bishop of Bayeux had been sent to the French court to require an explanation of the movements which caused apprehension in the mind of the King of England. That prelate arrived at Winchester, however, when Henry's preparations were nearly completed; and in consequence of the intelligence which he brought from France, Henry suspended his embarkation; and, appointing his forces to rejoin him before the end of June, he despatched ambassadors of dignity and importance both to his son Henry and to the French monarch.

We know not what the envoys were charged to say to the younger Henry, but it is certain that his reply gave his father fresh offence. The messages sent to the King of France, we are told by some authors, were in fact a demand that Louis should immediately give up all that territory lying between Gisors and Pontoise, which had been promised as an addition to the dowry of the Princess Margaret, who had married the King of England's eldest son. It is added that Henry required also to be put in possession of the city of Bourges en Berri, which had been promised to Prince Richard, with the hand of Alice or Adalais, the daughter of the French king; and moreover we are assured Henry demanded that the Princess Margaret, who it seems had been sent to Paris by her husband, should immediately return to Normandy. Such is one account, but there is another, and although the statement given above is made upon the good authority of the abbot of Peterborough, I am inclined to reject his testimony in this instance, and to receive the account of Hoveden, both because the chaplain was with Henry at the time, and because his relation bears with it every circumstance of probability, while even at the first view that of the abbot of Peterborough can hardly be credited.

Hoveden places the demand of the French Vexin and of the city of Bourges at a subsequent period, after Henry had received a summons of an extraordinary nature from the King of France, which we shall have to notice presently, and to which the application of the English monarch was a retort. It must also be remarked that the demand of Bourges brought forward a question which Henry was most unwilling to agitate except when he was driven to it; and it therefore



appears to me very probable, that the abbot of Peterborough has in his narrative confounded the messages which the Bishop of Ely, the Archdeacon of Oxford, and others were certainly commanded to bear to the younger Henry, with the demands which were shortly afterwards made by the King of England upon Louis the Young. In his opinion I am confirmed by the fact that the Bishop of Ely and the archdeacon do not appear to have gone on to Paris at all.

On the consideration of all the circumstances, I am inclined to believe that all Henry required from Louis at this time was to abstain from instigating his son to acts of rebellion, and to send back the Princess Margaret into Normandy; or at most that the demand comprised the cession of the French Vexin.

There existed, it is true, other serious matters of discussion between Henry II. and the King of France; and although the historians of the time do not mention the negotiations which took place in regard to disputed portions of territory, yet we find from state papers, which are the surest of all guides, that frequent communications must have passed between the ministers of Henry and Louis concerning parts of Auvergne, Berri, and other districts. The ambassadors which Henry now sent to the court of France might be, and probably were, instructed to demand explanations or satisfaction in regard to these claims; but the answer returned by Louis is not known, and before Henry could execute his intention of going into Normandy, messengers arrived at Winchester bringing him the distasteful news that Peter, Cardinal of St. Chrysogonus, had arrived in France, commanded by the Pope to put his whole territories on both sides of the water under interdict, in case he refused to unite his son Richard to Alice the daughter of the French king.

This act on the part of the Pope is, in every point of view, extraordinary, and worthy of consideration. The Roman see had always contended for the right of interfering in every case whatsoever where the spiritual rule was either remotely or immediately concerned, and thus in regard to marriages we find the popes continually stepping forward either to enforce or mitigate the severity of the canons, as suited their views and purposes; but I know of no instance, except this, in which they thought fit to interpose in order to compel the execution of an engagement in regard to a marriage where no

act of espousal had taken place. In cases of espousal, the Roman Church considered the spiritual marriage as complete, and that the Church had therefore a right to enforce the engagement; but in the present instance, the parties not being in fact affianced, the matter remained merely as a simple treaty between two crowns; in regard to any differences concerning which, the Pope might very well mediate as the common Father of the Christian world, but had not the slightest pretence for resorting to such compulsory measures as excommunication and interdict, unless indeed some very peculiar circumstances existed to give a character to the transaction, different from that which it bore at the first view.

In the next place, this act was extraordinary, inasmuch as we do not find that it was preceded by any exhortation or remonstrance either on the part of Louis or on that of the Pope, in regard to the delay of Richard's marriage. Such a remonstrance indeed might have been made by Louis, without coming down to our times; but it is very improbable that the document should have been lost, had the Pope preceded his threat of interdict by such a letter of admonition as might have been expected from him in ordinary circumstances.

Another remarkable fact connected with this whole proceeding is that no unreasonable delay had in truth taken place; Richard himself was just nineteen, and the princess could not, by any account, be yet sixteen, and according to all the best statements, was only eleven years of age. If indeed the assertion of Henault and almost all other authors be correct, that Philip Augustus was the first child which Louis the Young had by his third wife, Alice of Champagne, the princess could not have been marriageable at this period; and therefore Louis could only, at the very utmost, demand that Henry should cause the ceremony of affiancing to be performed.

The many extraordinary circumstances connected with this transaction, and the lamentable result which ultimately took place, have caused historians to believe that Henry, even at this time, entertained a criminal passion for the Princess Alice of France, and have induced them to suppose and assert, that it was in consequence of indubitable evidence of this passion that the Pope and the King of France urged



with such vehemence and haste the union of the princess with Richard. This hypothesis, however, is not only overturned by the fact of Alice's age, supposing her to have been born at the period usually assigned; but it is clearly shown to be erroneous by the after transactions of Louis, Henry, and the Pope; for we shall soon have to point out, that, upon a very slight consideration, Louis left the matter, which he now so eagerly pressed, entirely in suspense; and it can scarcely be supposed that, if he had known that Henry entertained the intention of seducing his daughter, he would have suffered her calmly to remain in his hands, would have made peace with that monarch, and would have resumed for a considerable time the most friendly intercourse with him. I am, therefore, perfectly convinced, that whatever was the age of the Princess Alice, the whole account of Henry's passion for her at this period is without the slightest foundation, and that Lord Lyttleton and others have allowed themselves—in attempting to account for matters which appeared strange and incongruous—to be betrayed into suppositions altogether inconsistent with the facts of history.

As soon as the arrival of the legate in France was known to the King of England, and the powers with which he was invested were announced, Henry hastened his preparations for passing over to the continent, and at the same time appealed to the Pope himself against the interdict which the Cardinal of St. Chrysogonus was empowered to pronounce. The only object of the king in this proceeding must have been to gain time for negotiation with Louis; for there can be no doubt whatsoever that the legate had acted by the supreme pontiff's authority, and that Alexander, freed from the apprehensions under which he had laboured while the schism continued, was now prepared to make the power of the Church felt against all opposition.

The English monarch's expedition to France, however, was delayed for a considerable period by the breaking out anew of an old wound in the thigh, which he had received some years before in his expedition against the rebels of Huntingdon and Norfolk. The injury, indeed, had not been inflicted by an enemy, but had been produced by a kick from the heels of a vicious horse belonging to one of his friends the Knights Templars, who had accompanied him on the march.

The king, with his usual hardy carelessness, had paid little attention to the matter at the time, but the wound now opened afresh, as I have said, while he was staying at Stanstead, and proved so severe as to force him to remove to Winchester before it could be healed.

At length, Henry departed from the British shore, and arrived in Normandy on the 19th of August, 1177. In all probability, long ere that step was taken, various messages had passed between the Kings of England and France, concerning the matters in dispute between them; and immediately on Henry's arrival in his continental dominions, a place of conference between him and the French monarch was appointed. The English sovereign, however, was apparently by this time reconciled to his eldest son, and they proceeded together to visit the legate at Rouen, where, it would seem, Henry endeavoured to treat with Rome apart from France.

In that attempt he was unsuccessful; and finding that the interdict would certainly be enforced if he did not make some satisfactory arrangement with Louis, he hastened to meet that monarch, at Ivry, where a conference took place between the two courts of France and England, on the 21st of September. Here Louis again demanded, that the marriage of Richard with his daughter Alice should immediately take place, and Henry now replied that such should be the case, provided Louis would fulfil his own engagements, by making over the whole of the French Vexin to the younger Henry, and giving up the town of Bourges en Berri, with all its appurtenances, to Richard, on his union with Alice. The demand of Bourges and its appurtenances, as the dowry of the princess, could be considered by no means excessive, even had Louis not actually promised them to his daughter on her marriage. That territory certainly was a desirable object to Henry, lying in the neighbourhood both of Touraine and Poitou; but still it was not very extensive, and the situation of the place was not such as to afford any great facility of injuring or annoying the French monarch.

Such, however, was not the case with the French Vexin. Had the English monarch obtained that province, the advanced posts of a dangerous neighbour and a vassal already too powerful, would have been within twenty miles of the French capital; and if Louis ever really was weak enough to



promise the cession of that district, he was now counselled with too much sagacity to be willing to keep his word. He refused, therefore, either to surrender the Vexin to the younger Henry, or to give Bourges and its appendages to Richard, and we do not find that he offered to make any compensation, or to substitute another territory as an equivalent for that which he withheld.

How long the Princess Alice had been absolutely under the tutelage of Henry I., I cannot tell; but Hoveden, the chaplain of the king himself, acknowledges that the English monarch had detained her in his custody as long, and longer, than had been agreed upon between himself and the King of France, so that there could not be the slightest pretext for not affiancing her to Richard, except the refusal of Bourges and the French Vexin. Had Louis, therefore, been really anxious to see his daughter espoused without further delay, by the son of the English king, he would *certainly* not have resisted the demand of the former place, though he might have reserved the question of the Vexin for after consideration; and had Alexander and the legate suspected that Henry was actuated in seeking delay, by a criminal passion for the French king's daughter, they would *certainly* have supported the demands of the King of France, by all the thunders of the Roman Church. Louis, however, did not choose to cede Bourges; and rather than do so left his daughter in the hands of Henry; and the Pope and the legate consented to the marriage being delayed, or at least connived at its postponement, upon the sole condition that Henry should engage at some future period to accompany the King of France in an expedition to the Holy Land.

To this act it must be remembered that Henry had already bound himself, though he had always hitherto hesitated to fulfil his engagement. Additional motives, however, had lately arisen to induce Alexander to urge upon Christian kings the defence of Palestine against the infidels. These motives I shall mention, after having stated the conditions of the treaty which was now concluded between Louis and Henry by the advice of the legate, in which the question of the marriage of Alice and Richard is totally overlooked, as a matter of no importance whatsoever, so that any one who examines the document as it is given in Hoveden or in Rymer, must be satisfied that not the slightest suspicion of a

passion on the part of Henry towards the princess existed in the mind either of the prelate or the King of France.\*

The terms of the treaty are to the following effect :

First, it is agreed that the Kings of France and England will take the cross, and go together to Jerusalem, for the service of Christendom. Secondly, that they will be friendly together, and defend each other against all other men with their whole power, in life, limbs, and earthly honour. Thirdly, that neither will protect the enemies of the other. Fourthly, that to remove all cause of discord thenceforward, neither shall seek anything of the other in respect to the matters in dispute between them, except certain territories therein specified. Fifth, that if besides those territories specified, any others be called in question, the two kings being unable to agree regarding them themselves, shall refer the decision of their difference to twelve persons, three bishops and three noblemen being appointed on each side.

Several other clauses ensue, providing against the death or neglect of any of the arbitrators named, and pointing out what is to be done in the case of one of the monarchs proceeding on the crusade before the other, or of either of them dying in the course of the expedition. Other stipulations succeed, by which the territories of each sovereign are ensured against any hostile attempt on the part of the subjects of the other, during their absence from their several kingdoms, the regents and the governors on the part of France being bound to make oath, that in case of the dominions of Henry being attacked, they will defend them with all their power as zealously as they would defend Paris, were it besieged by an enemy; while on the part of the King of England it is agreed, that his lieutenants shall swear to defend the territories of the King of France, in case of attack, as

\* It is very extraordinary that Lord Lyttleton has not noticed this important fact. All that he says on the subject is, "However this may have been, when the monarch discovered by his conference with the legate that the sentence of the interdict would undoubtedly be pronounced against all his dominions if he did not obey the Pope's mandate, he promised to do so, only begging for a respite till he had conferred with Louis. They accordingly met on the 21st of September, attended by the principal nobles of both realms. It seems the main obstacle to concord between them had been Henry's refusing to fulfil his engagement with regard to Richard's marriage; for, this point being yielded, all the others in dispute were either given up, or referred to arbitrators." The fact, however, is, that this point was not yielded; for Henry in express terms refused to permit the marriage without the cession of Bourges.



zealously as they would fight to preserve Rouen, should it be assailed. The last clause of the whole provides for free mercantile intercourse between the two nations, and for the safety of merchants and travellers, whether of the clergy or the laity.

No time is fixed for the departure of the crusaders, but the treaty refers to some other convention which probably marked the period when they were to set out; but the day was evidently remote, as the solemn taking of the cross was to intervene. This previous convention has not come down to us, for I cannot consider the brief treaty which is preserved by Diceto, and which is merely a transcript of the first part of the one given by Hoveden, Bromton, and Rymer, as the document mentioned therein; though it is valuable as giving us the date, 25th September, and the place where the document was signed, which was Nonancourt. It is as well to remark, however, that this convention which has been lost referred solely to the crusade, and could not by any chance contain a clause affecting the question of Richard's marriage, as the very earliest authority that gives the treaty declares at the same time that Henry positively refused to concede that point to Louis.

The King of France rested satisfied then that his daughter should remain in the hands of Henry for an indefinite period. One of the princess's maternal uncles, if not more, was present at the conferences of Ivry, and those nobles were the chief advisers of the French king, so that no doubt whatsoever can be entertained that, Alice being probably not yet of a marriageable age, her relations were satisfied with the delay, and in no degree suspected that the English monarch was actuated by evil motives.

Amongst other matters which are referred to in the treaty, as having been subjects of dispute between the kings of France and England, is the fief of Chateauroux, the sovereignty of which could not remain longer undecided without great inconvenience, as the lord of that territory, Raoul de Dol, was lately dead, leaving but one daughter, his heiress, of the age of three years. It would appear that although Chateauroux was undoubtedly an ancient fief of Aquitaine, yet the dissensions between Louis and Henry had emboldened the lord of La Châtre, who was a relation of the heiress, to resist the rights of the King of England; and, on the younger

Henry besieging Chateauroux, in the beginning of the year 1177, he had carried the child off to his own abode, leaving that town to surrender to the English prince. The younger Henry had taken possession of Chateauroux, but had proceeded no further against the lord of La Châtre; and having, as before stated, joined his father and accompanied him to Rouen, he shared in the conferences of Ivry; but when they were over, he was immediately sent into Berri to recover the ward who had been thus abstracted from the guardianship of the crown.

Henry II. remained for a short time at Verneuil, enacting some useful laws in regard to debtors and creditors; but then, finding that his eldest son made little progress against La Châtre, the monarch put himself at the head of his forces, marched into Berri, and was advancing with his usual rapidity upon La Châtre, when the lord of that place met him on his march and delivered up the daughter of Raoul de Dol into his hands. This submission satisfied the King of England; and turning towards the south, he prepared to visit the scene of Richard's triumph over the insurgents of Poitou, and to inflict upon them, though not with any very severe hand, that punishment which had been suspended but not forgotten. Marching on then into the Limousin, Henry proceeded to sentence several noblemen in that district to various fines, on account of the resistance they had shown to Richard.\*

It will be remarked, in all the judicial proceedings of the English king, that he very wisely preferred pecuniary amercements to any other sort of punishments, and in his political transactions that he preferred negotiation and the power of gifts, to violence and the force of arms, so that the annalist of Burton might well say of him "he was a prudent man, and

\* Lord Lyttleton, relying too much on the abbot of Peterborough, seems to have found a difficulty in accounting for the punishments which Henry now inflicted. The abbot says that these fines were levied on account of the aid which the barons of Limousin had given to the sons of the English king in their rebellion. But the only connexion between the act of justice now performed and that rebellion—for the offences actually committed in which, a promise of immunity had been given—was that the resistance which the lords of Angoumois and the Limousin had shown to Richard, was in consequence of the king's order for destroying the castles and fortifications which had been raised to support his sons in their rebellion. This order was beyond all doubt the first cause of revolt against Richard, who, as we have shown, was opposed in arms as soon as he proceeded to execute it; and it was for this second revolt, and not for the first, that Henry proceeded to punish several of the nobles of the Limousin.



defended the duchy of Normandy both against the King Louis, father of Philip, and against Philip, afterwards king, more by money than by arms.”\*

From the Limousin Henry returned to Angers, where he spent Christmas-day; and then, feeling some anxiety in regard to his dominions in England and Ireland, he prepared once more to cross the sea. Before he did so, however, he sent to demand from the King of France what we may justly call letters of protection for his continental territories during his absence. This was immediately granted by Louis; and the act is so curious that I shall translate it here. “Louis, King of the French, to all men to whom these present letters shall come, health! Be it known to you generally, that we receive into our custody all those lands of our most dear brother, Henry, King of England, which are situated on this side of the sea, if it should happen that he goes into England, or proceeds upon a pilgrimage; so that, if the bailiffs of his cismarine territories should require us, we will with good faith and without evil intent lend them counsel and aid for the defence and protection of the said territories.”

Previous to this act, however, and apparently between the period of Henry’s expedition against La Châtre and his visit to the Limousin, the English king had held another conference with Louis, regarding the sovereignty of Auvergne. Nothing was terminated indeed at that conference; but all passed amicably between the two monarchs, and the decision of their respective claims was still left to the judgment of the arbitrators who had been named by the treaty of Nonancourt.

Towards the end of the year 1177, another event took place, which gave to Henry a considerable addition of territory. While pausing at Grammont, as he returned from one of his expeditions, he completed a negotiation with the lord of La Marche, by which he acquired the whole of the lands of that nobleman, who had not long before lost his only son, the sole surviving heir of his titles and estates, and who, seized with the spirit of the times, was now eager to sell his patrimony, in order to pass the rest of his days in Palestine. The price given for the whole county of La Marche only

\* “Fuit autem prudens, et ducatem Normanniæ magis pecuniâ suâ quam armis defendebat contra regem Ludovicum, patrem Philippi, et contra Philippum postea regem.”—*Annales Burton, ad ann. 1189.*

amounted to fifteen thousand angevin pounds ; but to this sum were added twenty mules and twenty palfreys, with which the count went away well content, intending to spend all he had thus obtained in that distant land, which had already drawn so much treasure from the western world. The vassals of La Marche did homage to the King of England ; but before we go on to notice the further proceedings of Henry and his sons, it will be necessary to take a general view of the state of Palestine, and to give some brief account of the various efforts that had been made by European princes to rescue the holy city from the hands of the Mahommedans, as the question of a new crusade, to be undertaken by the monarchs of France and England, now mingles more or less with almost every transaction of the times.

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## BOOK VI.

PARTICULAR places become dear to the heart of man more generally by the associations attached to them, than by their beauty, convenience, or fertility. Nor is this the case only as affecting individuals ; for attachment founded on memories or traditions binds tribes and nations likewise to certain spots, and this is carried so far that occasionally, at the very name of a distant country, the bosoms of men who have never seen it will yearn with feelings of affection or devotion, or will throb with emotions of joy, or pride, or hope. In regard to no land can such deep and strong sensations be excited by the great power of association, as those which are awakened by that country where dwelt the nation chosen to preserve, through ages of the darkest idolatry and in the midst of all the abominations of paganism, the knowledge of the true God, and the oracles of His holy will. That region, too, but especially the holy city its capital, must be rendered even more sublimely dear to the heart of every Christian, when he recollects by whom and how was there worked out the crowning mercy of man's salvation. Thus the natural reverence which the whole of Christendom has ever felt towards the scene of our Saviour's miracles and sufferings, has made Palestine an object of pilgrimage to numbers in all ages,



since first the Empress Helena herself set the example, and proceeded to visit the newly-discovered tomb of Christ. The sepulchre itself, or that which was supposed to be the sepulchre, was found, we are assured, beneath a temple erected to Venus by the Romans, after the capture and destruction of Jerusalem by Titus; and Constantine, having caused the heathen temple to be cast down, and a Christian church to be erected in its place, that edifice became the chief object of the pilgrim's devotion in Jerusalem, and the journey was generally called "the visit to the holy sepulchre."

From the time of the conversion of Constantine till the apostacy of Julian, the pilgrimages continued uninterrupted under the Roman emperors; and it is probable that during that period the Christians of the holy city, barbarous and ignorant as they were, and corrupted by those false doctrines which too soon began to mingle with the truths of Christianity, contrived to multiply superstitious inducements, in order to lure greater numbers of the devout to the scene of man's redemption. The cross on which our Saviour suffered was said to have been found buried in the earth; and though suspicions in regard to the fact have of course been propagated and received in after ages, at those times this wonderful discovery was never doubted by any Christian, or, at most, doubted in silence and secrecy. A number of other relics, the perishable nature of which rendered their reappearance at the end of three hundred years even more miraculous than that of the cross itself, were speedily added to the treasures of Jerusalem, and were regarded with the utmost devotion by the pilgrims, who increased the wealth of the holy city, not only by the money that they spent therein, but also by the purchase of parts of all these sacred objects, which soon became endowed with the quality of infinite divisibility.

At length, however, succeeded Julian the Apostate, whose great military and political talents have been considered a sufficient compensation for his religious insanity. But even Julian himself, with all his passionate eagerness in favour of the Pagan deities of Rome and Greece, his fondness for the idol and the sacrifice, could not divest himself of the reverence universally felt for a city in which the worship of one pure God had been maintained from immemorial ages, while all the rest of the world was in darkness and pollution; and at the same time that he insulted the Jewish priest by offer-

ing to admit the God of the Hebrews into the number of the deities which he worshipped, his capacious superstition proposed to re-erect the temple of Jerusalem, which Titus had destroyed. With the energy which characterised all his actions, Julian proceeded in the task which he had assigned to himself; and, as the first step, recalled the dispersed Jews to the city of their fathers. Mount Moriah was taken possession of by the forces of the emperor; the Jews themselves volunteered in aid of the workmen; immense powers of mind and body were employed to carry on the building with the utmost rapidity; and large sums of money were voluntarily poured forth to give it magnificence and durability.

But the temple of Jerusalem was not destined to be rebuilt by the hands of the Apostate; and though the mountain of the temple itself was in the hands of the Jews and the Pagans alone—though the Christians were powerless in the presence of the infidel legions, and not the slightest possibility of interference, fraud, or opposition existed to impede the work of the daring idolator—yet all the efforts of Alypius, the friend to whom Julian entrusted the execution of his design, were insufficient to raise the walls of the temple from the state of prostrate destruction in which the ploughshare of Titus had left them.

The Christians remained as spectators of the undertaking, confident that the prophetic announcement, that the fall of the temple was final, could be made of no effect even by all the power of the empire; and they were gratified, but not surprised, when first the whirlwind, and then the earthquake, and then the explosion of subterraneous fires, destroyed the labours of Alypius and his coadjutors almost as fast as they were performed. The workmen, alarmed, dispirited, and injured by the continual bursting forth of balls of fire from the earth in which they were laying the foundations, could scarcely be brought back to their task; and at length, the friend of Julian himself, despairing of vanquishing an opponent against whom he had no defence, abandoned the attempt, and left the blackened and ruined fragments of the walls which he had endeavoured to raise, as a monument to after times of this unsuccessful impiety.

While this great enterprise was in progress, the emperor attempted by every means but that of actual bloodshed to drive the Christians to abandon their religion; but in this,



of course, he was unsuccessful, and his efforts to replant the Jewish nation, and to raise up the temple, only gave an additional interest to the Holy City in the eyes of the Christian world. After the death of Julian and the accession of Christian emperors, the pilgrimages to Jerusalem, which had never been altogether abandoned, were resumed with greater zeal than ever; and the city was filled with votaries, who we have too much reason to believe were not always of the most chaste or pious character.

The Roman empire continued Christian; but weakness succeeded luxury and division: the western portion of the vast fabric fell under the repeated and violent blows of barbarian enemies, and the eastern portion only lingered for a time to give way by slow degrees to decrepitude, and sink under a gradual decay.

In the middle of the sixth century arose, in the heart of Arabia, a man of extraordinary powers of mind and body, who, assuming the character of a prophet and a lawgiver, speedily established in the east the tenets of a new religion, one of the chief injunctions of which was, to go forth and subdue all nations to the faith of this daring teacher. The sword was appointed by Mahommed as the great instrument of conversion; and the race of hardy warriors who were amongst the first to embrace his doctrines, were not only willing but eager to follow the precept which taught them to encounter danger and death in the pursuit of plunder, conquest, and immortal sensuality. With wonderful penetration, Mahommed not only calculated upon the general character of man and his debased nature, but so skilfully made use of all the corruption, superstition, and barbarous ignorance, which had superseded the purity, spirituality, and light of Christianity in the east, as to render it very easy for multitudes of those persons who called themselves Christians without knowing or feeling the truths of the religion they professed, to embrace the tenets which he promulgated. It appears that, in framing his religion, while he held out every temptation for all classes of men to join his sect, he designedly smoothed the way for all, linking his doctrines, by various contrivances, to the faith, the prejudices, the superstitions, the passions, and the desires of the various nations by which he was surrounded. In favour of the Jews, he admitted Moses as a prophet, circumcision as a divine insti-

tution, and the abhorrence of swine as a religious duty. For the Christians, he held forth the name of Jesus as worthy of all veneration, recognised the Virgin as a saint of the holiest character, and even adopted St. George of Cappadocia, under the name of Al Khidr, as something more than mortal, investing him with attributes nearly approaching to ubiquity. Many other inducements of the same kind were extended to heathen tribes, besides the unlimited gratification permitted to sensual enjoyment in this world, and the promise of still greater pleasures of the same kind in another. Unlike other great founders of new creeds, he excited the enthusiasm, the zeal, and the fanaticism of his votaries, by direct appeals to their animal nature; and bloodshed, lust, and plunder, were amongst the first duties inculcated and the rewards promised by his religion.

I dwell upon what was evil rather than upon what was good, and wise, and prudent in the doctrines of Mahommed, not because I wish to depreciate the character of that most extraordinary man, but because those evil parts were the principal agents in spreading his tenets with such remarkable rapidity; in which respect the history of Mahommedanism is strikingly contrasted with that of Christianity, the Christian faith having set out to wage eternal war with all the bad passions of man's nature, while the religion of the false prophet called all those passions to its aid. Thus supported, it is not at all wonderful that the doctrines of Mahommed made speedy converts.

Civil dissensions and barbarous contests amongst this teacher's successors delayed the march of Mahommedanism for a short time; but as soon as these had ceased, the spirit of conquest and conversion went forth together with tremendous power. The first monarchs of the new dynasty led their scanty followers on all occasions, and acted more as the chieftains of a barbarous tribe, than the sovereigns of a great people. Speedily, however, the khalifs, as their dominions increased and new lands and nations every day acknowledged their sway, assumed the dignity of empire, without losing the activity of their race and character. They ruled, directed, and guided, but did not appear at the head of every army, or meddle with minor operations. Thus Omar, who succeeded to the throne of Medina, even while the memory of man was full of the personal demeanour of



Mahommed, entrusted to his lieutenants many important enterprises, and only appeared when some extraordinary display of power was required, to attain a great and difficult object.

The Emperor Heraclius, the contemporary of Omar, evinced in one part of his life some of the military virtues which once rendered the Roman name illustrious; but towards his latter years he fell into indolence, if not into effeminacy, and at this period the Khalif determined upon the conquest of Syria. The gallant defence of Damascus, had it been supported by equal efforts in the field, might have restored the honour of the Roman name, and preserved the Syrian provinces from the fury of the Saracens. But the fatal battle of Aiznadin was soon followed by the fall of Damascus; and Heliopolis and Emesa were next attacked and taken, while the signal defeat of the imperial troops on the banks of the Hieromax, or Yarmuc, placed the whole of Syria entirely at the disposal of the successor of Mahommed. But a short distance now remained for the khalif's arms to travel in order to reach Jerusalem; but more important conquests might perhaps have called the attention of Omar in another direction, had not the Holy City of the Jews been an object of as much reverence to Mussulmans as to the Hebrews and Christians. Mahommed himself, in answer to a question of Ibn Salem, declared that the Al Aksa, or temple at Jerusalem, was to be revered, because it was in the exact centre of the world; and moreover, he informed Abu Tharir that it was next to the Kaaba of Mecca. All these declarations upon the part of Mahommed combining with the general precepts of his religion, which inculcated the deepest veneration for all places whatsoever where the prophets and teachers, either of the Mosaic or the Christian doctrines, had lived and died, rendered Jerusalem itself an object of interest and devotion to his successor, Omar, and he speedily commanded his lieutenants to carry their arms in that direction. After the invasion of Syria, however, and the fall of Damascus, the fortifications of Jerusalem had been strengthened by every means that the military skill of the day could devise. The garrison had been increased by a number of veteran soldiers, and religious zeal augmented the courage and determination of the defenders. Abu Ubaidah and his companions, who carried on the siege, were detained for several months be-

neath the walls of the holy city. Seated on her mountains, surrounded with high walls, filled with a zealous people, and defended by resolute officers and experienced troops, Heirolsolyma might well offer a protracted resistance, and believe herself impregnable by any of the efforts which the Arabs, unskilful in the use of military engines, could employ against her. But famine, that desperate though slow means, could not be repelled, and the Arabs knew that it must at length succeed against the defenders of the city. This knowledge encouraged them to persevere through the severities of a very inclement winter, against loss by cold and disease, and against the continual determined and gallant sallies of their enemies from within the walls. Nor was their perseverance in the end unsuccessful. No aid appeared to succour the besieged; no prospect of deliverance was to be seen; multitudes of women and children thronged the city, as well as aged and infirm men who had come thither to close their days amidst the scenes of the Redemption, and maidens who had dedicated their lives to God. Despair took possession of those in command, and at length a parley being demanded, Abu Ubaidah granted a truce to the inhabitants of Jerusalem, till such time as Omar himself could come to ratify the capitulation which was agreed upon between the patriarch and the Moslems, and in person take possession of the holy city. This extraordinary demand of the presence of the khalif himself was formally made by the Christians of the besieged place, probably from a fearful recollection of Kaled's cruelty, if not treachery, after the capture of Damascus; and Omar, granting the condition readily, immediately set out with but a small body of cavalry for Jerusalem.

Various very doubtful legends have come down to us in regard to this singular pilgrimage of the khalif, all of which have been embodied by Gibbon in a graceful but somewhat suspicious narrative. The accounts, however, of all the various contemporaries, whose statements have been gathered together by the Arabian historian of the temple of Jerusalem, show that, whether Omar did or did not travel upon a red camel, with no other provision than a bag of dates and a bottle of water, his whole manners were simple, and his equipage not costly—whether he did or did not, in the course of his journey, “punish the licentiousness of some tribes, and the luxury of others, by acts which savoured more of



tyranny than simplicity," he reproved men for their vices and ostentation both by his words and his demeanour.

Without giving a long list of names which to our ears would only sound barbarous and inharmonious, I need merely say, in regard to the fall of Jerusalem, that three or four of the most respectable Arabian historians give entirely the same account of the long Christian resistance, of the proposal of the Patriarch to yield, and of envoys, both from the Greeks and the Mussulmans, having been sent to Omar after a truce had been agreed upon, to require his presence under the walls, before the city would surrender. They relate also the astonishment of the ostentatious and fastidious Greeks, at finding the Commander of the Faithful simple in his manners and habits, and hardy in his mode of life.

Without any hesitation, Omar hastened immediately to Jerusalem, at the head of four thousand cavalry, and at once confirmed the terms which had been agreed upon for the capitulation of the city; though if the language in which Abu Ubaidah addressed him was at all accurate, the situation of the inhabitants of Jerusalem must soon have compelled them to surrender at discretion.

"We have stood firm," said the Mussulman commander, "against the people of Elia, and they thought that in their procrastination there would be relief, but God never withdrew from them weakness and loss, and leanness and misery."

The terms were not severe. An annual tribute was imposed on all the native inhabitants of Jerusalem, and equitably apportioned amongst three classes, into which Omar divided the people according to their wealth. Five dinars of gold were enacted from each of the richest, four from each of the next; and three from each of the next; but the very old and very young were exempted from all tribute. The Greeks were ordered to depart within three days, upon pain of death, but the Christian temples were respected according to the capitulation; and though the khalif reverently visited the church of the Holy Sepulchre, he went out at the hour of prayer, and offered his adoration on the steps of the building. The property of the inhabitants also was spared; but if we are to believe the account of the Arabian authors, the inhabitants of Syria on surrendering to their Mussulman conquerors, universally submitted to various

degrading stipulations regarding their dress, arms, and customs. They became, therefore, not only a tributary, but a subjected people.

Although Omar strictly kept the capitulation to which he had agreed respecting the churches and inhabitants of Jerusalem, yet he immediately commenced the erection of a mosque on the site of the ancient temple of Solomon. It is probable that the ruins which had been left after the vain attempt of Julian had by this time been swept away, for we are assured that the place where the former structure had stood was now used as a common sewer, and was so filthy as to defile the garments of the khalif and his companions. Here, however, very soon arose that famous mosque, which, under the name of Al Aksa, has in all ages been looked upon by the Mussulmans as second only in sanctity to the Kaaba of Mecca. Immense was the labour and the wealth expended on this building, and the consecration of the mosque was little less pompous and magnificent than that of the original Temple of Solomon itself.

After this period Jerusalem remained in the hands of the Mussulmans during several centuries, and afforded an object of dangerous pilgrimage to Christians from all parts of Europe; while the followers of Mahommed rejoiced in the privilege of visiting freely one of their most holy places, situated, as they believed, in the very centre of the world.

The state of the Christians of Syria varied of course according to all the changes which affected their Mussulman masters, and more especially according to the temper and character of the sovereign who occupied the throne of the eastern world. In the beginning of the eighth century, it would seem that they were much oppressed, and the pilgrims who visited the holy places had to endure many severe and unmerited hardships, so that the act of devotion often terminated in martyrdom. At length, however, the two greatest monarchs that the eastern and western world had seen for many ages, arose almost at once, and Charlemagne and Haroun Al Raschid negotiated with feelings of mutual admiration and respect concerning the fate of the Christians of the east. The reverence which the khalif had conceived for the French sovereign\* induced him both to give every assu-

\* I have continued to regard Charlemagne here as a French or Frankish prince; although in a very clever article which appeared upon my History of Charlemagne, in the Quarterly Review, the reviewer objected to my using the



rance of safety and security to the pilgrims who annually visited the holy places, and to promise protection and support to the Christian inhabitants of Judea. These engagements he strictly performed, but he went further still; the communications opened between the two courts of Bagdad and Aix-la-Chapelle, only served to increase the esteem which the khalif had conceived for Charlemagne, and amongst the various presents which Haroun sent to the Christian monarch, were the keys and standard of the city of Jerusalem. This standard has very generally been considered as a symbol of the sovereignty of the city, which the khalif is supposed to have conferred upon the emperor; but I do not find that Charlemagne attempted to exercise any act of sovereignty in the Holy City, unless the establishment of a hospital and library therein, for the use of pilgrims, could be so construed.

The successors of Haroun for some years continued to show a certain degree of protection to the Latin pilgrims and to the Christian inhabitants of Palestine; but at length the Fatemite race of khalifs succeeded, and a number of persecutions took place, in which, of course, the terms of the capitulation of Jerusalem and the promises of the Raschid were altogether forgotten. At length, in the year 996, the Khalif Hakim Bamrillah ascended the throne of Egypt. He was the son of a Christian mother, and it having been said of him as a matter of reproach, that he also was a Christian,

term of French and France, to express the subjects and dominions of that monarch. He calls this mode of expression *unphilosophical*, and wishes me to adopt the pretension of the Germans, who would fain claim that great prince as their own—I suppose because the Franks were originally a German tribe. But long before the days of Charlemagne, the Franks, settled in another country, had become French. The hereditary patrimony of Charlemagne and his brother comprised the whole of France within her natural geographical boundaries, and very little indeed of Germany; and though the great monarch added other territories thereto by his sword, yet those were so various that one might as well have called him an Avar or a Lombard, as a German. The guide I followed, however, in forming my opinion and adopting the term France to signify the hereditary dominions of Charlemagne, was not likely to lead me wrong, or plunge me into an unphilosophical error, as he certainly had the best means of knowing what was the name of the monarch's territories in his own days. This was Eginhard, the secretary of Charlemagne himself, who takes especial care not to call the dominions of his sovereign Gaul or Germany, but France. Now it probably may strike some writer a thousand years hence, to call England Saxony, and the English people as they now exist, after centuries of occupation and intimate mixture with many other nations, Germans; but till some precise rule is laid down for such changes, I must adhere to the name of the country and the people I am writing of, according to the best contemporary authority I can find.

he ordered the Church of the Resurrection to be destroyed. This, however, was but the first act of a long series of persecutions. The ceremonies of the Christian religion were forbidden on pain of death; the sons and daughters of the Christians were carried off and caused to apostatise; immense tributes and exactions were laid upon the people, and continual pretences were found either to impose fresh taxes or exercise new cruelties. The Khalif Daher, who succeeded Hakim, proved more mild. He permitted the followers of Christ to build a new church upon the foundations of the old one which his father had destroyed, and some respite was obtained, for a short period, from the many miseries which the Christian people had undergone. Still, however, the most painful indignities were daily offered to the Faithful, and the most excessive tributes were exacted from them, till the khalifate itself sinking into decay, gave way before the bands of wandering Turcomans, who poured down like an inundation from the north and east, when once more Jerusalem was taken by an infidel force, and greater evils than ever were inflicted upon the disciples of the Saviour.

During all this time, notwithstanding the difficulties and the dangers of the way, thousands of pilgrims yearly bent their steps towards Jerusalem; but now, after having encountered a thousand chances of death, passed through numerous enemies' countries, endured the perils of the sea, the thirst of the desert, and the fury of the barbarians, when they arrived at the gates of the Holy City, a piece of gold was exacted from each before he was permitted to enter, and as may well be supposed, few, if any, of the unhappy wanderers possessed, in an age when the precious metals were comparatively rare, a sum sufficient to pay the due exacted at the gates. Obligated to remain, with the bourne of his long pilgrimage still unattained—the object of all his enthusiastic hopes, the place of refuge and repose for which he had longed and prayed, not yet reached—the pilgrim was generally condemned either to die of want and misery in the suburbs of the city, or to wend his way backward, disappointed and destitute, till he dropped of weariness by the roadside, and death came to put an end to his sufferings.\*

\* I have copied a great part of this account from William of Tyre; certainly the most classical as well as one of the most copious and veracious historians of the crusade. His means of obtaining information, even in regard to those points



Still, however, the pilgrimages continued, though all the visitors of the Holy City who did return to Europe, bore a terrible testimony to the dangers and horrors of the way. In the tenth century, indeed, it would seem, more devotees flocked to the holy places, than at any other period, from a general belief that at the end of a thousand years from the death of Christ the great general judgment was to take place, and the Moslems lost not the opportunity of gratifying both their taste for rapine and for blood. The sufferings that the pilgrims endured at length roused the indignation of Christendom; and at the same time the encroachments of the Mahomedan populations which now overspread Asia, proving more and more dangerous every day to the eastern empire, the Greek monarchs wrote various letters to the manifold princes who at that time ruled Christendom, praying for assistance against the common enemies of their faith. In these letters may be discovered the first idea of a crusade, which is to be found more clearly developed in an epistle of Pope Sylvester II. towards the close of the tenth century. Gregory VII. likewise announced such an undertaking, but did not press it upon the attention of the sovereigns of Europe with the same energy which he had at first displayed.

Still, however, from day to day was sent over to their brethren one unvarying tale of desolation, destruction, cruelty, and oppression, by the persecuted Christians of Palestine. The weary pilgrim spread it through all lands as he passed; the letters of bishops and priests who had quitted Europe to die amidst the scenes where the awful expiation of man's sins was worked out, communicated to courts and castles and religious communities, fresh instances, every year, of sufferings borne and barbarities committed, and the outrages of the infidel became the conversation of the palace, the lamentation of the monastery, the marvel of the cottage. Imagination added to all that was told, and general indignation, horror, and compassion, prepared the way for the preaching of Peter the Hermit.

At the same time, the spirit of chivalry, and of chivalrous adventure, had been spreading throughout Europe, gaining power every hour, and panting with increased strength for further scope to exercise its mighty functions. The nobility

where he was not an eye-witness of the facts which he recounts, were such as to merit all confidence.

of all European lands thirsted for some glorious enterprise; and the hearts of all Christian nations burned to avenge the wrongs of their Syrian brethren.

It was at this time that a man appeared in Europe, with the voice and appearance of one inspired, directing the energies of all the inhabitants of this quarter of the globe towards one great and splendid undertaking, pointing out to the spirit of chivalry a deed worthy of achievement, and calling upon all the followers of Christ to fight for their deliverance of their fellow-Christians. Little is known of this man's early life, except that he was born in the city of Amiens, and that he had been alternately a soldier, a priest, and a hermit. Full of that deep and religious enthusiasm which can probably never be felt but by minds of a high tone, and which is always sure to give additional powers, in its own particular direction, to the character by which it is conceived, Peter the Hermit had been seized some time before with an ardent desire of visiting the holy places of Palestine; and, setting out for that purpose, he had accomplished his journey in safety. He paid the piece of gold at the gates; and must have been already in some degree distinguished for his sanctity, as we find from the account of William of Tyre, that he was admitted gladly into the house of one of the Christians of Jerusalem, and was made a sharer of all the griefs and injuries of that persecuted people. His horror and indignation were excited in the highest degree by what he saw and heard. His religious feelings were also roused to the wildest enthusiasm, by the sight of those places, which were all most holy in his eyes, profaned by the presence and the power of the infidel; and resolved to dedicate the remainder of his life to some great enterprise for the deliverance of Palestine from the yoke under which it groaned, he demanded and obtained an interview with the Patriarch, Simeon, who opened his whole heart to him, and confidently trusted him with his own most secret views and wishes.

Here again we have another proof, that both by established character and by personal demeanour, Peter the Hermit was even at this time an eminent and extraordinary man; for it is impossible to suppose that a prelate remarkable for wisdom as well as piety, would have put such confidence in an untried enthusiast, as Simeon reposed in Peter the Hermit. That pilgrim, who had already visited all the holy places, and per-



formed his devotions at all the shrines, now laid before the patriarch his scheme for delivering the Christians of Syria from the merciless swords of the Saracens; and in furtherance thereof Simeon gave him a letter to the Pope and the princes of the west, calling upon them for aid and protection in the terrible circumstances wherein the Church at Jerusalem was placed. This letter was sealed with the patriarch's own seal; and, had it fallen into the hands of the infidels, would have brought down upon the heads of all the Christians of Palestine the unsparing rod which had already so often smitten them. "But the patriarch," says William of Tyre, "knew the hermit to be a man full of prudence and experience of the things of the world;" and Peter promised to go throughout the whole of Europe, preaching the deliverance of Jerusalem in the court of every sovereign.

Again and again, before he set out, he visited the Church of the Resurrection, praying fervently and long for resolution and faith, and strength of mind and body to accomplish his arduous enterprise; and then, full of zeal and hope, he took his departure for Europe, believing that one day, having fallen asleep in the church, he had seen the Saviour, in a vision, who exhorted him to hasten on his journey and persevere in his design. Though we in the present day may refuse to credit that any revelation of the Divine will did take place in the case of Peter the Hermit, yet it is more than probable that the dream did actually occur as he stated it, and that it appeared to him with all the brightness of reality. The excited state of his mind and feelings, the scenes which were passing every day before his eyes, the facts which were continually present to his thoughts, might very well produce such a vision during sleep; and it is also very probable that sleep did fall upon him when, worn out with fasting and prayer, he remained alone in the Church of the Resurrection. Such images having been impressed vividly on his mind, the zeal with which he was filled, and the strong conviction which he entertained that the enterprise in which he was engaged was of the greatest importance, naturally made him suppose that the vision proceeded from a special design of the Almighty. Nor was the same belief withheld by any of those to whom he related what he had seen; and thus endowed with very great natural abilities, and believing that he acted under the direct influence of

God, he went forth with all the powers necessary for his undertaking.

In Europe, however, to which the hermit now bent his steps, there reigned at that time a schism, which seemed likely to prove an insurmountable obstacle to the views and endeavours of the enthusiastic pilgrim. The Pope, Gregory VII., had not long closed his eyes—being at the period of his death an exile from Rome, plunged into fierce contentions with the Emperor Henry, who had driven him into Apulia—and Urban II. had been raised to the papal throne, taking up with the tiara the quarrel of his predecessor with the contumacious Germans. When Peter the Hermit arrived in Italy, disputes of a serious character likewise existed between Urban and Philip King of France; while the Saxon power in England had fallen before the hands of the Normans, and both Normandy and Great Britain presented none of those elements of peace and security which at first sight might appear necessary to the undertaking of great and distant expeditions. Little or no assistance was to be expected from Spain, where the Saracen power was predominant; and thus throughout all Europe, divisions and contentions, the ambition of some, the licentiousness of others, and the ignorance and barbarism of all, appeared to offer but a dim prospect of success to the efforts of the pilgrim from the Holy Land. He reached the presence of Urban, however, while the pontiff was still in Apulia, protected from the fury of the emperor by the famous Bohemond, Prince of Tarentum, who after the death of his father, Robert Guiscard, had succeeded to a portion of that great adventurer's territories, and had subsequently made himself master of still more, by his own active and grasping spirit and the weakness or good humour of his brother. The pilgrim from Palestine laid before the Pope the letter of the Patriarch, and Urban listened with tears to a long account of the cruelties which had been inflicted on the Christians in Palestine. He heard also the scheme which his enthusiastic visitor had formed for raising the people of Europe to avenge and protect the sufferers; but he paused ere he returned an answer.

In the circumstances which surrounded him at the time, it was perfectly natural for Urban to consult the celebrated warrior who had shown him constant friendship and un-deviating support; and in a conference between the Pope



and the great Norman leader, it was determined to give every support to Peter the Hermit, and to adopt his views for the delivery of Palestine to the very fullest extent. Whether political considerations did or did not affect the pontiff and the prince ; whether Urban saw in the proposals of Peter, a means of reuniting and invigorating the Church, of which he was the head ; whether Bohemond anticipated an occasion of pursuing his ambitious views in Greece ; or whether, as I myself believe, the churchman was animated alone by the religious zeal and the warrior by the military spirit of their times, can never perhaps be clearly ascertained : but certain it is, that they both proceeded eagerly to give effect to the proposals of the wandering hermit ; and the Pope promising to call the people of Europe to arms for the relief of Palestine, sent forth the pilgrim as a precursor, to prepare the way for that great and extraordinary enterprise.

Peter set out on his task with zeal, eloquence, and that imposing earnestness of manner, which is more convincing to the heart of man than the finest oratory. He was mounted on a mule, and clad in the coarse apparel of a hermit, was small in stature, mean in appearance, and bore an aspect altogether unprepossessing. But yet, with all these disadvantages, he penetrated into the courts of princes, and forced the mighty of the earth to hear him. We have distinct accounts of his demeanour and person from two eye-witnesses, one of whom was present at the council of Clermont, and saw the hermit there, while the other beheld him as he passed through the towns and villages of France. The first of these, Robert the Monk, tells us that Peter was highly esteemed amongst those who knew most of worldly affairs, and in matters of religion and piety, was superior to all the bishops and abbots. He ate neither bread nor meat, that author adds, but partook of all other food, though with great frugality.

The second author whom I have mentioned, Guibert, or Gilbert of Nogent, gives a more detailed account, both of his appearance and of his general conduct. "He set out," says that writer, "from the superior part of Gaul, I know not with what design, but we saw him at that time passing through the towns and villages, and preaching everywhere, while the people surrounding him in crowds, loaded him with presents, and celebrated his sanctity with such loud acclama-

tions, that I never remember to have beheld similar honours paid to any one. He showed great generosity, however, in the distribution of the things given to him. He brought back to their homes women who had left their husbands, and restored peace and concord where there was discord, with wonderful authority. In everything that he said or did, there seemed something divine, so that the people even took the hairs of his mule to keep them as relics."

"In the open air," continues the same writer, "he wore a woollen tunic, and above that a coarse brown mantle, which fell to his heels. He had his arms and his feet bare, ate no bread, or very little, and supported himself on fish and wine."

Onward he passed throughout the whole of Europe. From town to town, from province to province, from country to country, he went, preaching the crusade to all, and calling the Christian world to arm for the defence of their brethren of Palestine, and for the punishment of their cruel oppressors. Wonderful success attended his efforts. The people followed him wherever he came; the old and the young, the rich and the poor, listened to the inspiring words which broke from his lips; the military spirit of Europe was at its acme; chivalry was in the vigour of its early youth; the religious enthusiasm of the age only wanted an object; all the gates of the human heart were open to the eloquence of the preacher, and the zeal of the one half of the world was aroused by the voice of a single pilgrim.

Nor was the Pope himself backward, nor Bohemond behind. The latter prepared to bear the standard of the cross into the heart of Palestine: the former, after having held a council at Placentia, hastened to pass the Alps, and cast himself at once into the dominions of a king whom he had offended and excommunicated, for the purpose of fulfilling the promise which he had made to the hermit, and calling the Christian world to arms for the deliverance of Jerusalem.

Surely the Norman prince and the supreme pontiff gave by their acts the most powerful contradiction to the suspicion which has been perpetuated by William of Malmesbury, that both were actuated in their encouragement of the crusade by a narrow and pitiful ambition. A general council was announced by Urban to be held in France; but several changes took place in regard to the day and the spot at which the Pope was to meet the great body of the Church;



and it may be supposed that some consideration as to his personal safety influenced the pontiff in this vacillation, one of his open and avowed objects being to reform abuses, and punish the licentiousness of the French monarch. The council was at length definitely fixed to meet at the town of Clermont, in Auvergne, which, although it was situated within the limits of the King of France's dominions, yet was more immediately under the rule of the powerful Dukes of Aquitaine, whose authority, perhaps, might have afforded some security to the pontiff, if Philip had thought fit to proceed to any act of violence.

Urban arrived at Valence, on the Rhone, in July, 1095. The day fixed for the council was the 18th of November, in the same year; and the Pope employed the interval in visiting the southern parts of France, which, possessed by great feudatories, were almost independent of the crown. It is probable that during this journey he made known to many persons his designs in regard to the crusade. At length, however, he turned his steps towards Clermont, and arrived on the 14th of November in that city, where he was met by an immense number of bishops, abbots, clergymen, and nobles, all filled with the expectation of hearing some extraordinary proposal touching the delivery of Jerusalem, for which the minds of men throughout Europe had been prepared by the preaching of Peter the Hermit. The council was opened with matters totally distinct from that with which it was destined to conclude, and many rules and regulations were made, several causes judged, and various disputes arranged, on which I shall not touch in this place.

After the council had sat for a week, however, during which the human tide of listeners flowed daily from all parts of Europe towards Clermont, Urban proceeded into the great square, where the whole multitude had assembled to hear him, and there, surrounded by priests, prelates, princes, and all the chivalry of Europe, he addressed the meeting in one of the most eloquent speeches that have been transmitted to us in the records of history. That it was not, perhaps, word for word such as Robert the Monk has preserved, may be admitted without in any degree lessening our admiration of the skill and genius which the pontiff displayed in working upon all the feelings, passions, and prejudices of his hearers. He

spoke to the people of Europe, then, as a race peculiarly favoured by God; he dwelt upon their prowess, and their adherence to the Christian faith; and he drew a terrible picture of the wrongs and miseries of their brethren of Palestine. He told them that their fellow-Christians of the east were trampled under the feet of infidel nations, strangers to God and enemies to man, that fire and plunder and the sword had desolated the land deservedly called Holy, and that her children were slain in the battle, or enslaved, or died under tortures, all the horrors of which he depicted in the most fearful manner. He declared that the women of that country were subjected to the lust of the heathen, and that God's own altar, the symbols of salvation, and the relics of the saints, were daily desecrated by the filthy abominations of the pagans. "To whom," he cried, "to whom does it belong to punish all this—to arrest all this? To whom but you, who have received from the Lord, above all other nations, glory in arms, greatness of soul, activity of body, and strength to trample on the heads of all who resist you. Oh, brave knights!" he cried, after pointing out the glorious deeds of Charlemagne and others, "oh, brave knights! offspring of invincible fathers, degenerate not from the glory of your ancestors; and if you feel held back from the course before you by the soft ties of domestic love, call to mind the words of our Lord himself, who said, 'Whosoever loves father or mother more than me, is not worthy of me; and whosoever shall abandon for my name's sake, his house, or his father, or his mother, or his wife, or his children, or his lands, shall receive an hundredfold, and shall possess eternal life.' "

The pontiff, however, did not bound his exhortation to the prospect of mere spiritual advantages; he held out as the reward of those who should take the cross, a thousand temporal objects of desire. Europe, according to his account, was but a dry and sterile country, Palestine a land flowing with milk and honey. Then again, he proceeded to speak once more of holier inducements, and represented the country to which he bade them go, as the land which the Redeemer of the human race had rendered illustrious by his advent, had honoured by his residence, consecrated by his passion, redeemed by his death, signalised by his sepulture.

"The royal city of Jerusalem," he went on, "placed in the



very centre of the world,\* now held captive by her enemies, and made the handmaid of nations altogether ignorant of God, calls incessantly for aid and deliverance. From you, above all other people on the earth, she demands this aid, because, as I have before said, God has granted you above all others, glory and might in arms. Go, then, take the way before you for the remission of your sins, secure of the imperishable glory of the kingdom of heaven."

The moment that the pontiff paused, a loud shout burst from the attentive multitude, every voice exclaiming, with one impulse, "God wills it! God wills it!" Urban seized upon the moment of enthusiasm, adopted the very words which were shouted forth in all the languages of the varied crowd that surrounded him, declared that God himself had prompted those words, and ordered the people to use them as their battle-cry in every struggle with the infidels. "Let the army of the Lord," he said, "when it rushes upon His enemies, shout but that one sound, 'God wills it! God wills it!'"

To this inspiring address, the pontiff added a number of wise and important regulations calculated to fix the people in their determination, and to guide them in executing it with prudence and caution. He forbade the journey to the old and the weak, and all those who were unfit to bear arms. He cautioned women not to undertake the crusade except in the company of their husbands, or brothers, or lawful guardians; he bade the clergy require in all cases permission of their spiritual superior, and he called upon the rich to assist the poor, and not only to go themselves, but to lead to the Holy Land others who could do military service.

"Let every one," he said, "who is inclined to devote himself to the cause of God, bind himself by a solemn engagement, and until he sets out, let him bear the cross of the Lord, either on his breast or his brow. When he is ready to begin his march, let him place the emblem of salvation on his shoulder, in memory of that precept of the Saviour, 'He that does not take up his cross and follow me, is not worthy of me.'"

Thus ended the pontiff's oration; and though it can scarcely be doubted that on such an occasion Peter the

\* It is remarkable that Urban should use precisely the same figure to express the pre-eminence of Jerusalem, that Mahommed had done before him.

Hermit was present, I do not find the slightest reason to believe that the pilgrim attempted to address the assembly. It would have been vain indeed for him to do so, for after the magnificent speech of the Roman bishop, no other words were needed to carry forward the chivalry of Europe towards the delivery of Palestine.

The news of what had taken place at Clermont spread with the utmost rapidity from town to town, and village to village, throughout the whole of Europe. So fast indeed did the tidings travel, that miracles are related regarding the transmission of the intelligence, and superstition worked all her wonders, to give the crusaders the assurance of success.

“Glory and exultation were felt by the Christians,” says Robert the Monk, “while grieving and trepidation fell upon the Persians and Arabians.” This assertion, however, to the full extent, is not borne out by the fact. The Mahomedans were far from feeling such terror even when the coming of the Christian invaders were fully known to them. A warlike and resolute population, they prepared for the feast of blood like the vultures of their own deserts, and showed no sign of failing resolution, of doubt, fear, or trepidation, during the whole of that memorable conflict, the commencement of which was proclaimed at the council of Clermont.

The wandering races of Asia, filled with zeal and enthusiasm for their own religion, defended their conquests and their faith with courage and devotion; but at the same time no one who considers these events dispassionately, can look upon the enterprise of the first crusade without admiration for the motives in which it originated, and the valour with which it was carried on. The affected philanthropy and assumed liberality of some modern historians, have led them to represent the crusade as altogether cruel and unnecessary; but so far from such being the case, it is evident that this warfare was not only as just a war as any that was undertaken in those days, but as just as any that ever was waged by man. The objects were to repel a strong, a sanguinary, and successful enemy; to wrest from the hands of the fierce and avowed foes of all Christendom, territories to which they had no claim but that of the sword; to guard a weak and exposed frontier from the incessant attacks of a nation whose boast was conquest; and to give help, comfort, and deliverance to brethren by faith, and in many instances, by kindred,



who were lying cruelly enslaved and oppressed, and loudly crying for succour and protection. Such were the various objects which were laid before the Christian world, and such it now rose in arms to attain.

The council of Clermont itself was scarcely concluded, when the preparations for the great enterprise began. The Pope himself wrote to almost all the princes of Europe, beseeching them to promote the crusade to the utmost of their power; and after visiting several different towns, and preaching in many places the doctrine of the crusade, he committed the chief command and direction of the whole expedition to Adhemar, Bishop of Buy, in Auvergne, and returned into Italy.

A multitude of princes immediately assumed the cross; and the first of these appears to have been the famous Raymond of St. Giles, generally called the Count of Toulouse, though there seems to have been some doubt, as we have before shown, regarding his claim to that title. Various writers have stated that it was at the instigation of Raymond, and in consequence of his ardent solicitations, in conjunction with those of the Bishop of Cahors, that the Pope, in the first instance, determined upon making a journey into France, and holding the council of Clermont; but neither does William of Malmesbury, upon whose authority this statement has been founded, entirely bear it out, nor is he himself correct in many parts of his account of the first crusade.\* Had Urban come into France at the request of Raymond of St. Giles, one of his first visits would undoubtedly have been paid to that prince, who had previously distinguished himself against the infidels in Spain; but such was not the case. It is more than probable, indeed, that Raymond, as other authors have declared, having learned the Pope's intention of preaching a crusade, from what took place at the council of Placentia, sent messengers to Clermont to offer his services as leader of the Christian hosts against the infidels. Such a proposal on his part was in no degree presumptuous, for he

\* Several particulars of this very passage are proved to be false. Amongst others, he says that the Bishop of Cahors was dead before the council of Clermont, and that therefore his friend Urban appointed Adhemar to conduct the crusade. All this is quite erroneous, as, in fact, are most of Malmesbury's speculations in regard to what was passing at a distance. The Bishop of Cahors, who was elected in 1083, was living seventeen years after the council of Clermont in 1095.

was at this time one of the most renowned knights, as well as one of the most wealthy and powerful princes in Europe ; and though it does not distinctly appear that the supreme pontiff gave him the special direction of the host that was so speedily raised, yet we find that he and the Bishop of Puy, who certainly did possess the papal authority, were joined together in command of one of the large armies which soon after marched towards Jerusalem.\* It is scarcely possible to suppose, that either the Pope or the Count of St. Giles had any adequate idea of the extraordinary enthusiasm which would be lighted up by the preaching of the crusade, and it is probable that the utmost which was contemplated in the first instance, was to despatch a considerable force to the assistance of the Christians in Palestine. Europe, however, rose as one man ; and I cannot better depict the immediate effects of Urban's preaching, than by giving the words of Guibert the Abbot, who was a witness of all he describes.

“When the council of Clermont was concluded,” says the historian, “a great rumour spread through the whole of France, and as soon as fame brought the news of the orders of the pontiff to any one, he went instantly to solicit his neighbours and his relations to engage with him in the *way of God*, for so they designated the purposed expedition.

“The Counts Palatine were already full of the desire to undertake this journey ; and all the knights of an inferior order felt the same zeal. The poor themselves soon caught the flame so ardently, that no one paused to think of the smallness of his wealth, or to consider whether he ought to yield his house, and his fields, and his vines ; but each one set about selling his property at as low a price as if he had been held in some horrible captivity, and sought to pay his ransom without loss of time.

“At this period, too, there existed a general dearth. The rich even felt the want of corn ; and many, with everything to buy, had nothing, or next to nothing, wherewithal to purchase what they needed. The poor tried to nourish themselves with the wild herbs of the earth, and, as bread was very dear, sought on all sides food heretofore unknown, to supply the place of corn. The wealthy and powerful were

\* The words of Raymond de Agiles, who accompanied the bishop and the prince, are as follows: “Quapropter dimissis aliis, de Comite Sancti Egidii, et Episcopo Podiensi, et exercitu eorum scribere curavimus.”



not exempt; but finding themselves menaced with the famine which spread around them, and beholding every day the terrible wants of the poor, they contracted their expenses, and lived with the most narrow parsimony, lest they should squander the riches now become so necessary.

“The ever insatiable misers rejoiced in days so favourable to their covetousness; and casting their eyes upon the bushels of grain which they had hoarded long before, calculated each day the profits of their avarice. Thus some struggled with every misery and want, while others revelled in the hope of fresh acquisitions. No sooner, however, had Christ inspired, as I have said, innumerable bodies of people to seek a voluntary exile, than the money which had been hoarded so long was spread forth in a moment; and that which was horribly dear while all the world was in repose, was on a sudden sold for nothing, as soon as every one began to hasten towards their destined journey. Each man hurried to conclude his affairs, and, astonishing to relate, we then saw—so sudden was the diminution in the value of everything—we then saw seven sheep sold for five deniers. The dearth of grain also was changed into abundance; and every one, occupied solely in amassing money for his journey, sold everything that he could, not according to its real worth, but according to the value set upon it by the buyer.

“In the mean while, the greater part of those who had not determined upon the journey, joked and laughed at those who were thus selling their goods for whatever they could get; and prophesied that their voyage would be miserable, and their return worse. Such was ever the language one day; but the next—suddenly seized with the same desire as the rest—those who had been most forward to mock, abandoned everything for a few crowns, and set out with those whom they had laughed at but a day before. Who shall tell the children and the infirm, that, animated with the same spirit, hastened to the war? Who shall count the old men and the young maids who hurried forward to the fight?—not with the hope of aiding, but for the crown of martyrdom, to be won amidst the swords of the infidels. ‘You warriors,’ they cried, ‘you shall vanquish by the spear and brand, but let us, at least, conquer Christ by our sufferings.’ At the same time, one might see a thousand things springing from the same spirit, which were both astonishing and laughable:

the poor shoeing their oxen as we shoe horses, and harnessing them to two-wheeled carts, in which they placed their scanty provisions and their young children, and proceeded onward, while the babes, at each town or castle that they saw, demanded eagerly whether that was Jerusalem."

We find in every contemporary narrative, that the motives which led the people of Europe to undertake this expedition were not at all unmingled; that avarice and ambition had their share, as well as piety and self-devotion; and that while some were moved by indignation at the wrongs which their fellow-Christians had suffered, and some with holy zeal for the defence of the oppressed, many were actuated by blind superstition, and still more were carried away by the torrent-like force of example. All the different incentives to the crusade form a very curious and interesting subject of investigation to the eye of philosophy, as well as the results of those great movements; and it is by no means uninteresting to compare the effects produced by the preaching of Urban, with the recorded words of the pontiff's speech at the council of Clermont. The comparison will display in the very highest degree the talent and skill of the Pope; for not one of the human passions to which he addressed various passages of his oration, failed to produce the effect he desired, in hurrying thousands, and tens of thousands, into the Holy Land.

Nevertheless, the mass of the feelings, if I may use such a term, which present themselves amongst the motives for the crusade, were, like the greater part of the inducements held out by Urban, high, chivalrous, and noble. For even setting aside the purer incentives of zeal, sympathy, and indignation at oppression, the thirst for glory, and the love of perilous enterprises were not to be condemned in a chivalrous age.

The spirit of the crusade spread through Europe, as we have said, with unparalleled rapidity; and not only did it so spread, but as is usual with epidemic enthusiasms, it increased in intensity even by diffusion, till it became a passion, nay, a madness. Amongst others upon whom this spirit seized, were many of the most criminal and base of every land. A great number of the most notorious culprits, some moved by penitence, some by avarice, and others by passions which we need not investigate here, were eager to take the cross, and to hasten onwards towards the east. The very fact of such



persons engaging in an enterprise of this kind, proved an immediate benefit to Europe, not alone by freeing the land of their presence, but by inducing them to devote all their thoughts to the coming expedition, and to suffer the return of peace and tranquillity to countries which had been long groaning under anarchy, confusion, and crime. Hitherto, every feudal castle had been little better than a resort of banditti; the merchant or the traveller was subject to pillage and exaction at each step he took; no security existed for life or property, and the only hope of the weak had been, that cunning might outwit strength. Now, however, a sudden armistice seemed to be proclaimed between man and man throughout Christian Europe. At the council of Clermont, peace amongst Christians had been preached as well as war against the infidels; and the truce of God, which ordained a suspension of all judicial combats during certain days in every week, was extended so as to remain in force from the evening of Wednesday till the morning of Monday. But the ends and purposes of the people in general were changed; the crusade was pre-eminent in the eyes of every one; lands and property in Europe sunk immensely in value, and those things which had been objects of strife and contention in former days, were now become of no esteem.

The wiser, the better and the nobler personages throughout Christendom, indeed, were in general somewhat more provident than the rest; and however great might be their zeal in the cause of the suffering Christians of Palestine, or their pious fervour for the deliverance of the holy city, they did not altogether forget their affairs in Europe, and were detained for a considerable time in making the necessary arrangements for the great enterprise before them. Thus the first body which was ready to set out was composed of all those who had nothing to lose in their own country, of those in whom zeal and fanaticism outwent prudence and religion, and of those who had never displayed either forethought or conduct, except in predatory excursions or acts of lawless daring. Besides this wild host, however, an immense force was in preparation throughout Europe during the winter between 1095 and 1096. The sign of the cross, which had first been taken by Adhemar, Bishop of Puy, was to be seen everywhere throughout the land; and we are assured that

the numbers who thus pledged themselves to the expedition to Palestine, amounted to no less than six millions of souls.

The principal nobles who took the cross at the first preaching of the crusade, were Hugh, brother of Philip King of France, Robert Count of Flanders, Stephen Count of Chartres and Blois, Raymond Count of Toulouse or St. Giles, Robert of Normandy, son of William the Conqueror, Boemond of Tarentum, the famous Tancred his relation, and the renowned Godfrey of Bouillon, with his brother Baldwin, and his near connexion Baldwin du Bourg. Of these several warriors I shall have to speak more hereafter in noticing the progress of the expedition.

Although various historians, according to their sources of information, have given accounts totally opposed to each other, in regard to which body of crusaders first began its march for the Holy Land, yet there can be but little or no doubt that those who led the way were of the scum of Europe, who, as we have shown, had no inducement whatsoever to pause in their course, and every motive which the prospect of rapine and plunder in untried countries could hold out, to hurry on at once into the east. This multitude, amongst which there reigned many incentives besides the mere expectation of pillage, and were likewise moved by superstition, devotion, and penitence, was led by a gentleman of Burgundy, who from his poverty, which in all probability had been produced by a licentious life, was named Walter the Pennyless.\* He was, however, we are assured, of noble family, and notwithstanding the unmeaning sneer of Mills, was a distinguished warrior;† but he had to do with an unruly herd, who could be restrained by neither experience nor wisdom. The numbers that followed him, as well as most of the particulars regarding his expedition, are very differently stated by the authors of the time. Some would lead us to suppose that his host did not comprise more than twenty thousand men; but others, by the descriptions which they give, imply

\* This is written in William of Tyre, Sensaveir, usually rendered in modern French, Sansavoir.

† Mills strives to represent him as a mere unknown adventurer, saying that his poverty was more remarkable than his military pretensions. But William of Tyre says that he was "*Vir nobilis et in armis strenuus*."



that it was much more numerous ; while all agree that it was entirely composed of foot, with the exception of eight horsemen.

The path of the crusaders was beset with difficulties ; for although Hungary had about two centuries before received the Christian faith, yet strange to say, many parts of Europe were still pagan ; and even the wilder states which were not so, looked with jealousy and alarm at the entrance of large bodies of armed men within their boundaries. Nevertheless, with a great deal of skill, determination, and judgment, Walter the Pennyless led his troops onward through Germany into Hungary. The unfortunate crusaders had made but very scanty provisions for their great and terrible undertaking ; and involved in marshes and in woods, they must have perished to a man of hunger and disease had it not been for the general humanity of the Hungarians, and the kindness of Carloman, the Christian king of the country. At Semlin, indeed, they met with an inhospitable reception, and some of them being stripped of their garments, the crosses which they bore were fixed as trophies upon the walls of the city. But Walter, with wise moderation, refused to seek vengeance for the injuries his people had sustained, and led his troops on into Bulgaria. There, however, he was forced to abandon the mild and conciliating measures which he had previously pursued. The gates of the towns were shut against the crusaders ; all supplies were refused to them ; all traffic was prohibited between the strangers and the suspicious people of the country ; and this base and cruel conduct soon produced such a state of famine that the leader of the army had no resource but to take by force of arms those provisions which were refused to gentler solicitation. Walter Sansavoir seems now to have displayed no less firmness and resolution than he had shown moderation at a previous period, and he forced his way onward through innumerable difficulties, with a degree of skill and courage which well merited the praises bestowed upon him by William of Tyre. He thus, though not without bloodshed and resistance, made his course through Bulgaria, and at length arrived within sight of Constantinople, with an army terribly wasted by war, disease, and famine.

The emperor of the east, who had been amongst the first to call for the support of the western Christians against the

aggressions of the Mahommedan hordes, could not well refuse to receive and refresh the advanced guard of the crusaders; and Walter and his wearied troops obtained permission to remain in the neighbourhood of the imperial city, and wait the arrival of some fresh body of the many that were following.

Closely treading upon his steps, and carried away by zealous eagerness which did not permit of a delay till the wiser and better leaders were ready to march, came Peter the Hermit himself, with a body of adventurers far more numerous than that which accompanied Walter, but still more incoherent, ungovernable, and licentious. In the swarm that now advanced towards the east, were not only plunderers of all sorts and descriptions, but priests, peasants, women and children; and in avoiding the fault which Walter had committed, this host had run into the opposite extreme, and loaded itself with every kind of incumbrance. All ages and professions were there, as well as both sexes, and various languages and dialects rendered the camp a moving Babel.

Nevertheless even this dangerous and disjointed machine was led forward, by slow marches, into Hungary; but at Semlin the sight of the crosses which had been pillaged from the army of Walter the Pennyless aroused the furious anger of the multitude; the town was attacked and taken by assault, and every act of horrid barbarity and gross licentiousness, which the unrestrained passions of a lawless and ignorant mob could devise, was perpetrated upon the unhappy inhabitants. The King of Hungary was naturally enraged and indignant at the capture of one of his towns and the slaughter of the citizens, and collecting an army with all speed, he marched to punish the crusading force which was still assembled at Semlin.

No sooner did Peter hear of his approach, than he decamped, for the purpose of evacuating the territories of Hungary, forced the passage of the Morava in spite of the resistance of a Bulgarian tribe, and advancing upon Nissa, to which the Duke of the Bulgarians had retreated from Belgrade, entered into a negotiation with that prince, who was wise enough to treat the hermit and his followers somewhat more hospitably than he had entertained the preceding body of crusaders.

It is not improbable that fear might have some share in



softening his demeanour, for the passage of the Morava had not been effected without considerable slaughter on both sides; and Peter having made a number of the enemy prisoners, had put them to death without remorse. Provisions, it would seem, were amply supplied under the walls of Nissa, and everything passed tranquilly till Peter once more began his march for Constantinople.

A body of German stragglers, having remained behind with the baggage, the women, and a small part of the army, chose that inauspicious moment for setting fire to the mills and other buildings in the neighbourhood, in revenge apparently for some offence which had been given them by the Bulgarian merchants on the preceding night. No sooner was this outrage discovered, than the armed citizens rushed forth, cut to pieces the actual perpetrators of the offence; and, not satisfied with this retribution, they attacked the rear-guard of the crusaders, carried off an immense quantity of baggage, and captured all the women, children, and old people, with the slaughter of many of the most inoffensive persons of the camp.

Peter seems to have shown much moderation on the present occasion; for, turning back, he applied himself to investigate the particulars of the lamentable affair which had occurred, entered into a peaceful negotiation with the duke, and induced him to restore the baggage and give up the prisoners. Just as this was accomplished, however, another wanton outrage on the part of the hermit's ungovernable followers, a thousand of whom attempted to seize upon the town, brought on a general conflict, in which the army of the crusaders was totally routed and dispersed, and Peter himself was obliged to fly alone, into the forests that covered that part of the country. Numbers of his companions were slain, almost all the women were carried away captive, and he wandered on for some time with all his bright hopes destroyed and his heart left desolate. At length, he met with some other crusaders, fugitives like himself, and by accident, he and five distinguished knights assembled on the top of a high mountain. At first their force amounted to no more than five hundred men; but Peter and his comrades now used every stratagem they could devise, in order to call around them any parties of the dispersed host. Horns were sounded, signals were made, and before night no less than seven

thousand men were once more collected. With these the hermit immediately recommenced his march towards Constantinople; and a number of other fragments of his former army joining him by the way, the only further difficulty was to obtain food, of which the army suffered a great scarcity till it reached the city of Philippopoli.

There compassion and ample supplies awaited the army; the Emperor Alexius, who had not yet learned to fear the hosts of the crusade, sent deputies to meet the hermit, and treat him with all kindness; and Peter, whose force was now again swelled to the amount of thirty thousand men, marched on to Constantinople, and united his troops to those of Walter the Pennyless.

Before his arrival, the latter leader had been joined by a great number of Lombards and Italians, composed almost entirely of the lowest and the most vicious classes of society. These men soon became tired of repose, and insolent from favour and prosperity; innumerable acts of rapine and plunder were committed by them in the neighbourhood of Constantinople; and in the end the emperor found himself compelled to send them upon fair excuses across the Bosphorus, humanely warning them not to attempt to penetrate into Bithynia, till they were supported by other forces. In Asia, however, their licentiousness broke all bounds: Peter the Hermit, losing all command over them, returned to Constantinople; the Italians and Germans, separating from the French and Normans, who remained under the nominal command of Walter the Pennyless, marched on to a fortress, in which they were attacked by a large force of Mahommedans, after having previously lost a detachment which was cut to pieces in the open country. The fort itself was without water, and the unhappy crusaders endured indescribable torments for eight days, at the end of which time their leaders went over to the infidels, renounced their religion, betrayed their companions, and the Christians who had remained in the fortress were slaughtered to a man.

Shortly after this event, in order, as some writers suppose, to avenge their brethren, or as others believe, in the false hope of finding Nicea captured by those who went before, the body of French and Norman crusaders, under Walter the Pennyless, marched on in spite of his earnest remonstrances, and were almost immediately afterwards encountered by the



Turkish forces. The battle was fierce and long ; and from every account, we are led to believe that Walter displayed both great military skill and the most desperate valour. Every advantage, however, was on the side of the Turks ; the Christians were scattered in all directions, their leader fell under seven mortal wounds, and only three hundred escaped in a body from that fatal field to the small fortress of Civitot, where they were immediately besieged.

The entreaties of Peter the Hermit induced the Emperor Alexius to send forces to their relief, and they were brought back in safety to Constantinople. The emperor, we are told, deprived them of their arms in order to prevent the recurrence of excesses such as they had committed previous to their overthrow, and enjoined them to return to their native land, a command which, we have reason to believe, was disobeyed.

Such was the termination of the expeditions conducted by Walter the Pennyless and Peter the Hermit ; but a still larger body of rabble, even more disorderly and base than that of which their armies were composed, had yet to march, under a leader less worthy than his predecessors. This force was gathered together by a German priest, called Gottschalk ; and I am inclined to suppose that the whole multitude which now poured forth from the northern and central parts of Germany towards Constantinople, was in fact led by this man ; although he himself, at the head of about fifteen thousand of his followers, preceded the great mass. His conduct was cruel and atrocious ; and having penetrated into Hungary, he suffered every sort of crime to be committed, till the rage of the Hungarians was roused for the destruction of himself and his companions. The immediate act of barbarity which would seem to have determined the King of Hungary to destroy the barbarous guests who had forced themselves into his dominions, was the impalement of a young Hungarian in the market-place of Mersburg. The pillage of the country had previously taken place with impunity ; but this last act induced Carloman to arm the whole population against the intruders, and Gottschalk and his band were surrounded by the Hungarian forces in the neighbourhood of Belgrade.

The crusaders, however, occupied a strong position ; and drawing themselves up in array, threatened to sell their lives dearly. Under these circumstances, Carloman, if we may

believe Albert of Aix, had recourse to a stratagem which was not very honourable. He promised that if the followers of Gottschalk would lay down their arms, he would spare the innocent, and merely smite the guilty. The ignorant and the brutal companions of the German priest suffered themselves to be deceived, and the troops of Carloman falling upon the unarmed multitude, covered the plains of Belgrade with the bodies of the slain.

In the mean time, immense bands were following the path of Gottschalk from every part of Europe, and a spectacle of vice, crime, and folly, such as was never before, and probably never will again be witnessed in this world, took place upon the banks of the Rhine. We first hear of one of the great troops of this ungodly crowd massacring the Jews in the city of Cologne, and declaring that the primary object of those who undertook the deliverance of the Holy Sepulchre should be to destroy the earliest enemies of the Christian faith. The body which had committed this iniquity marched on towards Mayence, where another band, under the command of a nobleman named Emico, waited for the arrival of their profligate companions. The same spirit animated both, and the slaughter of the Jews immediately commenced in that city. The Bishop of Mayence, horrified at the bloodshed which had taken place along the Rhine, gave refuge to the unhappy Jews, in his palace and gardens; but neither his venerable character, nor the means he had taken to exclude the rabble without, were sufficient to deter the cruel men, who were perhaps as much moved by avarice as by fanaticism. The palace was attacked, the gates were forced, and seven hundred of the Israelites, men, women, and children, were indiscriminately murdered. Other massacres took place in the neighbouring towns, notwithstanding all that the Bishops of Treves and Worms could do, to shelter the unfortunate Hebrews. The Bishop of Spire, indeed, made a successful effort to protect them in his own city; but the Bishops of Treves and Worms proposed to the Jews, as their only chance of safety, that they should embrace the Christian faith. Many acceded to that proposal, but others determined to die rather than abandon their religion.

On this occasion, as in many others, the Jews displayed the spirit of the Romans. I cannot, indeed, as Mills has done, look upon suicide as a virtue under any circumstances,



and therefore must not venture to praise the conduct of the Hebrews in mutually slaying each other or casting themselves into the Moselle, though I am compelled to admire their resolute adherence to their faith, when no means of conviction were employed towards them but the sword.

Having accomplished the work of butchery which they had undertaken, and having loaded themselves with the spoil of the wealthy Israelites, the godless multitude marched on their way, preceded by a goat and a goose, to which they offered divine honours, supposing them to be filled with the Holy Spirit. Blasphemy and murder, however, were not the only crimes which possessed this insane crowd. Vice and debauchery of the most horrible kind reigned amongst them; lust, revelry, drunkenness, gluttony, occupied the greater part of their time; and even children of a tender age, affected by the contagious madness, acquired unnatural capabilities of vice, and participated in the depravities of manhood. Thus, robbing and pillaging as they went, this body also approached the confines of Hungary, in a stream of at least two hundred thousand men; but at the town of Mersburg\* they found the gates of the city shut against them, and the bridge over the Danube guarded by a strong force.

They were now in a situation of great danger and difficulty, being surrounded by marshes, and shut in by the rivers Danube and Lintax; and, assuming a pacific tone, they sent messengers to demand permission to pass quietly through the country. The request being refused, they determined at once to attack the city and force a passage. In this attempt they were at first in some degree successful, having formed, though not without difficulty, a bridge across the Lintax, defeated various parties of Hungarians sent out to oppose them, and even effected two breaches in the walls of the town. Terror and consternation spread amongst the inhabitants, and we are told that the king himself was on the eve of flying with his court into the north, when suddenly a panic, which has never been accounted for, took possession of the besiegers, and they dispersed in every direction. The Hungarians instantly took advantage of this event; and it seems not improbable, from the state of preparation for seizing upon the

\* I need not point out to the reader that this is not the city known by that name in the present day. It probably occupied the site of the town of Altenburg at the junction of the Letha and the Danube.

happy moment, in which the king and his forces were found, that the rout of the crusaders, which has generally been attributed to a causeless alarm, was in reality produced by a vigorous attack of the adverse troops. Their flight was complete and disastrous; the Hungarians pursued with eager vengeance; the marshes and the rivers flowed with blood; and so terrible was the slaughter, that for some time the waters both of the Lintax and the Danube could not be seen for the bodies of the dead. Very few of the Germans escaped; for of the whole multitude, even when they set out, only three thousand were provided with horses. Some of those who did not fall turned upon their steps, and regained their native land; while others, passing through the wild and mountainous countries to the westward of Hungary, made their way to Carinthia and Italy.\*

That state of society must indeed be dark and lamentable, in which we are compelled to rejoice in the destruction of large masses of our fellow-creatures; but there are periods when multitudes give themselves so completely up to the influence of the spirit of all evil, that the hand of the destroyer may be marked without much regret in its operation as the

\* I have followed the account of Albert of Aix for the whole of this expedition, both because he was a contemporary, and because there is reason to believe that he was at this period at Aix-la-Chapelle. Though some persons suppose that the Aix from which he takes his name was the city of that name in Provence, I by no means imagine such to have been the case. He dwells more than any other author on the events which disgraced the first movements of the crusade on the banks of the Rhine, and the progress of the rabble through Germany and Hungary. It will be found also, on examining his history, as printed by Bongarsius, that every name which he gives in the language of the day, is spelt in the northern, not in the southern manner. We have the constant use of the K for the C, the preservation of the T Z in the termination of words of German origin, and in fact every indication which could lead us to imagine that the language familiar to Albert was a Teutonic dialect. He was thus, if the supposition of his residence at Aix-la-Chapelle is correct, both by time and situation the most competent witness that we can find in regard to the proceedings of the first bodies that took their way to the Holy Land; and certainly more so than the Archbishop of Tyre, who lived at a much later period. Mills gives a very different account of this whole transaction, citing William of Tyre and Albert of Aix, but differing from them both. Whence he derived his information I cannot tell, but his account is undoubtedly contrary to all the best historians of the time. He says that the crusaders were driven by despair to attack the city of Mersburg, and that they forced the bridge over the Danube; whereas both William of Tyre and Albert of Aix show that despair had nothing to do with the matter, and that they themselves built the bridge by which they crossed the river. The words of William of Tyre are, "Quâ erecti victoriâ (the defeat of a small Hungarian force), adiiciunt etiam ut pontibus fabricatis, præsidium expugnent, et iter ferro aperientes, in regnum violenter ingrediantur."



only means of removing the great weight of wickedness which oppresses and keeps down all the principles of virtue in society. Thus we feel, in the present instance, that if the crusades had wrought no other benefit than the extinction of such a mass of crime and vice as that which existed in the wild and ruthless crowds who led the way and perished on the road to the Holy Land, no slight advantage would still have accrued to Europe.

The destruction which took place in the first movements of the crusade was certainly terrible, and cannot be recorded without a feeling of horror; but many of the evil elements which must have inevitably attended that great enterprise, under any other circumstances, were swept away by the result of these precursory efforts, and it is curious to mark by what easy and natural steps this bloody purification was brought about. Those who were profligate, vicious, and destitute of all the ties which bind men to their country and to the society of which they form a part, were naturally the first to move upon an expedition which offered the hope of plunder and the opportunity of licentiousness. Naturally too, the very objects which they proposed to themselves, and the habits which rendered them a scourge to their own country, called down upon their heads the indignation of the nations through whose territories they passed, in consequence of the crimes that they committed; and by the same course their improvidence, disorderly character, and want of discipline, made them an easy prey to the vengeance of their enemies.

A different scene soon opened on the world, and at length the chivalry of Europe began to march, or in other words, the real crusade began. The first prince of renown who actually appeared in the field, was Godfrey of Bouillon, Duke of Lorraine; a warrior still in the prime of years and strength, but already famous for his talents as a general and his prowess as a knight. His extraordinary qualities of body and mind, his immense corporeal vigour, his beauty and his grace, his learning and accomplishments, his mild and gentle manners, his resolute firmness, high sense of justice, religious zeal, and extent of views beyond the age, rendered him well qualified for the chief station in so great an enterprise as that in which he now embarked.\* The skill of Godfrey in

\* Robert the Monk says, in speaking of Godfrey, "*Associatur autem cuidam*

military exercises was the admiration of all his comrades in arms; he spoke almost all the languages used in Europe with perfect facility, and he was highly eloquent in their use. Of the other qualities which we have mentioned, there will be many striking instances recorded: even in the brief sketch of the first crusade which is all that our limits will admit; but that which seems to have struck most the fancy of all contemporary writers, was the peculiar gentleness of his manners, which we have too much reason to believe was a very rare grace in those days. The purity of Godfrey's moral character was also remarkable; and in the early history of his life, on which we have no time to enlarge, he displayed talents, as well as virtues, which gave the surest bond for his after conduct. During the struggles between the Pope and Henry the Fourth, Emperor of Germany, Godfrey maintained the cause of the emperor, and by his valour and conduct, secured, if he did not bestow, the crown. He himself, also carried the imperial standard into the walls of Rome, and opened the gates of the city to the troops of Henry. In almost all the troubles which took place during the reign of that vicious prince, he bore a part, either for or against him; till at length the preaching of the crusade placed a new enterprise before his eyes—an enterprise better suited to his character and to his taste. He was, at the time of the council of Clermont, suffering from the effects of a fever, which he had caught in the unwholesome neighbourhood of Rome, and which some of the monkish historians of the time represent as a punishment for his opposition to the successor of St. Peter.

No sooner, however, did Godfrey hear the call to arms for the deliverance of Jerusalem, than the fever left him, and arising from the bed of sickness with renewed vigour, he prepared to march at the head of all his followers. The very name of Godfrey of Bouillon was a host. Eustace his brother, Baldwin his half-brother, who possessed many of his military qualities without his chivalrous spirit, his relation Baldwin

*Duci Teutonicorum, nomine Godefrido, qui erat Eustachii Boloniensis comitis filius, sed officio dignitatis Dux erat Teutonicus. Hic vultu elegans, staturâ procerus, dulcis eloquio, moribus egregius, et in tantum lenis, ut magis in se monachum quàm militem figuraret. Hic tamem, cum hostem sentiebat adesse, et imminere prælium, tunc audaci mente concipiebat animum, et quasi leo frendens ad nullius pavebat occursum. Et quæ lorica vel clypeus sustinere posset impetum mucronis illius?"*



de Burg, Reinard Count of Tul, and Peter his brother, Garnier de Grais, Dudo de Conti,\* Henry de Ascha or de Hache, and Godfrey his brother, all celebrated warriors, each followed by a large body of retainers, had ranged themselves under the banner of the Duke of Lorraine, and were ready to march, together with an immense number of volunteers and the forces of Godfrey himself, by the middle of August.

The progress of Godfrey through the country offered a strange contrast to that of the leaders who had preceded him. All was orderly, sober, and tranquil; the great undertaking before them was in the hearts of all, and, for a considerable time, the holiness of the cause in which they were engaged spread a purity through their manners, and a religious restraint over their whole demeanour. Highly disciplined, and perfectly under command, the troops marched on without straying to the right or left, and met with no obstruction till they reached the frontiers of Hungary. On the banks of the rivers, however, which separated that country from the German empire, tidings of the fate of the last band of crusaders reached the ears of Godfrey and his companions, and the unburied corpses of the godless herd which had besieged Mersburg, proved that a terrible slaughter of nominal Christians had taken place.

After holding a council, Godfrey and his chiefs despatched Godfrey de Ascha to the court of Carloman, that nobleman having been previously employed in negotiations with the Hungarian king. He was accompanied by two other distinguished envoys, and bore a plain and dignified message from the great leader of the crusade, purporting that the army waited at Tollenburg for an explanation of the conduct which Carloman had pursued towards his fellow-Christians whose bodies strewed the fields around Mersburg. The ambassadors were further directed to say, that if the preceding bands had merited the punishment which they had met with, the Duke of Lorraine and his companions would bear it with patience; but that if the King of Hungary had both calumniated and put to death innocent men, the crusading princes were prepared to avenge the blood of their brethren.

This message was faithfully delivered to the king by Godfrey de Ascha, and Carloman immediately entered into ex-

\* This is written Cons in Bongarsius, but it is generally supposed that the proper translation is Conti.

planations of his conduct. He showed the provocation that he had received, the crimes which the preceding crusaders had committed, and acknowledged and justified the retribution which he had inflicted upon them. At the same time, however, he professed the utmost reverence for Godfrey's character, and his willingness to suffer him to pass tranquilly through his territories; inviting him to a conference, at which the terms of peace might be fully arranged between them. After a preliminary interview, during which each prince was accompanied by a numerous train, Godfrey determined to trust himself in the hands of the King of Hungary, and entered that monarch's dominions escorted by only twelve of his followers. Long discussions ensued; for the army of Godfrey was so much more formidable by its numbers, its arms, and its discipline, than any of those that preceded it, that not even the honourable reputation of the leader could calm the fears of the Hungarian nobles, or induce them to suffer the crusading force to enter their territory without giving hostages of a high rank for the conduct of the troops. This demand was so reasonable that Godfrey agreed to it at once; and a treaty was entered into between him and Carloman, by which it was stipulated that his army, and all subsequent bodies of crusaders, should be permitted to pass peaceably through Hungary, and should be furnished during their march, on due payment, with all the necessaries of life.

The hostages required by the King of Hungary were the duke's brother Baldwin, with his wife, and his whole household; but when Godfrey, on his return to the camp, informed Baldwin of what had been demanded, that prince resisted the unpalatable task, and declared that nothing should induce him to place himself in the power of the King of Hungary. The generous nature of the great leader now shone out conspicuous; and he replied, that since such was Baldwin's repugnance to become a hostage, his brother should remain and command the crusading force, while he, Godfrey, would undertake to be the pledge of his followers' good faith and peaceable demeanour, and give himself into the power of Carloman till his troops had effected their march across that monarch's territories.

His brother's noble conduct moved Baldwin more than any persuasions had previously done; he would not suffer the sacrifice proposed to be carried into execution, but yielded



himself as a hostage to Carloman, and the army commenced its progress through Hungary. Everything passed in tranquillity; and on the confines of Carloman's dominions, Baldwin and his family being set at liberty, Godfrey and the other leaders parted from the Hungarian king, who had accompanied them on their way, with many tokens of regard and esteem.

They now entered Bulgaria, not without alarm, for rumour, which often divulges men's intentions long before they are openly avowed, led the crusaders to believe that the Emperor Alexius had sent a large force to oppose their passage over the Save, and prevent their entrance into his dominions. They crossed the river, however, without difficulty, no hostile force presenting itself, and on the contrary, after advancing some way in Bulgaria, envoys from the emperor appeared, beseeching Godfrey to restrain his troops from all pillage of the country, and offering in return a free passage and liberty of trade. Godfrey promised to maintain order, strictly forbade plunder, and advanced tranquilly to Nissa,\* where the storehouses of the emperor were opened for the benefit of the crusaders, and the riches of the country astounded the children of the less fruitful north.

Everything was now joy and contentment, and the military pilgrims marched on in the hope of receiving every assistance from the eastern emperor. At Philippopoli the same hospitable reception awaited them, and they paused for eight days to refresh themselves after the fatigues of their journey; but here the treacherous designs of the Greek monarch were first discovered to Godfrey, the news reaching him that Hugh the Great, brother of the King of France, and one of the principal leaders of the crusade, was detained in prison by the emperor, and even loaded with chains.

Ere we notice the further proceedings of Godfrey, we must pause for a moment to examine the character of Hugh, and to notice the events which had brought him into the situation in which he was now placed.† We are informed by Guibert, that none of the princes who embraced the cross carried

\* The word has been thus translated, though I find no city exactly so called in that part of the country. The word in the original, however, is spelt "Niezlh." Perhaps Nisa is the place intended.

† Many of the particulars regarding the march of Hugh of Vermandois are derived from Guibertus, abbot of Nogent, in the diocese of Laon.

with them a higher reputation than Hugh the Great for courage and skill in war, integrity of conduct, honourable moderation, and humility towards the clergy. To the character thus assigned to him, in every point except the last, Hugh of Vermandois gave the lie in the course of the first crusade; showing himself arrogant and presumptuous, timid, unskilful, vacillating, treacherous, and dishonest.

Proud and vain to a very high degree, the very words of his eulogists show that the motives which led him into Palestine were anything but pity for the suffering Christians of the east, or zeal for the deliverance of the holy city. "A number of great nobles joined themselves to him," says Guibert, "with the intention of electing him as king, if they could obtain any territory by conquering the infidels;" and no doubt Hugh of Vermandois himself was not unconscious of their intention.

Forming part of the division of the crusading force which seems to have commenced its march under this prince, were the forces of Robert Count of Flanders, a brave and determined soldier, but as far as we can discover, destitute of those chivalrous qualities and personal graces which distinguished almost all the other leaders. Here also appeared Stephen Count of Blois, one of the most wealthy, powerful, and politic princes of the time, who had married the daughter of William the Conqueror, and had acquired a high reputation in Europe by his skill in affairs of state. His renown for courage, indeed, was at no time very high, and diminished lamentably during the course of the crusade. With him appeared in the field his brother-in-law, Robert Duke of Normandy, son of William the Conqueror, a gallant and daring knight, a skilful and active general, an eloquent and powerful orator, but a prince eaten up with vices and weaknesses, prodigal to a crime, given to every sensual gratification, rash, imprudent, and vehement; though disinterested, generous, and benevolent. In order to furnish forth the means of joining the crusade with splendour, he at once proposed to mortgage his duchy, which seems to have been the only property that he now possessed. Of various parts even of this territory he had been stripped by his brother William, and that monarch gladly seized the opportunity to offer the small sum of ten thousand marks as a loan upon Normandy. Terribly encumbered with debts and embarrassments, Robert



gladly embraced the proposal; William Rufus entered into full possession of Normandy, and the duke, raising men both from his own duchy and England, joined himself to the party of Hugh, and set out for the Holy Land. With him were a number of high nobles; and the fame of his courage brought multitudes to his standard,\* who seemed to be attached by natural bonds to other leaders of the crusading force. The French gentlemen who took arms with the brother of their sovereign were as numerous, we are assured, as the leaders who once besieged Troy; but the account of their march through Europe is less clear and distinct than that of the progress of any other body of crusaders, and it is very difficult to ascertain whether the forces of all these nobles were ever really united under Hugh of Vermandois,† or whether they left France in separate divisions, directing their course by common consent towards Apulia. It is certain, however, that they all followed nearly the same course, visiting Rome—where their passage was marked by the death of the famous Odo Earl of Kent—and arriving in the end in the neighbourhood of Bari and Otranto. At Lucca, Hugh received from the Pope the standard of St. Peter; but both at Rome and in Apulia a multitude of the crusaders abandoned the enterprise and returned to their homes.

\* By some writers it is asserted that Eustace, brother of Godfrey of Bouillon, marched with Robert Duke of Normandy, and not with his own relation. Robert the Monk, however, who accompanied the army of the crusade, after having attended the council of Clermont, distinctly declares that Eustace accompanied Godfrey, and his authority is certainly better than either that of Henry of Huntingdon, or the Annals of Waverly. Mills makes a wrong citation in regard to the Annals of Waverly, which only state, at the place cited by him (Gale and Fill. vol. iii. p. 142), that Eustace Count of Boulogne returned from the Holy Land at the same time that Robert of Normandy did so. In another place, however, the Annals distinctly assert that Eustace did accompany the Duke of Normandy.

† Some authors declare that they were, and Mills distinctly implies the same thing, though Robert the Monk expressly says, “*Diverso tempore et itinere transalpinaverunt.*” Fulcher of Chartres, who accompanied Stephen Count of Blois to the first crusade, and who must have known whether that prince marched under the orders of, and at the same time with Hugh, asserts that the brother of the French king took his departure before any of the rest, and speaks of his march as if it had been totally separate and distinct from that of the party of Robert of Normandy, Stephen of Blois, and the Count of Flanders. It is clear, indeed, from his statement—whatever agreement had been entered into between the great French feudatories and the brother of their sovereign, regarding the chief command of the army—that Hugh had preceded the three princes above named through France and Italy, and had even embarked from Bari before they arrived.

On his arrival in Apulia, Hugh of Vermandois displayed the arrogance of his disposition by refusing to wait for the multitude of knights and nobles who were hastening forward to accompany him; and determined on embarking at once for the territories of the Greek emperor; with merely the forces he had led to Bari, he sent an arrogant letter to Alexius<sup>3</sup> Comnenus, and despatched twenty-four knights in golden armour, to require that magnificent preparations should be made for his reception at Durazzo, in his quality of standard-bearer to the Pope.

Although this display of vanity, and the gross error into which it led Hugh—who forgot that the Greeks looked upon the Pope not only as merely Bishop of Rome, but as somewhat schismatic and heretical withal—was very consistent with the character of his nation, yet we must recollect that the account is given by an enemy, and moreover by one whose imagination was wonderfully party-spirited—namely, the Princess Anna Comnena.

Embarking at Bari with a small train, which was terribly diminished by a tempest during the voyage, Hugh arrived at Durazzo in so destitute a condition, that the governor, who it would appear was aware of the apprehensions and views of Alexius, ventured to place the brother of the King of France in a state of honourable captivity, and after detaining him for some time at the port where he landed, sent him on to Constantinople as a prisoner.\* It is more than probable that the after treatment of the French king's brother varied from time to time, with the sudden changes which appeared throughout

\* Anna Comnena, in the *Alexiad*, has very naturally glossed over the conduct of her father in all these treacherous proceedings; and Mills, adopting her account with inconceivable credulity or prejudice, has given a false colouring to the whole transaction between Alexius and Hugh of Vermandois. Every contemporary historian of the crusade, except that princess, distinctly asserts that Hugh of Vermandois was strictly confined as a prisoner—some say in chains—when Godfrey arrived at Philippopoli, and that the duke sent to demand his instant release, being so indignant at the state in which he was kept, that though renowned for his moderation and humanity, he gave up the territories of Alexius to be ravaged for several days; yet in the face of Albert of Aix, Robert the Monk, Guibert de Nogent, and the honest and straightforward William of Tyre, who as well as Albert distinctly affirms that Hugh was loaded with chains. The following is the account which Mills gives:—"During his stay Hugh felt not his captivity, for as few of his old companions had reached him, he expressed no desire to depart. But he was soon removed to Constantinople, and Alexius, by flattery and presents, so completely won his affections, that he obtained from him an acknowledgment of fidelity."



the whole conduct of Alexius during this part of his reign. The demeanour of the Greek emperor, however, as we have now ample evidence to prove, was not dictated by caprice, but was the result of low cunning and wily policy. Apprehension was the first motive. His empire was weak, and utterly incapable of resisting the efforts or curbing the encroachments of the crusaders, should their indignation be turned against him, or their cupidity excited by the sight of his wealth and the fertility of his dominions. He had thus great cause to fear the entrance of large masses of armed men into his territories; although he himself, by his applications for assistance, when threatened by the bands of the Seljukian Turks, had caused their living inundation to roll in upon the empire. Alexius was one of those who had hitherto succeeded in making the union of fraud and violence assume the appearance and perform some of the functions of vigour. His character is shortly summed up by the Archbishop of Tyre, and his history sketched out in a few true and striking words. "At that time," says William, "the Greek empire was governed by a wicked and cunning man, Alexius by name, and Comnenus by surname, who had been formerly highly honoured in the imperial palace by Nicephorus, commonly called Botoniates, who then held the sceptre. He had exercised the office of mega-domestici, which we are accustomed to call 'grand seneschal,' next to the emperor; but raising himself up basely and wickedly against his lord and benefactor, some five or six years before our people arrived, he took possession of the empire, after having deposed his sovereign, and dared to retain what he violently acquired."

Alexius had applied for aid, neither expecting nor wishing probably more than the assistance of a few thousand troops; but when he found that the whole of Europe rose for the deliverance of the Holy Land, and that some millions of people directed their march towards his country, his feelings underwent a change, and he was divided between apprehension for his safety and a hope of making the immense force thus put in motion, a means of recovering for his own benefit those Asiatic territories of which the sword of the infidel had dismembered the eastern empire. In order to effect that purpose, as well as to guard himself against too potent allies, he judged it necessary both to weaken the armies of the

crusading princes, and to bind them by engagements which he knew their habits and feelings would not suffer them to violate. With these views he pursued a system of craft, deceit, and irritation, which harassed and diminished the crusading forces, and by which he hoped to induce the various leaders to do homage, and swear to restore to the Greek empire whatever they might recover from the hands of the infidels.

This object he resolved to seek at all risks; but it is probable that neither the determination, nor the project for carrying it into execution, were formed at once—that at the time of the arrival of the hermit and Walter Sansavoir, the emperor's views were not entirely decided, and that the accidental appearance of Hugh the Great at Durazzo, in a state approaching destitution, was the event which fixed the resolution of Alexius. Certain it is, that the Greek emperor had finally arranged his whole plan by the time that Godfrey of Bouillon arrived at Philippopoli; but a modification of that plan was of course necessary with a leader of the highest renown, at the head of many thousands of the best troops in Europe, armed in the most complete manner, and under the most perfect discipline.

No opposition was attempted at first, and everything in the conduct of the emperor seemed smooth, conciliating, and generous, till Godfrey was suddenly astounded by the news that Hugh, his brother crusader, was held in bonds at Constantinople. The duke displayed as much firmness and determination in dealing with the Greek emperor as he had evinced in negotiating with the King of Hungary; and the moment these tidings reached him, he despatched envoys to the imperial city, with letters, requiring in courteous terms that Hugh and his companions in captivity should be immediately set at liberty. His messengers, however, were authorised to demand the liberation of the prisoners in more stern and threatening language, in case of evasion or delay.

Alexius now threw off the mask, positively refusing to restore Hugh to freedom; and with this unsatisfactory reply, Godfrey's envoys returned to seek him. That great leader, however, had not wasted his time in the pleasures of Philippopoli, but advancing rapidly towards Constantinople, had already passed Adrianople, when his messengers rejoined the army. They found the duke encamped in a rich pasture



country, with his men maintaining the same exact discipline which had been hitherto observed. But the moment the refusal of the emperor was made known, Godfrey gave the order to ravage the district. The armed multitude spread in a moment over the neighbouring districts, and for eight days the whole lands around Adrianople were swept of their produce with unsparing rigour.

The news of such summary retribution soon reached Constantinople; and the base Greek, as weak as he was treacherous, sent messengers to beseech the Duke of Lorraine to recal his destroying bands, giving a positive promise for the liberation of the captives. Godfrey, feeling that he had power to compel the execution of this engagement, or to punish its infraction, summoned the troops back to his standard; and, with admirable discipline and obedience, every man returned. Order and peace were re-established, and in the same calm and regular manner as before, the army of the crusade marched on towards Constantinople, and encamped under the walls of the city. Scarcely had they arrived when the promise of Alexius was fulfilled, and Hugh, with his companions, came forth to meet Godfrey, and return thanks for his deliverance. The raptures of Hugh, and the emotion that he displayed upon his liberation, to which all contemporary writers bear witness, prove, in a manner not to be refuted, how severe had been his captivity, and how disgraceful had been the conduct of the emperor. The brother of the French king was followed closely by messengers from Comnenus, inviting Godfrey to visit him within the walls of Constantinople, leaving his army without; and it would appear that Godfrey expressed no hesitation, till he was warned by some of those who knew the character of Alexius, that the invitation of the Greek emperor was merely a lure to draw the principal leader of the crusade into his power. Godfrey ultimately declined to trust himself in such dangerous hands, but he charged some of his most distinguished followers to bear his excuses to the emperor, and to treat with him in regard to the further proceedings of the armies of the cross.

Alexius, however, was determined to effect by some means his great object of luring Godfrey to his court, and commanding the gates of the city to be shut against the Franks, he refused them the privilege of trading with his subjects. Unmoved by this conduct, and remembering the effect of the

course which he had pursued near Adrianople, Godfrey once more spread his forces over the country, and ravaged the suburbs and the vicinity of the imperial capital. The result was the same as before; Alexius yielded, recalled the prohibition to traffic, and the crusaders returned to order with the same admirable discipline as before.

Peace was thus re-established upon Christmas-day, and during the four days that followed all was tranquillity, although the season was unpropitious, and the rain descended in torrents. Taking advantage of these circumstances, Alexius sent new messengers to Godfrey, with every profession of regard, begging him to remove his troops from the unhealthy and inconvenient situation in which they were placed, and, crossing the river\* which flows into the port, by the great bridge near the palace of Blachernæ, to take up his abode and quarter his army in the beautiful summer dwellings which cover the shores of the Bosphorus. With this proposal Godfrey gladly complied; and doubtless expressed so much gratitude for the suggestion, that Alexius imagined he would now be induced to enter Constantinople and agree to the terms he intended to propose. In this, however, he found himself deceived; Godfrey still avoided making the desired visit, and Alexius then determined to mingle treachery and force in a sudden night-attack, with the hope, it would seem, of either destroying the crusading army, or of obtaining military possession of the bridge of the Blachernæ, which it is probable he dared not attempt by day. Before the dawn, then, of a morning in the middle of January, he ordered the cantonments of the crusaders to be assailed both by sea and land. A large body of archers were embarked in boats and galleys to attack the host of the cross which was quartered along the shore; and while the attention of the leaders was thus drawn to the side of the Bosphorus, the whole armed

\* The river was nearly dry in summer, but at the time when Godfrey's army was there encamped, and indeed usually in the winter, it was a torrent. Mills makes a curious mistake, supposing that Alexius proposed to Godfrey to cross the Bosphorus, and that Godfrey actually did so. He seems also to have imagined that the bridge of the Blachernæ actually crossed the Bosphorus. How this strange confusion of ideas took place, I cannot tell; but it is clear that all Alexius proposed to the crusaders was, to encamp on the higher and more convenient ground, towards the eastward of Constantinople; intending to shut them in between the Euxine, the Bosphorus, and the river Barbises, and there to feed them or starve them, as might seem best to him.



population of Constantinople issued forth, and attempted to gain possession of the bridge.

Godfrey, however, was not to be deceived, and seeing instantly the point of the greatest danger, he sent his brother Baldwin, with five hundred men-at-arms, to secure the passage of the river, while he himself prepared to repel the enemy in those quarters where the attack had already commenced. The contest for the bridge was severe; and as soon as Baldwin had occupied it, he found himself assailed, both from the river, where a number of archers had been stationed by the emperor in boats, and from the side next to the city, from which was still pouring forth all the forces at the command of Alexius. From this exposed situation he hastened to free himself as fast as possible, and passing the bridge, took up a position on the other side, where he held the legions of the Greek monarch in check; while Godfrey and the other leaders, gathering together their soldiers in haste, made all speed to extricate themselves from the narrow and dangerous ground which Alexius had treacherously induced them to occupy. Troop by troop, and band by band, they passed over the bridge of the Blachernæ, while Baldwin frustrated all the efforts of the enemy to take it; and, as a just retribution for the treason of the Greeks, the crusaders set fire to all the beautiful villas and palaces which then extended along the shores of the Bosphorus, for a distance of six or seven miles.

As soon as the whole army had passed, with its baggage and provisions, Godfrey, drawing up his men in battle array, in turn became the assailant; and a sanguinary combat took place, in the course of which an immense number of the soldiers of Alexius were slain, while it would appear that very few of the Latins perished, only one man of any distinction being named even by the Greeks themselves. He, having approached too near the walls of the city, for the purpose of taunting the Greeks with cowardice, was killed by an arrow from the bow of Nicephorus, the husband of the Princess Anna Comnena, who extols this act, but lowers Nicephorus in our opinion, by showing that he sheltered himself within the walls. The subsequent night parted the combatants, or we may better, perhaps, say, saved the Greek army, which retreated into the city. The proof that Godfrey had obtained a complete victory, is to be found in the fact, that on the

following morning he ventured to detach a great portion of his forces to sweep the neighbouring country of its produce, which was done with an unsparing hand for sixty miles around the capital. For eight days nearly one half of the crusading force was absent upon this service, without Alexius daring to attack the body that remained.

Shortly after these sad events, the Duke of Lorraine received a letter from Boemond of Tarentum, announcing his rapid approach, and exhorting Godfrey, in no very doubtful terms, to retire to Adrianople, or Philippopoli, and make war upon the treacherous Greek. Godfrey returned a mild and Christian answer; but the news of this intercourse between Boemond and the Duke of Lorraine increased the alarm and anxiety of Alexius. He consequently renewed his solicitations that the latter would visit him in Constantinople; and in order to remove those apprehensions which the whole of his previous conduct might justly create, he offered his son as a hostage for the security of the great leader of the crusade.

Negotiations ensued, the particulars of which cannot be clearly ascertained. It would not be just to reject entirely the authority of the Princess Anna Comnena, but it would be ridiculous to attach much value to the *Alexiad* as a historical document. It may sometimes, indeed, throw light upon obscure transactions, though where the assertions are not corroborated by the statements of other writers, that work must be esteemed a piece of very flat bombast, bearing upon its face such evidence of the most blind and credulous partiality, that very little reliance can be placed in it, even when it is not opposed by other testimony.\* The Latin historians of the crusade are generally silent upon all the minute particulars of the negotiations which took place from time to time, and only give us the results.

It would appear, however, that in this instance Hugh of Vermandois was employed by the emperor to treat with Godfrey, and to induce him to do homage, as well as to give a promise of holding all lands conquered from the infidel, of

\* The character of Anna Comnena's work, given by Gibbon, is as follows: "Instead of the simplicity of style and narrative which wins our belief, an elaborate affectation of rhetoric and science betrays in every page the vanity of a female author. The genuine character of Alexius is lost in a vague constellation of virtues; and the perpetual train of panegyric and apology awakens our jealousy, to question the veracity of the historian, and the merit of the hero."



the imperial crown. This is in every respect a demand worthy of remark, as, in the first place, it proves that the feudal system in the eleventh century had reached to the eastern empire as well as to the west, and more or less affected that portion of the Roman dominions which had never submitted to barbarian conquest.\* In the second place, an inquiry may arise as to what the nature and extent of the homage which Alexius required. We have seen that the vassals of once prince might do homage to another, for certain purposes, always saving the rights and privileges of the original lord, and as Godfrey was already a German vassal, that was the only sort of homage that he could yield. It is not, indeed, probable that he would have performed even this act without some guarantee that Alexius would execute his part in the compact which was always implied by homage; and we find that the Greek emperor did bind himself to the duke by one of those ceremonies which in that age were considered more stringent upon men in high station than any other engagement under which they could come. This was the adoption† of honour, as it is called, one of the most curious customs of remote ages.

\* Of the above fact there are many other proofs, but none so conclusive as this demand.

† Ces adoptions ont eu lieu long-temps sous les Romains, mais depuis que les nations du Nord se sont répandues dans leur empire, on y en a vu parétre une autre espèce, laquelle n'estoit pas tant une adoption qu'une alliances entre les princes, qui se communicoient par là reciproquement les titres de père et de fils, et par ce moyen contractoient entre eux une liaison de bienveillance beaucoup plus étroite. Ces adoptions n'estoient que par honneur, et ne donnoient aucune part au fils adoptif en la succession de celui qui adoptoit.

Cassiodore est celui qui nous à représenté les cérémonies qui s'observoient en ces adoptions honoraires, particulièrement parmi les peuple du Nord: écrivant qui c'estoit une honneur et une faveur considerable chez les nations etrangeres, d'estre adopté par les armes: *Per arma posse fieri filium grande inter gentes constat esse præconium*. Ailleurs, *desiderio quoque concordie factus est per arma filius*: Termes qui justifient ce que j'ay écrit, que ces adoptions se faisoient pour lier davantage une alliance et une confédération. En un autre endroit: *Gensimundus ille toto orbe cantabilis solum armis filius factus*. Conformement à ces passages, Iornandes parlant de Théodoric adopté par Zenon, *Et post aliquod tempus ad ampliandum honorem ejus in arma sibi eum filium adoptavit*. Le même Cassiodore explique encore disertement cette maniere d'adopter, dont il nous à représenté la formule, nous apprenant qu'elle se faisoit, en revetant celui qui estoit adopté, de toute sorte d'armes, qui lui estoient données par celui qui adoptoit: *Et ideo more gentium, et conditione virili, filium te presenti munere procreamus, ut competenter per arma nascaris filius, qui bellicosus esse dignoscetur*. *Damus quidem tibi equos, enses, clypeos, et reliqua instrumenta bellorum, sed quæ sunt omnibus fortiora, largimur tibi nostra indicia*.

Les Histoires Byzantines n'ont pas spécifié les cérémonies, dont les Empereurs de Constantinople, de servirent, lorsqu'ils pratiquerent ces adoptions.

As we find the record of no positive agreement between Alexius and Godfrey, and only know that a long negotiation took place to determine their conduct towards each other, we may naturally conclude that the two remarkable acts which they performed in their first interview were stipulated beforehand, and that the return promised for Godfrey's homage, was his adoption by the emperor. As soon as all was arranged, and John the son of Alexius had been delivered to deputies on the part of Godfrey, the Duke of Lorraine, with a large train of noble followers, entered Constantinople, and presented himself at the imperial palace. The crusading princes were dressed in the splendid robes of peace, which distinguished the European chivalry, and from the account of Albert of Aix, the spectacle of their approach must have appeared magnificent, even to the inhabitants of the most ostentatious city at that time in Europe. All the riches of the court of Alexius were also displayed for their reception; and the emperor himself, though somewhat moved by apprehension, assumed the aspect of solemn dignity, and received the princes of the west without rising from his throne. The kiss of peace was exchanged between him and Godfrey, and after a formal speech, in which Alexius informed the duke that he had been made acquainted with his high qualities and great renown, the emperor performed the ceremony of adoption, in return for which, and not till it had been completed, Godfrey gave the emperor his hand, and declared himself his vassal.\*

\* Nothing can be more extraordinary than the account given by Mills of this interview. He says, speaking of Godfrey and the rest, "They were dressed in all the magnificence of warriors of the age. The whole splendour of the Byzantine court was arrayed in order to overawe the strangers. They were received into the imperial palace with dignity, not with respect, as slaves, not as equals. Their salutations were met by Alexius with silence and unrelaxed features; Godfrey bent the knee before the throne, and kissed the knees or the feet of the emperor. Alexius then adopted him as his son, clothed him with imperial robes, and declared that he put the empire under the protection of his arms." The first part of this account and the second are not in the least harmonious, and the whole bears its own refutation on the face of it, even were it not contradicted by the best historical evidence. To adopt a man as his son and clothe him with the imperial robes, to beseech his deliverance from an enemy, and put the empire under the protection of his sword, is surely very different from "receiving him with dignity, not with respect, as a slave, not as an equal." Mills, in fact, improves even upon the bombast of Anna Comnena, from whom he takes his account, without admitting the more impartial statements of the Latin historians, who are at least consistent. Albert of Aix tells us, as well as William of Tyre, that to every one of the crusading princes the emperor gave the kiss of



The rejoicing of Alexius at these events was somewhat too extravagant to be very dignified, and showed plainly the fears which he entertained of the crusading force. After Godfrey retired from the palace,\* full commercial intercourse was re-established between the crusaders and the Greeks. The son of the emperor was restored to his father with honour, and every week, from the middle of January nearly till the day of Pentecost, Alexius sent forth as much gold coin as two strong men could carry on their shoulders, and ten bushels of copper, as a present to the leader of the Franks. The most perfect discipline was now maintained by the crusaders, and for several weeks abundance and peace reigned in the camp.

Having now obtained his object, the conduct of Alexius suffered no further variations in his separate dealings with Godfrey; but in the course of the month of March, tidings reached Constantinople of the rapid approach of other bands, and the monarch began to desire the absence of the northern armies, that he might deal more easily with the fresh multitudes which were now approaching. He suggested therefore to Godfrey, that it would be expedient for the first division to cross the Bosphorus, lest even the abundance of the Byzantine capital might be exhausted by the presence of such hosts. Godfrey acquiesced, and transported his troops in safety to the opposite shore of Bithynia, where he encamped in the neighbourhood of Chalcedon, within sight of the imperial city. Scarcely was he gone, when the troops of Boemond, Prince of Tarentum, appeared, consisting of ten thousand mounted men-at-arms, and an immense body of foot. He was

peace, which was always upon the mouth; and William of Tyre declares that, on their first entrance, they were met with the greatest honours, and each received the imperial salute, which was never given but to persons of the highest distinction. He adds, that the emperor courted them with the greatest care, speaking to each man by his name.

The value of the Princess Anna's account may be tried by investigating the accuracy of the minute facts which she mentions in those cases where the real circumstances can be ascertained from other sources. Thus she speaks of Baldwin, and makes him perform certain parts, and say certain sayings in the imperial presence; now Baldwin, the brother of Godfrey, who is evidently meant, was left in command of the army, while Baldwin de Burgh remained in charge of her brother John.

\* I leave out the somewhat romantic episode of Robert of Paris seating himself on the imperial throne, because some of the particulars being false beyond all doubt, I am inclined to view the whole account with considerable suspicions. How much of the story is to be believed, when we know that one of the principal actors therein was not and could not be present, the reader may judge.

accompanied also by another leader not less famous than himself as a warrior, and far more celebrated for all those high and endearing qualities which distinguished knighthood in its brightest days. Of Boemond we have already spoken, and it is unnecessary here to dwell any further upon his previous history; but of Tancred, whose name has been immortalised by the verse of Tasso, a few words may be permitted.

He was, it would appear, the son of Odo the Marquis, or the Good, a Sicilian nobleman, who married Emma, the sister of the famous Robert Guiscard. He was thus the first cousin of Boemond; and although his biographer affords us little information of his early years, there is reason to believe that he had acquired high renown by various feats of arms long before the publication of the crusade. The account given of his youth by Radulphus is a mere picture of all the military virtues of the time, and must be passed over as a panegyric rather than as a history. It aids, however, to confirm the impression given by Tasso, and to show that Tancred really was the most chivalrous of all the crusading leaders. In these respects his character was strongly opposed to that of his cousin Boemond, who though brave, skilful, and resolute, was cunning, grasping, ambitious, avaricious, and remorseless. Nevertheless, Tancred willingly served with his whole forces under the banner of Boemond, and voluntarily placed himself second to a man inferior to himself in all the highest and brightest qualities of our nature.

We are assured by almost all contemporary writers, that Boemond did not assume the cross till after the arrival of Hugh of Vermandois in the southern parts of Italy. He was, it would appear, engaged in the siege of Amalfi, when the various bodies of crusaders, which took their way through France and Italy, began to arrive in Apulia, and the Prince of Tarentum sent messengers to demand what were the objects, and who the leaders of the immense army which was now approaching his dominions. On hearing that it was one division of the crusading force commanded by the brother of the King of France, he is said to have immediately embraced the same enterprise, causing his mantle to be cut into crosses\*

\* By some we are told that he dashed his armour to pieces with his battle-axe, and caused it to be forged into crosses of iron; but I find no good authority for



and distributed amongst his soldiery. Although this statement rests upon the very best authority, we can hardly believe that Boemond was either generally ignorant of what was proceeding in the rest of Europe, or unaware of the march of Hugh of Vermandois. We know that he was privy to the first design of the crusade, long before the preaching of Urban at Clermont; and as he was brother-in-law to the King of France and Hugh of Vermandois, it is barely possible that the movements of the latter should never be known to so near a connexion till he arrived in Apulia. It is far more probable, indeed, that the Prince of Tarentum hesitated long before he actually embarked in the great enterprise of the day, both because he did not feel certain that the result would satisfy his ambition and avarice, and because he doubted whether he should be able either to force his way through the dominions of the Greek emperor, the ancient enemy of his race, or obtain a peaceable passage for his troops. When he found, however, that his cousin Tancred was willing to accompany him, and that a large part of the army of his brother Roger was also ready to embrace the crusade, he delayed no longer, but devoted a short time to preparation, and in the end of the year 1096, or early in the spring of 1097, commenced his march for the Holy Land.\*

The two princes, Boemond and Tancred, directed their course by Epirus, and marched rapidly on towards Constantinople, though not without difficulty and danger. The troops of the Greek emperor hovered about the crusading forces, harassing them by every means; and at length, in crossing the Axius at a difficult spot, a general attack was made upon the army of Boemond while the forces of Tancred were on the other side of the river, having advanced to dislodge a body of the enemy which occupied the opposite bank. The gallant Prince of Otranto, however, having effected his

this statement, which would seem to imply that the armour of Boemond was of the kind called plate, though we know that such was not the case.

\* The time of Boemond's departure is uncertain. Some writers have asserted that he sailed from the shores of Apulia towards the end of November; but it is not possible to believe that this was the case, as Boemond certainly did not leave Apulia for some time after Hugh of Vermandois, who arrived at Bari in the commencement of the winter; and we also find, that though the army of the Italian Normans marched on almost without pause towards Constantinople, they did not arrive till nearly the end of March; leaving a space of time which it is impossible they could have occupied between their arrival and their departure, if we are to suppose that the latter took place in the end of November.

purpose, recrossed the stream to the aid of his cousin, and by a desperate charge put the Greeks to flight, and routed them completely. The victory being thus obtained, the army passed the ford in safety, and marched on towards Constantinople, where the progress of this new body of crusaders had already spread apprehension.

On the road, however, Boemond was met by messengers from Alexius, bearing letters filled with soft and honied words, the most opposite to his feelings and to his actions; and as soon as the Prince of Tarentum had arrived in the vicinity of Constantinople, Godfrey of Bouillon was engaged by the Greek emperor to visit the camp of the great Norman leader, and persuade him to perform homage. But Boemond, whose experience was not favourable to the honesty of the monarch, refused for some time to trust himself within the gates of the capital.

Of all the princes of Christendom, however, Boemond was the best known to the Greek emperor; and a negotiation was immediately entered into for the purchase of his homage. Alexius being well aware that there was no principle in the bosom of the Prince of Tarentum at all equal to struggle with that avarice which was one of his distinguishing characteristics, immense sums of gold were promised to him, and, as the price of his homage, a district in Rumania was offered, the extent of which is said to have been such, that a horse took fifteen days to traverse its whole length, and eight to cross the breadth thereof. This was a means of persuasion which could not be without effect upon the mind of Boemond; and, leaving his army under the command of his cousin, he hastened on to Constantinople, where his homage was performed without difficulty.

As soon as the news of his cousin's submission to the demands of the emperor reached Tancred, that prince determined to save himself from being urged to undergo a similar indignity, and seizing a favourable opportunity, he embarked from the European shore of the Hellespont, with his own forces and those of Boemond,\* and succeeded in joining the army of Godfrey of Bouillon, much to the surprise and vexa-

\* Some say that Tancred went alone, but I do not find that this is borne out by the best authorities. Mills, as usual, cites the authors who contradict him: Albert of Aix distinctly states that he took the troops with him, which is completely confirmed by William of Tyre.



tion both of Alexius and Boemond. The chief of Otranto was not to be brought back again by the threats of the one or the remonstrances of the other, and Alexius soon found it necessary to dissemble his anger; for fresh bodies of crusaders were now rapidly approaching, and it became necessary to play off those whom he had gained, against those whose homage was yet to be obtained.

The next army which reached Constantinople, was that commanded by Robert Count of Flanders. If he had not accompanied Hugh of Vermandois into Apulia, he had followed close upon his steps, together with Robert of Normandy, and Stephen Count of Blois. Winter was coming on, however, ships were difficult to be procured, the fate of Hugh, who had encountered a tempest in his passage, as well as treachery on his arrival, alarmed several of the crusading chiefs, and Robert of Normandy, as well as Stephen of Blois, took up his quarters for the winter in Calabria, many of the inferior classes quitting their standard, and returning in disgust to their own country.

In the mean time, the Count of Flanders, having long ruled a maritime people, and fearing less the wintry seas than his two companions, embarked, with his whole force, in what vessels he could find at Bari. He landed safely at Durazzo, and passed the rest of an inclement season in a fertile country, refreshing his troops, and preparing for his onward journey. After thus halting for several weeks, he recommenced his march in the beginning of spring, and arrived in the neighbourhood of the imperial city while Boemond was still in Constantinople.\* On the way, he was

\* It is very curious and amusing to find how historical facts can be differently viewed by different persons. My account of the arrival of the Count of Flanders is taken from various contemporary and nearly contemporary authors; and from William of Tyre, universally admitted to be both accurate and impartial in regard to all the crusades which preceded his own time; from Fulcher of Chartres, who accompanied the division to which Robert belonged; and from Albert of Aix, the most careful and accurate historian of his day. Mills, however, in direct opposition of all these authorities, places the arrival of Robert of Flanders before that of Boemond, declares that Robert was attacked and defeated by the Grecian fleet, and that he and his followers were brought prisoners to Constantinople. The words of William of Tyre are: "In the mean time, Robert, the illustrious Count of Flanders, who in the beginning of winter crossing the sea with his forces from Bari, a maritime city of Apulia, had disembarked at Durazzo, avoided the bad season in a fertile district, covered with woods and pastures, and every sort of accommodation. At length, however, towards the beginning of spring, resuming his journey, he made haste to join the other princes who had previously

met by envoys from the emperor, who invited him to enter the town with a small troop, and do homage, as the other crusading princes had done. The Count of Flanders had no hesitation upon such a subject; but with an undignified facility which greatly pleased Alexius, he followed his directions in everything, presented himself at the palace, did homage, took whatever the emperor would give him, and set an example of docility, which was not destined to be followed.

The arrival of the Count of Flanders was closely followed by that of the immense force led from the south of France by the Bishop of Puy and the Count of St. Giles, or of Toulouse.\* Their journey had been long, difficult, and dangerous. They had been attacked and harassed both by the troops and enemies of the emperor; but the good prelate who accompanied them, and the great leader by whom they were commanded, had sustained their courage and spirits, and guided them with skill and resolution. As usual, messengers from Alexius met the Count of Toulouse, and with words of friendship and gratulation invited him to the palace at Constantinople. They added the earnest entreaty of Godfrey, Boemond, and the Count of Flanders, that he would immediately come to the imperial city, and hold council with the rest of the princes, in order to persuade the monarch of the east to put himself at the head of the united Christian force, and to march at once to Jerusalem. The count yielded to this request, and set off immediately with a small suite, leaving his army to follow; but the perfidious emperor demanded the homage of Raymond the moment he presented himself, even while his forces attacked unaware the army which that prince had quitted without a doubt of its security. The task of inducing the proud and mighty Count of St. Giles to do homage as the rest had done, was more difficult than had been anticipated, and he replied to the proposal by the impressive

crossed the sea." This follows immediately after the account of Boemond's arrival. Albert of Aix, after speaking of the whole transaction between Boemond and the emperor, says: "*Brevi dehinc intervallo, affuit Robertus Flandrensis cum immensis copiis: qui et ipse audita concordia Ducis et Boemundi cum imperatore, foedus iniit, homo illius factus.*" It seems to me that with the direct authority which we have for the time of the arrival of the Count of Flanders and his whole proceedings, we cannot admit these statements of Mr. Mills.

\* I have already noticed the claims of Raymond of St. Giles to the county of Toulouse, and the difficulties that surround the question of his rights. I shall therefore follow the practice of others who have written upon these wars, and call him indifferently Count of St. Giles and Count of Toulouse.



words, "I have not come hither to recognise, or fight for, any other Lord than Him, for whom I have renounced my lands and my country." He offered, however, if Alexius would put himself at the head of the crusade and march to Jerusalem as its leader, to take that limited oath of fidelity which would place the emperor's person, followers, and dominions, under the safeguard of his good faith.

The Byzantine monarch still pressed the count to do simple homage; but in the midst of the negotiations, the army of Raymond approached Constantinople, and he heard for the first time of the base and treacherous attack which had been made upon his camp by the Greek forces.

Rage and indignation now seized upon the Count of St. Giles; he instantly took the resolution of revenging the wrong that he had suffered by force of arms, and called upon the other princes, whose entreaties had induced him to hurry forward to Constantinople, for aid and assistance in his just warfare. They, on their part, though indignant like himself, used their utmost exertions to pacify him; and Alexius was forced to make some concessions, though Boemond was base enough to promise that he would support the emperor, if the Count of St. Giles attacked him. In these circumstances it would have been madness in Raymond to pursue the suggestions of his wrath; and, after some time passed in conferences and negotiations—in the course of which Alexius frequently played off Boemond and Raymond against each other—the Count of St. Giles took an oath that he would neither attempt the honour nor the life of Alexius, and transported his diminished and harassed troops across the Hellespont.

Not long after Raymond appeared, the armies of Robert of Normandy and Stephen of Blois, which seem to have passed through the dominions of the Greek emperor with less annoyance and difficulty than any other body of crusaders; at least Fulcher, who accompanied the Count of Blois, makes no mention of any attack. The only obstacle to their progress was the passage of the rivers, swollen by the rains of spring, in effecting which many perished. Nor, in some instances, would the infantry have been able to cross at all, had not the men-at-arms, on their heavy horses, ranged themselves above, and broken the force of the stream. The moment the two princes arrived at Constantinople, the em-

peror proposed to them the oath of homage, as he had done to their predecessors. A short consultation was sufficient to induce them to yield to this demand, for the preceding bodies of crusaders had already marched on from Chalcedon, and were at that time actually forming the siege of the city of Nicea.

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## BOOK VII.

BEFORE the last body of crusaders, under Stephen of Blois and Robert of Normandy, had reached Constantinople and submitted to the will of Alexius, Godfrey of Bouillon, who had found the supply of provisions necessary for his forces deficient on many occasions, even while his own camp stood alone under the walls of Chalcedon, determined to lead on his army towards Nicea, lest the presence of such immense multitudes as were daily arriving should produce a real, instead of a fictitious scarcity. He had already applied frequently, though in vain, to Alexius for assistance, which had been largely promised and rigidly withheld; but it would appear that the Greek emperor, as soon as he was informed that the troops of Godfrey intended to march forward, did all that was possible for him to facilitate their advance, and to deliver himself from the presence of such troublesome allies. Godfrey, on his part, was willing to abandon all claims upon Alexius, rather than risk, by unseemly strife between Christian princes, the success of the crusade itself; and taking the mildest expedient that suggested itself, he marched onward to Nicea. Tancred, it would seem, accompanied him, as well as Robert of Flanders and the Bishop of Puy; but several of the other princes lingered behind, and Boemond remained to superintend the transmission of provisions which Alexius engaged to supply for the nourishment of the army of the cross under the walls of Nicea.

The Greek emperor, with the same detestable deceit which had characterised all his proceedings, wilfully neglected to fulfil his engagements; no provisions were prepared or sent for so great a length of time, that the price of a loaf of bread in the Christian camp rose to twenty or thirty deniers, then an immense sum. The threats and entreaties of Boemond,



however, in the end, obtained the necessary supplies, and immediately setting forth from Constantinople, he carried abundance with him to the famishing host of the crusaders. None of the great leaders now remained behind, except Raymond of St. Giles\* (who lingered for some weeks in Constantinople, and then halted for a time at Nicomedia), and the siege was instantly commenced in his absence, one portion of the plain around Nicea being left open for his troops.

It is scarcely possible to give any exact account of the disposal of the crusading force round the city; for even the eye-witnesses differ from each other regarding the positions of the several armies. It may be enough, therefore, to say that it was attacked on three sides, the fourth being defended by the Ascanian lake, which bathed its mighty walls and towers, and prevented the approach of the hostile troops.

The enterprise now before the crusaders formed a worthy commencement for their efforts; Nicea was already famed in the history of the Christian world; it was strongly fortified, inhabited by a fierce and a warlike race, and as the capital of the Seljukian kingdom of Roum, was the great outpost of infidel aggression. Soliman,† the Sultan of the Seljukian Turks, one of the bravest and most skilful sovereigns of his day, had quitted the city at the first news of the crusaders' approach, and had employed a considerable time in rousing the warlike tribes under his sway, in order to repel with vigour and determination the efforts of the enemies of his faith. His people responded to his call, and an immense army of well armed and highly disciplined cavalry was soon ready to act under his orders, and attack the host of the cross under the walls of Nicea. On both sides the military movements with which the crusade commenced, approached the marvellous. The strength of Nicea, its peculiar position, the number of its inhabitants, the multitude of warlike and

\* Raymond de Agiles says that Robert of Normandy was the last who came up.

† I do not find this prince called by the name of Soliman in the Arabian historians, who name him continually Kilig Arslan, or the Lion. He was the son of Soliman, a cousin of Malek Shah; and I cannot but think, from the general manner in which all the Latin historians call him Soliman, that he must also have borne the same name. I have, therefore, continued to give it him rather than that assigned to him by the Arabians, as he is best known by it in the history of the crusades. William of Tyre, however, certainly confounds him with his father.

conquering tribes by which it was supported, all rendered the siege of that place one of great difficulty and danger. But the attack of Soliman upon the crusading forces must seem an act of still greater daring, when we consider of what materials the Christian army was now composed. When all the various bodies which had commenced their march under celebrated Christian leaders were assembled on the plains of Nicea, even after the first combat with Soliman, the number of fighting men amounted to no less than six hundred thousand, besides an immense train of women, children, and priests. Of the soldiers, we find that one hundred thousand were knights,\* and the great corporeal strength, activity, and skill of the European chivalry rendered such an army probably the most formidable that ever was collected in the world. We may suppose, however, that Soliman expected to find, in this immense body, soldiers not much more worthy of the name than the undisciplined multitudes of Peter the Hermit and Walter the Pennyless, or at the worst, adver-

\* I translate without fear the term *Loricati* applied to these men, knights, upon the authority of Ducange, who expressly states that it may be always so rendered. Besides these, the cavalry comprised men-at-arms, of which no estimate has been given. On this subject Mills makes the following extraordinary observation, which seems perfectly unaccountable, as the very author he cites, in the very passage he quotes from, contradicts the statement that he makes, and shows that there was a large force of other cavalry besides the *equites loricati*, which he mentions. The words of Mills are: "Guibert, p. 491, mentions 100,000 *equites loricati*. These words must mean, in the instance before us, the general force of the crusading cavalry; and we are prevented from adding to it the men-at-arms, because the Archbishop of Tyre, in another place (p. 693), says that the horses with which the crusaders commenced the siege of Antioch numbered only 70,000." The words of Guibert are: "*Quos in equestri loricatorum galeatorumque decore, hii qui exercituum quantitates pensitare didicerant, centum circiter millia putavêre. Porro pedestris populositatem turbæ, et illorum numerum qui assectabantur equestribus, posse ab aliquo supputari non æstimo penitus.*" Now those "*qui assectabantur equestribus*" were evidently, and beyond all doubt, the ordinary men-at-arms and squires who attended the knights, as the preceding and all the subsequent words of Guibert show, and these were always mounted men. As to what Mr. Mills says in regard to the numbers of horsemen at the siege of Antioch, to calculate from such data is worse than ridiculous. He might as well estimate the forces with which Napoleon marched to Moscow, by the numbers of the same army after the flight from Russia. Did he forget altogether the battle of Dorylæum, where more horses were slain than men? and the terrible march through Phrygia, where the destruction was immense? Or the passage through Mount Taurus, where the horses could be scarcely led at all, and the soldiers were obliged to carry their baggage on their own backs, or to load it upon pigs and dogs, because so many of the horses had perished? Between Nicea and Antioch, the crusaders themselves were reduced, by death and by detachments, to one-half their number; and it is very certain that more of the cattle died than of the men.



saries as feeble as the often-defeated Greeks; and having discovered in the beginning of June that several bodies of crusaders had not yet come up, and that the earlier attempts of the enemy upon Nicea had been fruitless, he determined at once to attack the Christian army, and force his way into the city.

In the first place, however, he sent down messengers, directed to effect an entrance secretly into his capital from the side of the lake, and warn the inhabitants of his intention. He commanded them to notify to the garrison the period at which he would make the attempt, and to bid them sally forth and co-operate in the defeat of the Christians; but the envoys of the Turkish sultan were discovered before they could reach the place, and while one was killed on the spot, the other was carried a prisoner to the presence of Godfrey and the crusading princes. Terror soon compelled the captive to disclose the secret purpose of his master, and Godfrey immediately sent couriers to seek Raymond of St. Giles at Nicomedia and inform him of the dangers of further delay. The count paused not a moment after receiving this intelligence, but marching on with all speed at the head of his troops, arrived at Nicea before daybreak on the Sunday after Ascension-day, and occupied the space which had been left vacant for him before the southern gate of the city.

Soliman, it would appear, was neither aware of the arrival of the Count of St. Giles, nor the capture of his own messengers; and descending from the mountains round about at the hour appointed, he caused a body of ten thousand horse to advance as rapidly as possible towards the gate on the south side of Nicea and endeavour to force its way in, while he attacked the Christian army in another quarter, expecting the citizens to sally forth and aid him in his efforts. The sultan was destined to be disappointed in his expectations, however; the troops of the Count of St. Giles, though wearied with a long march, effectually closed the way to the southern gate, and driving back the squadrons of Suljukian horsemen, became, in turn, the assailants. The garrison of the city never having received the intimation which had been sent to them, did not comprehend the purposes of their sovereign, and remained within the walls of Nicea; while Godfrey and his companions met the chief attack of the Turkish forces, headed by Soliman himself, with courage and activity. Re-

pulsed and disappointed, the sultan led his troops back to the mountains, with the determination of renewing his efforts on the following day. The inhabitants of Nicea then seemed to comprehend his movements, and sallied forth as soon as they saw the battle renewed on the subsequent morning; but success still attended the arms of the crusaders, and the Mussulmans, repelled at all points, suffered a complete defeat.\*

The town, however, still remained unsubdued; and although wood was brought from the neighbouring forests, and all sorts of military engines for battering or sapping the walls were constructed on the spot, not one of the three hundred and fifty towers of Nicea was even shaken during many weeks. The crusaders seem at one time almost to have despaired of capturing the beleaguered city; but abundance reigned in their camp after the defeat of Soliman; for Alexius now took care to supply their wants—in gratitude, it would appear, for the barbarous present of a thousand Turkish heads, which were sent to him after the defeat of the sultan.

Such bloody trophies also were cast by the catapults and mangonels into the streets of the town, with the view of alarming the garrison; but so long as the towers continued to stand, the walls remained uninjured, and the Turkish boats which covered the Ascanian lake brought in supplies of every kind, the people of Nicea had little cause for apprehension.

The siege was prolonged for many weeks; but it is impossible to relate in this work all the incidents by which it was distinguished, and all the means that were resorted to by Raymond, Godfrey, and others, to undermine the walls, or throw down one of the towers. Some writers declare that the free intercourse carried on between the inhabitants and the Turks without the walls, by means of the lake, was known from the first to the crusaders; but there seems more probability in that account which states that the Mahommedans carefully concealed the way by which they obtained supplies, and that the boats passed and repassed only during the night.

The facts, however, at length became apparent to Godfrey

\* Several historians of the crusade only mention one attack, and declare that after the first day Soliman never approached the Christian army again. Guibert, however, positively states that they returned the day after.



and his companions, and they instantly perceived the necessity of rendering the blockade more complete. For this purpose, large boats, some of which would contain a hundred men, were brought from Constantinople to the neighbouring port of Civitot; three or four waggons were joined together in order to transport them across a neck of dry land, and thus a Christian flotilla, manned with Greek soldiers, soon covered the lake Ascanius, and cut off Nicea from all communication with the adjacent country.

About the same time, or a little before, a gentleman from Lombardy, which district was even then famous for the skill of its natives in engineering, constructed a machine of the kind called the Sow, in so strong a manner, and of so well devised a form, that when pushed forward to the foot of one of the towers, the fire cast down upon it from above had no effect, and the masses of stone which were showered upon its pointed roof rolled off innocuous. Under the shelter which it afforded a part of the tower was undermined; piles of wood were substituted for the masonry which was carried away; immense quantities of combustibles filled up the aperture; and at night the Lombard and his companions withdrew, setting fire to the materials thus accumulated. The piles, after burning slowly for some time, gave way at length under the weight above, and before morning the tower itself fell, with a roar which awakened the whole crusading army.

With a breach thus left in the walls of the city, and with the means of supply which had formerly been open, now cut off, terror and dismay spread amongst the people of Nicea. The wife and sons of the sultan, who had hitherto remained in the capital, being taken in an attempt to escape, were brought before Godfrey, and the garrison began to treat for a surrender. But in the mean time, the envoys of the Greek emperor obtained admission into the city, negotiated a separate treaty with the people of Nicea, induced them to yield to Alexius rather than to those who had really achieved the conquest; and, when the crusaders were about to renew the attack, they found the banners of the empire floating over the walls of the place.\* We are told by William of Tyre,

\* In regard to all these events, it will be seen that this account is different from that of Mills. He quotes William of Tyre as one of his chief authorities in regard to the particulars of the fall of Nicea; but we look in vain in that author for a confirmation of his statements. The wall of the tower is never said to have

that though this pitiful act called forth the scorn of the crusading princes, they did not oppose it, as their views led them forward to other conquests, and they had stipulated to restore to Alexius such towns as had formerly belonged to the empire.

The use, however, which the perfidious Greek made of the stratagem that had been practised, did excite, to a very high pitch, the anger of Godfrey and his companions; for it had been distinctly agreed that everything taken by the forces of the cross, except the mere towns and territories, should become the property of the crusaders, as some indemnification for their immense expenses and labours. But Alexius seized upon everything in Nicea, and though he sent magnificent presents to the Latin camp, what he gave was utterly disproportioned to that which he obtained; nor would he permit the military pilgrims to enter the city except by ten at a time. Although, as the Bishop of Tyre declares, it would have been easy for the great leaders of the crusade to redress their own wrongs, and expel the Greeks from Nicea, yet, with wise and prudent moderation, the Christian princes submitted to the loss inflicted on them, and persuaded the common soldiery to remain passive also.\*

Never was a more remarkable instance given of the effect

been repaired by a new series of fortifications after it had been thrown down by the Lombard; and so far from the prelate stating that the Greek envoy offered to give up the wife of Soliman on condition of the place surrendering to the emperor, William of Tyre declares that she was taken by the Latin princes, and that they only sent her as a prisoner to Alexius after the fall of Nicea was completely effected.

\* The view which has been taken of this act of Alexius by the writer, on whose account I have had occasion more than once to animadvert, is founded entirely on false grounds. He says, "Humanity rejoices that his selfishness (that of Alexius) preserved the city from becoming a scene of blood and rapine." Now the stipulations between Alexius and the crusaders, which the selfishness of the former now violated, did not at all imply, according to William of Tyre, whom Mills cites, that the towns were to be given up to the fury of the crusading soldiery; but merely, that the legitimate booty which belonged to a successful army was to be theirs, and not the Greeks'. What that legitimate booty was in those days, was then very clearly defined. The terms of a capitulation, also, always stated distinctly what portion of the wealth of a captured place was given up to the victor; and as we find from every account that the Niceans had announced their intention to surrender, and were negotiating with Godfrey when the envoys of Alexius stepped in and obtained the town for their master, we cannot doubt that such a convention would have been entered into as would have saved Nicea from the horrors of an assault. Indeed, we find that the only stipulation made by the inhabitants was that their lives should be spared, and thus the wealth of the city became, in fact, the property of Alexius, by a gross and unpalliated fraud.



of discipline and subordination ; for every account shows us, that the lower orders of the crusaders felt in a poignant degree the base and treacherous conduct of the Greeks. But, indeed, the Christian camp, since the commencement of the siege of Nicea, had presented a picture of order, virtue, morality, and piety, such as has been rarely if ever exhibited by any large body of men since the world began. We are not permitted to doubt, from the concurrent testimony of all contemporary writers, that during the whole of that siege instances of vice or crime were utterly unknown. Perfect simplicity and purity of manners existed, and every supply that was brought into the camp was considered as the common property of all. The inferior duties and labours of the soldiery were shared by the leaders, and everything showed that the first grand impression of the vast and solemn enterprise which all had undertaken, had as yet worn away from the minds of none.

This state, strange to say, continued during success, and gave way before want, pestilence, and reverses. But even previous to the siege of Nicea, the germ of many misfortunes had been sown in the Christian camp. Doubt, dissatisfaction, jealousy one of another, had risen up under the fostering care of Alexius ; and enthusiasm, that great spring of human action, which lifts us, as with wings, above thousands of difficulties, and seems to change the very circumstances in which we are placed, was well-nigh broken under the weight of petty intrigues, schemes of personal aggrandisement, long and irritating discussions, narrow views, and base motives. Alexius, however, contrived to add more of such ingredients before he suffered the crusading host to march on towards Jerusalem. The emperor had excused himself under various vain and frivolous pretences from taking an active part in the great business of the crusade and leading the armies of Christian Europe to war against the Asiatic infidels. He had, nevertheless, crossed the Bosphorus ; and, for the purpose of watching the progress of the great leaders, and taking advantage of their success for his own selfish ends, had advanced as far as Pelicanum. To that place he now invited the crusading princes, under the pretence of holding a conference with them in regard to the prosecution of the war ; but as soon as they appeared, the subject of homage and fealty was renewed, and those who had not taken the oath

were now urged eagerly to do so. Tancred, it would seem, remained inflexible, and replied to the proposal in terms so haughty as to call forth an insulting answer from one of the attendants of Alexius. The Prince of Otranto, however, was not of a character to bear injurious words unmoved, and we find that he would have slain the offender in the imperial presence, had he not been prevented by the bystanders. He then openly defied the emperor, and quitting the court, returned as fast as possible to the crusading camp.

On the third day of July, 1097, the vast forces of the Crusaders again marched forward, having, during the siege of Nicea, suffered some loss, but having also received various accessions from the junction of a large body of Pisans and other Italians, from the arrival of Peter the Hermit with the remains of his scattered bands, and from the liberation of a great number of prisoners who had been previously taken by Soliman in his combat with Walter the Pennyless. This movement was made just nine days after the fall of Nicea; but ere that period had arrived, Soliman had once more collected a large army, and hovered round the forces of the cross, watching their movements as they proceeded. It has even been supposed that Alexius himself kept up a communication with the Turks, and sent back the wife and children of Soliman, to create a bond between himself and his former enemies, with a view of directing their attacks against the too powerful allies, of whose presence in the east he was so jealous.\* Certain it is, that had his forces been united to those of the crusaders, or had he aided them by that knowledge of the country and its resources which the Greeks possessed and the Latins did not, one-half of the misfortunes which attended the crusade would have been obviated, and the dominions the eastern empire had lost might have been so completely reconquered as to place a formidable barrier against any renewed efforts of the infidels.

At the end of the first day's journey from Nicea, the crusaders encamped on the banks of a fine river, and waited for the daylight of the following morning to cross the bridge

\* "Solimani uxor cum duobus filiis de quibus prædiximus, et captivorum ingenti multitudine Constantinopolim translata est: ubi ab imperatore non solum clementer, verum et liberaliter nimis tractati, infra paucos dies libertati pristinae sunt restituti. Id autem eâ fecisse dicitur intentione, ut et Turcorum sibi reconciliaret gratiam, et in nostram propensiores suis beneficiis excitaret injuriam." So says the Bishop of Tyre.



which lay before them. Somewhat before the dawn on the 30th of June, the army recommenced its march; but, as it would appear, by accident,\* a separation took place, which led to very disastrous consequences. Boemond, Tancred, Robert of Normandy, Stephen Count of Blois, and Hugh Count of St. Paul, with several other princes, followed a road to the left; while Godfrey, Hugh of Vermandois, Raymond of St. Giles, the Bishop of Puy, and the Count of Flanders, with by far the larger division of the army, pursued the beaten way to the right. This separation did not escape the keen eyes of the Seljukian sultan; and, although the two paths which the different crusading princes had taken ran at no great distance from each other, he instantly determined to attack the smaller division. For that purpose he followed the army of Boemond step by step, watching all his proceedings from the heights of the neighbouring mountains. The objects of his keen attention, however, marched on in tranquillity; warned from time to time, by the appearance of small bodies of Turks, that a hostile force was not far off, but probably ignorant that the levies of Soliman had placed him at the head of so formidable an army. It would appear that Boemond was well aware, however, that he could not be far distant from the main body of the crusade. The country into which they had entered was rich in water and in pasture, and amidst the delicious freshness of the valley of Gorgon, the Norman crusaders pitched their tents. The night passed over without attack. Early on the following morning, the march was recommenced, and ere they had proceeded many miles, the immense forces of Soliman were seen descending from the neighbouring hills. The numbers which the Turkish sultan had collected have been differently estimated; but the two eye-witnesses, Robert the Monk and Fulcher of Chartres, declare that the attacking army amounted to

\* Some doubt exists as to the fact of the separation having been accidental. Mills says that it took place by mutual consent; Fulcher of Chartres, who was present, and Guibert, who was not present, but who had the best information of everything that occurred, declare precisely that the separation was accidental and by a mistake in the road. Oderic Vital follows the same opinion; Raymond de Agiles says that Boemond separated from the other princes imprudently; and Radulphus, who was with Tancred, though he alludes to a rumour of the separation having been concerted, in order not to exhaust the country of provisions, shows that such could not have been the case, as the baggage of the Norman and Italian troops had been left with the other division, in consequence of the error that separated them.

between three and four hundred thousand Turks.\* Besides these, it would appear that there were a number of wandering Arabs; and the whole of this immense force consisted entirely of cavalry.

Though thus tremendously outnumbered, Boemond and his companions did not lose their presence of mind; the ground was not altogether unfavourable to the Christians; messengers were immediately sent off across the hills to warn Godfrey and the rest of the crusading princes of the peril which menaced their brethren; the old men, the women, and the sick, were removed to the most secure point of the position, where a piece of marshy ground offered protection on one side; around this defenceless crowd the baggage and the waggons which contained it were formed into a rampart; and at some little distance in advance Boemond drew up his army to oppose the Turkish cavalry, mingling horse and foot together. The infidels came on at rapid pace, with shouts and cries and the clangour of drums and trumpets; and the crusaders prepared to resist them as they would have resisted other Frankish combatants; but while yet afar each Turkish horseman raised a bow of horn above his head, a thick cloud seemed to darken the sky, and in a moment a dense shower of arrows dropped amongst the ranks of the Christians. Many of the pilgrims who filled up the ranks of Boemond were but half armed; and of the chargers which bore the men-at-arms a great number were unprotected by defensive armour, so that thousands of men and horses were instantly stretched upon the plain, either slain or wounded by the Turkish arrows. A second flight followed the first, with barely a moment's interval; and such great confusion ensued, that it would appear it was with difficulty that the leaders rallied their troops.

Tancred, however, Robert of Paris, and William, brother of the Prince of Otranto, displaying the same daring courage which always distinguished the knights of old, led forward their men to attack the Turkish myriads; but the infidels, according to their own particular mode of warfare, at first scattered on every side before the charge of the crusaders,

\* Raymond de Agiles reduces the number to a hundred and fifty thousand, but Raymond was not present, having accompanied the other body of the army. William of Tyre estimates at two hundred thousand the forces of Soliman, and elsewhere calls them innumerable.



discharging, like the Parthians of old, their fatal shafts as they fled. William of Otranto was slain by an arrow, Robert of Paris was likewise killed early in the day, a multitude of inferior soldiers fell, and Tancred himself was nearly made a prisoner. Gradually, as more and more bands rushed down from the hills, the Turks pressed forward upon every side; the bow was used no longer, the scimitar and the sword drank the blood of the adversary; and, hemmed in by the overpowering multitude that swept round him, Boemond saw his troops stricken down like corn before the arm of the reaper. He himself, however, made the most gallant and skilful efforts, both as a soldier and a general, still presenting a firm front to the enemy, and never breaking his ranks or quitting his post till he saw the banner of Otranto go down, and judged by that sign of the peril of his chivalrous cousin. By a determined charge at that moment he saved Tancred, and dragged him from amidst the enemy; but about the same time a large body of Turkish horse, which Soliman seems to have detached on purpose in the early part of the day, crossed the river, and traversing the marshy ground, which partly concealed their approach by the tall reeds that covered it, forced their way into the enclosure, where the women, the children, and the infirm, had been placed for security. The infidels spared neither age nor sex, and a terrible slaughter had commenced, when Boemond, perceiving what had occurred, left the command of the principal body of the army to Robert of Normandy, and with a small band, hurried to meet the Turks who had penetrated into his camp. This movement was mistaken by many for flight, and the troops under Robert had fallen into confusion and were beginning to retreat when the Duke of Normandy, seizing the standard from the hands of him who bore it, cast off his helmet, that all might see his face, and shouting loudly: "Deus id vult! Deus id vult!—God wills it! God wills it!" plunged his horse into the midst of the enemies' ranks, drove back the infidels, and restored order to the defence. Still the band of Soliman pressed round upon every side, and though Boemond had by this time cleared the camp of the foe, a number of his soldiers were necessarily engaged in its defence.

The women, however, for whose protection this band was assigned, now proved of infinite service to the whole host. Exhausted with combating through a day of July in the heat

of a Phrygian climate, parched with thirst, and weakened by wounds, the strength of the crusaders must have given way, had not their wives and sisters supplied them constantly with water from the little stream that ran near. They were thus enabled to maintain the battle for several hours, but were still in a state nearly hopeless, when at length a cloud of dust rising from behind the hills to the west, announced that some new combatants were hastening to the scene of contest. Then appeared spears and pennons, and the glittering arms of the Latin chivalry ; and, with the red cross banner of the crusade floating over their heads, down came Godfrey of Bouillon and Hugh of Vermandois, followed by Raymond of St. Giles and the warlike Bishop of Puy. Rage, disappointment, and apprehension, spread through the host of Soliman, while relief and hope and renewed courage rose in the bosoms of the exhausted crusaders.

But if the sight of Godfrey and his companions was full of joy and satisfaction to Boemond, his situation offered an awful and terrible object to the eyes of the two princes who first came spurring over the hills above. There lay the little camp of the Norman leaders, surrounded on every side by the charging squadrons of the Turks ; and the fury of the combat which was there going on told them a terrible tale of what their brethren in arms must have endured. Godfrey formed his army as he came up, and with forty thousand picked horsemen bore down upon the troops of Soliman. " God wills it ! God wills it ! " was again shouted all over the hills, and the prospects of the day were changed ; but Soliman still persisted in maintaining the combat, though with terrible loss ; till at length the sight of the Bishop of Puy and Raymond of St. Giles spread a complete panic through the Mussulman ranks. The flight became general, and as the Christians pursued with angry speed, the slaughter was terrible. Godfrey and his comrades ceased not to follow the fugitives for several hours, and thus they suddenly came upon the Turkish camp, sheltered in the bosom of the neighbouring hills. Here a vast booty in gold, silver camels and other beasts of burden, fell to the share of the crusaders ; and here also were found several Christian prisoners who had been taken in the early part of the day.

The actual loss in killed had not been near so great on the part of Boemond as might have been expected. The best



computation gives about four thousand slain, but an immense number of Christian warriors were severely wounded. The slaughter of the Turks was very much greater; the army of Soliman was scattered to the winds, and the progress of the crusade was now marked by the capture of a strong city and a complete and signal victory, which received the name of the battle of Doryleum.

For several days the people of the cross remained encamped in the neighbourhood of the spot where this triumph had been obtained. Repose and refreshment certainly was necessary to them; but with a degree of improvidence which marked their whole course, they consumed, without care or thrift, the greater part of their own provisions, and of the stores which they had found in the enemy's camp, and then set out to pass through the midst of Phrygia, with but scanty food and no supply of water. Soliman had been more provident, however, in his enmity towards the invaders. His scattered bands, no longer able to keep the field, had been spread over the whole country, with an order to destroy everything that could afford support to the crusading host. All was thus made desolate throughout that fiery region; and the sufferings which the Christians underwent in their onward march, were ten times more destructive than the swords of the adversary. Men and horses fell by thousands in the way; and the women who thronged the crusading camp, dying by the agonising death of thirst, forgot decency and modesty, and even the ties of nature, rolled prostrate on the ground, offered their bosoms to the sword, and cast down their new-born children to perish miserably on the road.

No language can do justice to the misery there endured; and when at last water was discovered, the intemperate use of the blessed element was nearly as fatal as the drought had been before. The country now changed its aspect; Phrygia was passed, and in Pisidia towards Antiochetta, green fields and rivulets, and shady trees, offered to the weary host of the crusade a comparative paradise. Here the army paused for a considerable time, enjoying the sweets of the place, and recovering from the fatigues of the way; but Raymond Count of St. Giles was soon seized with a dangerous illness, probably brought on by the fatigues he had undergone; and Godfrey himself, while hunting in the neighbouring forests, was nearly killed in combat with a wild beast.

Some of the warriors, however, soon became tired of the repose of Antiochetta ; Tancred, with the Prince of Salerno, five hundred horse, and a proportionate force of foot, determined upon detaching himself from the rest of the leaders, in order to explore the country round, and see what advantages he could gain over the enemy. Baldwin, the brother of Godfrey, joined himself to Tancred with a somewhat larger force, but after wandering for a time through a country which had been desolated by the Turks, the two princes again separated.

Tancred taking his way through Cilicia, made himself master of Tarsus, which was garrisoned by a small body of Turks ; but Baldwin, who had not been so fortunate, soon after returned, and demanded the cession of the captured city from Tancred, alleging that as he commanded the superior force he was entitled to look upon himself as leader of the whole expedition. Tancred laughed at such a vain pretence, but Baldwin ceased not to intrigue with the inhabitants till he had obtained possession of Tarsus ; and Tancred, rather than draw his sword against a brother crusader, yielded the point, and marching onward attacked and took Mamistra by storm. Baldwin then with increased forces ravaged the whole of Cilicia, and approached Mamistra, with the evident intention of obtaining that also. Tancred's indignation now got the better of all other feelings, and issuing forth from the walls of the city, he gave battle to his treacherous ally in the open country ; but from the inferiority of his numbers, he was soon forced to retire into Mamistra. The next day a reconciliation was effected, and Baldwin proceeded to rejoin the main army, while Tancred remained carrying on a desultory warfare against the Turks, whose garrisons were scattered thinly through all the neighbouring districts.

Ere Baldwin reached the host of the crusade, Godfrey had marched on, though still suffering from the wounds he had received. The Count of Toulouse was by this time restored to health, but Baldwin found that his own wife had quitted Antiochetta in extreme ill health, and she died about the period of the army's arrival at Marasia, or Marasch. It is probable that the fatigues of the journey greatly accelerated the progress of the sickness under which she laboured, for though of a different kind, the sufferings of the march from Antiochetta to Marasch were scarcely inferior to those which the crusaders had undergone in Phrygia.



The language in which Robert the Monk describes their passage through Mount Taurus, is both picturesque and terrific. "They travelled," he says, "with deplorable suffering, through mountains where no road was to be found, except the paths of reptiles and savage beasts, and where the passes afforded no more space than just sufficient to place one foot before the other, in tracks shut in between rocks and thorny bushes. The depths of the precipices seemed to sink down to the centre of the earth, while the summits of the mountains appeared to rise up to the firmament. The knights and men-at-arms walked forward with uncertain steps, the armour being slung over their shoulders, and each of them acting as a foot soldier, for none dared mount his horse. Many would willingly have sold their helmets, their breast-plates, or their shields, had they found any one to buy; and some wearied out, cast down their arms, to walk more lightly. No loaded horses could pass, none could stop or sit down, none could aid his companion, except where the one behind was sometimes able to help the person before him, though those that preceded could hardly turn their heads towards those who followed. Nevertheless, having traversed these horrible paths, or rather those pathless deserts, they arrived at length at the city of Marasia, where the inhabitants received them with honour and with joy."

Tidings of the conduct of Baldwin at Tarsus and Mamistra had reached the camp of the crusaders before that leader's return, and when at length he joined them at Marasch, his reception was cold and gloomy. His daring courage, military skill, and political talent, might have rendered him one of the ornaments of the expedition, had not his selfish ambition directed all the powers and energies of his mind to the sole object of his personal aggrandisement. The stern and chilling looks, and perhaps the reproachful words of his fellow-soldiers, rendered their society more distasteful to him after his return than it was before, though he seems to have been attached to the enterprise by no very strong bonds at any time; and contriving to seduce two hundred knights and a large body of foot soldiers, he abandoned his brethren of the crusade, and with the adventurous spirit of the age, set out to seek the path of fortune, and conquer on his own account. He was accompanied and perhaps seduced by Pancrates, an Armenian, who represented to Baldwin in glowing colours

the advantages to be gained in his native country on the other side of the Euphrates. It must be recollected that the greater part of the population of those districts was still Christian, the Mahommedans not having enforced the law of conversion throughout the whole of the territories they had conquered, but remaining as foreign lords and masters amongst the people they had subdued. In many places the Turkish garrisons were small and inefficient, and the towns of Turbessel and Ravendal soon fell into the hands of Baldwin. A greater fate, however, was yet before him, for while still engaged in subduing the country in the neighbourhood of those towns, messengers arrived from the prince of Edessa, the capital of Mesopotamia, inviting him to that city, and holding out to him the prospect of ultimately obtaining the government.

Baldwin gladly caught at the opportunity; but before he went, he paused to perform one of those acts which most darkly stain his memory. He had confided the towns of Turbessel and Ravendal to the care of his companion Pancrates, and had even, it would appear, given that personage, in some degree, feudal possession of the conquered territory. Having some cause, however, to doubt his faith, he now forced him to deliver up the cities, by imprisonment in chains, the most horrible tortures, and a threat of causing him to be torn limb from limb. He then proceeded on his way towards Edessa, and some transactions took place of a very dark and doubtful character. The conduct of Baldwin in the whole of these transactions is anything but free from suspicion; but it is unnecessary here to investigate how far that leader was guilty of inducing the people to rise against Thoros, the Prince of Edessa, and force him to adopt the Frank for his son. Certain it is that insurrectionary movements took place, and that, after some resistance, Thoros, according to the custom of the day, passed his own shirt over Baldwin's shoulders, pressed him to his naked bosom, and publicly declared him to be his child and heir.\*

Not long after, a new tumult occurred in the city. Baldwin, whose power to tranquillise it cannot be doubted, did not use his influence for that purpose, and the weak and aged sovereign of Edessa was slain by the insurgents. That

\* Guibert declares that the same unpleasant ceremony was performed by the wife of Thoros also.



Baldwin actually instigated the revolt, or contemplated the murder of Thoros, is not proved; but that he was greatly culpable in suffering such events to take place, there can be no doubt, and the fact of his having profited by the assassination of Thoros may seem to fix upon him a suspicion of having shared in the actual guilt. The brother of Godfrey was immediately raised to supreme sway in Edessa, and he now found no difficulty in repressing the factions of the city, and reducing the neighbouring territory to subjection.

Innumerable struggles with various enemies succeeded, and occupied the time and energies of Baldwin for many years. In the midst of these we shall now leave him, to speak of the progress of the host of the cross, which advanced from Marasch towards Antioch with great care and caution.

Tancred, who though always eager to distinguish himself in separate expeditions, never displayed in the slightest degree the pettiness of selfish ambition, was detached from the main army, and proceeding along the coast, made himself master of the whole sea-country as far as Alexandretta, in the gulf of Ajasse. Robert of Flanders also advanced to attack Artesia, which was garrisoned by a small Mussulman force, and at first made some show of resistance. The Armenian inhabitants of the city, however, threw open the gates to their Christian brethren, and the unfortunate Mahommedans were massacred without pity.

The conquests of the crusaders now extended very nearly to the thirty-sixth degree of latitude, and they had obtained possession of various points upon a parallel line with Antioch itself. Cilicia lay behind them, with many of its towns recovered from the infidel, Mesopotamia was on their left, with Edessa as a strong post, occupied by a powerful body of Christian soldiery under the command of an active, daring, and a skilful leader, and with Artesia or Chalcis, in the hands of the Count of Flanders, lying between Antioch and the Euphrates. The most skilful generalship could not have placed them in more favourable circumstances for pursuing their march upon Antioch and Jerusalem; but these great advantages would seem to have been obtained more frequently by accident than by design, and the political state of the country which they invaded, afforded at the moment the crusade took place facilities for such an enterprise which it

never presented at any previous, or, perhaps, any subsequent period.

Indeed, it always happens, that at the appointed moment when, by the will of God, any great and important movement affecting large masses of his intelligent creatures, is to take place, innumerable events, apparently totally unconnected with each other, or only united at the great source of all power and wisdom, co-operate in a manner marvellous in our eyes, to facilitate the execution of His fiat, by natural and ordinary causes. Fifty years sooner, or fifty years later, numerous and immense obstacles would have barred the path of the Christian forces, would have prevented them from ever reaching Jerusalem, and would have deprived Europe of all those results that may be naturally traced to the long and intimate intercourse with the east, which was brought about by the success of the first crusade.

At this period in the history of that great enterprise, the Arabian historians first come generally to the elucidation of the subject. Before the entrance of the Frankish army into Syria, its progress seems to have excited but little attention in the great body of Mahommedan princes; and Soliman was left to fight his own battles with very little assistance; but the cause of this apathy was the general disunion which reigned amongst the descendants of the great conquerors of the east. The vast territories which had once been united in the original khalifat, and had afterwards been divided between the Khalifs of Egypt and Bagdad, were now broken into innumerable portions, under princes who generally acknowledged some sort of subjection to one or other of those two great heads, but acted independently of them, and set their authority at defiance.

The Khalif of Bagdad, indeed, was reduced merely to a sort of spiritual chief, and the real authority formerly possessed by the Abbasides had passed into the hand of the Turks, a wandering race of Tartars, who had invaded Persia, and adopted the religion which they there found established. They had indeed generally treated the khalif with decency; and the famous Togrul Beg, while he received the supreme power as lieutenant of the khalif, maintained the impotent Cayem in possession of Bagdad. Togrul's son, Alp Arslan, or Alp the Lion, while he subdued the countries around him,



suffered the shadow of the khalif to exist in peace. To him succeeded the famous Malek Shah, whose reign was ushered in by a fierce contest with his near relations. The empire of the khalif itself was not equal to the ambition and the genius of Malek, and his arms had approached the very gates of Constantinople. But while this great monarch was in the act of extending his dominions, and evidently entertained the design of consolidating his power and transferring the seat of government to Bagdad, he committed a great error in policy, and encouraged the establishment of inferior princes and governors. His territories were divided after his death ; and that portion which remained to the eldest branch, as the Persian empire, though it maintained some nominal sway over the great provinces of Kerman, Syria, and Roum, had very little real hold upon those countries, and soon fell into a state of languor and decay.

The famous Kerboga, Emir of Moussoul, had rendered himself almost independent of the Persian monarch at the time that the crusades began, and a number of other emirs of Mesopotamia also resisted the yoke of the sultan in acts, if not in words. Syria was divided amongst innumerable petty princes, descended in general from Malek Shah, or Alp Arslan. Aleppo and Damascus had each its separate sovereign ; and the strong and important town of Antioch, with the territory adjacent, was governed by a prince named Baguisian, or Baghasian, who seems, by the accounts of the Arabs themselves, to have acted the part of a fierce and odious tyrant. The Khalif of Egypt, shut up in his harem, ruled alone by his ministers ; but more fortunate than the descendants of the house of Abbas, he had not only retained his African dominions, but was in possession of Tyre, Sidon, Ascalon, Jerusalem, and a great part of Palestine and Phœnicia. The officers, however, commanding in those countries, paid but little respect to the authority of the khalif, and disorganisation, confusion, and strife, existed from the confines of Syria to the very frontiers of Arabia.

Such was the state of the country when the crusading army quitted Marasch on its march for Antioch ; and actual warfare was going on amongst the Mahommedan inhabitants of the land, a number of the Syrian princes, having united to attack the Emir of Emessa, who seems to have rendered himself generally obnoxious. But while they were carrying on

their operations against that chief, the news suddenly reached their camp, that an immense army of Franks, estimated by Kemaleddin at three hundred and twenty thousand men, had entered the Syrian territory, and was marching rapidly upon Antioch. Baguisian, the prince of that city, who was one of the confederates against the Emir of Emessa, instantly retreated for the purpose of defending his own dominions, and the rest separated in order to provide against the danger which evidently menaced them all alike. Tidings of the progress and numbers of the Christian army, intelligence that a fleet from the unknown regions of the west had attacked and pillaged Laodicea, and various other warnings, plainly showed Baguisian that it was no common attack which he was now called upon to repel; and in consequence, while he prepared Antioch for resistance, he despatched his two sons at the head of some cavalry to seek for aid, directing one to Damascus, and the other to the court or camp of Kerboga, Emir of Moussoul.

Such were the proceedings that took place on the part of the Mahommedans, and we must now turn to notice particularly the advance of the crusading army, the main body of which continued its course towards Antioch without meeting with any interruption till it approached the walls of that city. The force which had been thrown out to the left of the line of march, however, was not destined to remain unmolested, although the capture of Artesia afforded a strong place of refuge, and the proximity of the main body promised speedy support in case of need. The Latin writers give but a confused account of the encounter that took place between Robert of Flanders and a large corps of the enemy, which advanced to attack him after the capture of Artesia; but the Arabs supply the defect, and from their accounts we have reason to believe that an error has been committed in asserting that Baguisian and his troops issued forth from Antioch in order to deprive the count of his new acquired territories.

Two combats are mentioned by Kemaleddin as having taken place between the Franks and the Mussulmans on this occasion. In the first of these, which seems to have been between a part of the troops of Robert of Flanders, and the son of Baguisian, detached by his father, as we have before said, for the purpose of obtaining reinforcements, the small body



of Christians which was opposed to the infidels was totally defeated, and a great number of the crusaders were slain.

The other son of the Emir of Antioch was less fortunate, for in comparing the tale of the Christian writers, especially Albert of Aix, with that of the Arabian authors, we find that the Mussulman leader having obtained assistance from the Emir of Aleppo, and various other chiefs, succeeded in entrapping Robert of Flanders, with a force of a thousand knights, into an ambuscade. He then fell upon the count and his companions with twenty thousand horsemen, but notwithstanding the superiority of the enemy's numbers, Robert and his knights contrived to cut their way through, and at length, being joined by some reinforcements, they turned upon the attacking squadrons, totally defeated them, and drove them back to the very walls of Aleppo.

The arrival of Tancred, who was sweeping the country between Alexandretta and Artesia, soon after freed the Count of Flanders from the danger of any further attack; and on the approach of the great army, all the leaders, with the exception of Baldwin, having reunited their forces, marched on, and soon entered the territory of Antioch.\*

The Turkish population of Syria and the neighbouring countries was now fully roused to a sense of the disasters which threatened the Mahommedan religion; and the march of various armies, as well as the massacre of several bodies of Syrian and Armenian Christians, warned the crusaders that a more strenuous opposition than they had yet met with, was about to be offered to their further progress. The dangers which had beset Robert of Flanders and some smaller parties

\* It has been stated by a very respectable author that Tancred arrived upon the field while Robert of Flanders was engaged with the troops of Baguisian, and that the coming of the Prince of Otranto delivered the count from the consequences of his imprudence; but neither the best Latin nor Arabian statements confirm this tale, and it is very evident that Robert of Flanders did not receive the aid of the Italian prince till after he had re-entered the walls of Artesia. The sincere account of Kemaleddin merely states that the son of Baguisian, returning with reinforcements towards Antioch, encountered a body of Christians, which, though inferior in number, put him to flight, and pursued him to the gates of Aleppo. It does not appear from the narrative of Arabs that Baguisian either led or sent any body of troops against the crusaders; but it would seem, on the contrary, that he remained in Antioch, making vigorous preparations for the defence of that city. In a former work upon the crusades I followed the account of the Latin historian in regard to the presence of the Antiochian prince with his troops on this occasion; but a further study of the Arabian authors has convinced me that I was in error.

of the Christian force, induced the leaders, as they approached Antioch, to publish an order, forbidding any band to absent itself from the main body of the army, which soon after came in sight of the Orontes, near its junction with the Uphrenus.

The situation of Antioch, and the strength of its fortifications, struck the crusaders with wonder and admiration, and the picturesque account given of it by Raymond de Agiles, enables us to comprehend the feelings with which the chivalrous pilgrims beheld it. "Amongst the mountains of Libanus," he says, "there is a certain plain, the breadth of which takes the traveller a day to cross, and the length a day and a half. This plain is bounded on the west by a marsh, and on the east by a river, which sweeping round a part, runs towards the mountains situated to the southern side, so that there is no passage between the stream and the mountains, and thus it flows into the Mediterranean sea, which is near to Antioch. In the straits which the stream makes in running under the mountains Antioch is situated, so that to the west there is left not more than an arrow's flight of ground between the lower wall and the river. The town thus situated rises to the east, and in the circuit of its walls encloses the peaks of three mountains. That mountain, indeed, which it has to the north, is separated from the others by a great precipice, so that between it and them there is no means, or very difficult means, of communication. On the top of the northern mountain is a castle, and on the middle mountain\* another castle, which in the Greek language is called Colax. On the third peak are some towers. The town is two miles in length, and so fortified with walls and towers and outworks, that it fears no force of machines, and no assault of man, even if the whole human race should come against it. The Frankish army now besieged the town thus fortified from the northern side, but although amounting to three hundred thousand armed men, it attempted no assault, but

\* See Raymond de Agiles' Bongarsius, p. 143. M. Guizot translates this passage differently, but I think there can be little doubt that he is mistaken. Raymond says, "In colle septemtrionali castellum quoddam est, et in medio collis castellum aliud quod lingua Græca colax vocatur. In tertio colle tantum tures." M. Guizot translates *in medio collis*, "sur le milieu de la même montagne." Raymond was evidently describing the circumstances of the three peaks which he mentions; and though he used a loose and wrong expression, he clearly meant by *in medio collis* on the middle mountain, rather than on the middle of the mountain. At all events, the words "*la même*" are wrongly introduced.



merely encamped close to the city. There were in the town two thousand chosen men-at-arms, four or five thousand troopers,\* and ten thousand or more foot. The walls, too, were so high, and so well defended by ditches and marshes, that if the gates were well guarded all the rest were secure."

In one particular the above account of Raymond is not quite accurate: for though the space between the mountains and the river was certainly narrow, and the rocks in many places advanced within a very small distance of the stream, yet there was ample room for passage, and the Roman road itself ran on that side of the Orontes.

The city itself communicated with the adjacent country by two bridges, one crossing the Orontes close to Antioch, and one spanning the marsh which guarded it on the other side. But besides these, there was another, about six miles above the town, consisting of nine stone arches, and defended by towers and doors plated with iron. In order to attack the city it was absolutely necessary that the crusaders should cross the river by one of the two bridges which traversed it; for although there were several fords, the baggage of the army could not be carried through them. The iron bridge, as it was called, lying farthest from the town, was the one over which the leaders of the crusade determined to force their way, and Robert of Normandy was thrown forward to dislodge the troops which Baguisian had sent to defend the passages of the stream. A vigorous resistance was made by the Turks, and it was not till the main body of the crusading army arrived that possession of the bridge could be obtained. At length, however, the enemy were dislodged from the bridge and driven back from the fords, and the river was passed simultaneously at various points.

It would seem that much difference of opinion existed amongst the Christian chiefs in regard to the plan of attack, and great irregularity and want of military skill displayed themselves throughout the siege of Antioch. Thus many points were left open which might have been successfully guarded; for although the extent of the walls was too great perhaps to permit the crusaders actually to surround the city, yet the very narrowness of the space between the river and the mountains, the depth and swiftness of the Orontes, the marshes, and in fact, all the circumstances which de-

\* I have translated the words *militum gregariorum*, troopers.

fended the place from assault, rendered it easy to establish an efficient blockade. It does not appear that at any time during the siege, the garrison of Antioch was cut off from communication with the neighbouring country, and the only means to which the crusaders had recourse, were those which had been employed against Nicea. But the walls and towers of Antioch set catapults and mangonels at defiance, and in the mean while, the Christians, by their improvidence, waged war against themselves, with greater success than they carried it on against the Turks.

The riches and fertility of the neighbouring country were so great, that the Frankish host seems to have considered them as inexhaustible, and the most scandalous waste and profusion at first took place, the crusaders with wanton luxury refusing to eat any but choice parts of the beasts that were slaughtered. The punishment soon followed the offence; the provisions which in the beginning were scorned, were soon sought with avidity, but could not be obtained; scarcity and famine, with disease in the train of want, now visited the Christian camp; and the emir, who had taken care to guard against the same evils, by laying up ample stores and expelling a part of the superfluous population,\* harassed the crusaders day by day, with sallies and attacks from the walls, the Franks having pitched their tents so near that many of them were killed in their camp by arrows shot from the city. Their parties also, when sent forth to procure forage and provisions, were cut off by detachments either from the garrison of Antioch, or from the troops at Aleppo and other towns in the vicinity; and at the same time means were taken to sweep the country of all the cattle, and drive the sheep up into the mountains. The inclemency of the season, too, aided the efforts of the enemy, and the peculiar severities of an eastern winter were terribly felt by men who were forced to dwell in tents, where humidity could less be guarded against than cold.

The Christians arrived before Antioch in the end of September, or the beginning of October,† and all the first opera-

\* Ibn Giouzi informs us that Baguisian, before the crusaders actually appeared at Antioch, expelled all the Christians from the city.

† William of Tyre says that the crusaders encamped under the walls of Antioch on the 18th of October, while Kemaleddin declares that they arrived before Antioch on the 28th of September.



tions were carried on in the most adverse season of the year. The evils which fell upon the crusading army were aggravated by the illness of Godfrey, who for many weeks was confined to his bed; while amongst the soldiery vice followed hard upon the steps of want and disease. The purity which had distinguished the Christian camp under the walls of Nicea was now altogether forgotten; adultery, prostitution, robbery, and gaming, seem to have been common; drunkenness of course accompanied other vices, and the whole was crowned by famine producing cannibalism, the living feeding upon the bodies of the slain. To remedy these disorders, the admonitions of the clergy were first employed with prayer, fasting, and penance, and judges were then appointed with power to inspect the camp, remove the vicious, and punish offenders.

Some successful expeditions were made for the purpose of dispersing the troops of Turks which hovered round the Christian force, and of obtaining supplies; but in general, no sooner was any scheme formed by the crusaders, than it was known to the enemy, and it became evident that the camp was full of spies. The operations of these persons were greatly facilitated by the mixture of nations that existed in the host of the cross, and also by the variety of tribes by which it was surrounded, for dressed as Greek, Armenian, or Syrian believers, the spies were freely admitted by every division of the army, and enacted the part they assumed so well, that they were seldom detected.

To remedy this evil a stratagem was devised by Boemond, to which the famine in the Christian camp gave countenance. He caused several of the intruders who had been taken to be slain and roasted, pretending that it was the intention of the leaders to make all persons of the same honourable profession who might be caught, serve as food for the hungry soldiery. The movements of the crusaders, after this period, were effected with greater security; for such is the force of imagination, that the men who willingly risked death, shrunk from the idea of being roasted and eaten afterwards.

Provisions, however, still remained as scarce as ever, and desertion showed itself in the camp of the crusaders. Amongst the first who withdrew, was the representative of the Emperor Alexius. That monarch, although he had evaded taking any active part in the crusade, upon various frivolous pre-

tences, had always kept alive the expectation that he would carry the imperial arms to Jerusalem. To watch the proceedings of the crusaders rather than to assist them, he had sent Taticius with a small force ; and although the presence of the Greek emissary had been of no service to the Latin princes, his desertion now produced the utmost evil. He pretended, indeed, that he went solely for the purpose of hastening the march of his master, and sending supplies from the stores of Constantinople ; but his real purposes were well understood, and his conduct was speedily imitated. Several bodies of crusaders abandoned the army, and took refuge in the different Christian states that still existed in the neighbourhood of Antioch. Some pursued their way back towards Constantinople ; some sought out Baldwin ; some offered their services in towns which had been freed from the Turkish yoke. The Count de Melun, known by the name of William the Carpenter, attempted to fly for the purpose, it would seem, of finding more profitable and less tedious adventures than the siege of Antioch ; and Peter the Hermit himself gave way, amid famine, privation, and neglect, and sought to quit a camp where he was treated with less distinction than his zeal, courage, and services really merited. The count and the hermit, however, were met together by Tancred, while they were endeavouring to effect their flight, and brought back with shame ; but the most painful act of desertion which was to occur, did not yet take place.

Nevertheless, various events tended at this time to give fresh courage to the crusaders ; an embassy from the Khalif of Egypt reached the host, and although the messengers had been instructed to mingle threats with promises, yet they encouraged an expectation of co-operation from the Egyptian sovereign against the Turks of Syria, whom he looked upon as heretics and usurpers. No important results proceeded from this mission, except that renewal of energy which always accompanies the rising of new hopes. Deputies were sent back from the Christian camp to conclude a treaty with the khalif, and the siege of Antioch proceeded with greater vigour and care than before. Means were taken to render the blockade more complete, but this object had not been effected, when news reached both the city of Antioch and the host of the cross, that a fresh body of crusaders had reached the shores of Syria by sea, and were lying with their fleet in



the small port of St. Simeon. This force consisted of Genoese and Pisans, and besides the number of fresh and unwearyed troops which the two republics sent, the fleet conveyed a large quantity of provisions, which were at that moment more wanted than any other kind of assistance. No sooner was the arrival of the Italian ships known, than multitudes of the famishing crusaders hastened down to the port to supply their necessities; and Boemon, with Raymond of St. Giles, were sent to escort their new allies, and the precious stores which they bore, to the camp under the walls of Antioch.

To destroy the hopes of his adversaries and supply his own wants, was now the object of Baguisian; and the moment he heard that Boemon and the Count of Toulouse were absent from the Christian host, he made a vigorous attack upon the remaining forces, in which, it would appear, he obtained some success. Four days afterwards, learning that Boemon, loaded with stores, and followed by an unruly rabble, was advancing from the mouth of the Orontes towards Antioch, he sent out a large force to attack that leader, and so skilfully was the expedition conducted, that the Prince of Tarentum was entrapped into an ambuscade amongst the mountains, where he and the Count of Toulouse were completely and signally defeated by the Turks. The two leaders resisted some time, but then fled from the field of battle, the whole of the rest of the crusaders following their example, and escaping as best they might among the woods and hills. The Turks, eager for booty, fell upon the baggage, and thus the number of slain was not so great as might have been expected.

Exaggerated tidings of this event soon reached the Christian camp, and for a time it was supposed that all the troops of Boemon and the count had perished. Rage took possession of Godfrey and the other leaders, and issuing forth from the camp, followed by the whole disposable forces of the crusade, that great commander prepared to take vengeance on the enemy. With the wisdom which he always displayed in cases of importance, the Duke of Lorraine made his dispositions for giving battle to the hostile force on its return. While he sent various bodies of men to the other side of the river, he seized in person upon an elevated position opposite to the bridge over the Orontes, and thus guarded himself

against attack from the city, while he cut off the Turkish army from their only means of retreat.

Loaded with the spoil, and fancying their triumph complete, the forces of Baguisian marched back towards Antioch; but they found themselves suddenly attacked by Hugh of Vermandois, the Count of Flanders, the Duke of Normandy, and the very same leaders whom they had put to flight in the morning, but who had rallied their troops, and came up in time to take part in the engagement. Endeavouring to force their way back into the town, they were met by Godfrey and the chivalry of Lorraine, and a terrible slaughter took place. The infidels fought with the most determined valour, and Baguisian, we are told, in order to give them the courage of despair, shut the gates of the town, as an intimation that they must conquer or die.\* But they were far outnumbered by the Christian chivalry, and there is no occasion on which such acts of personal daring and strength are recorded, during the whole course of the first crusade, as in this battle under the walls of Antioch. All the figures which the imagination can supply, are exhausted by contemporaries, to represent the sweeping manner in which the crusaders destroyed their enemies; but amongst the achievements of the individual leaders, one act is told of Godfrey, in regard to which all the authorities are so generally agreed, that we are forced to receive the statement in its literal sense. While that prince was defending the pass towards the bridge, a Turkish horseman of great height and strength, whom Robert the Monk compares to Goliath, spurred on his horse, we are told, upon the Duke of Lorraine, and at one blow cleft his shield in two. Godfrey returned the stroke, aiming at the head of his adversary; but the infidel turned aside, and the blade catching him on the left shoulder, clove its way through, and came out just above the right hip, leaving one half of the Turk prostrate on the field of battle, while the left arm and the lower part of the body was borne by the horse to the gates of the city.

None of the leaders of the crusade showed themselves backward in the work of destruction, and the Turks were

\* I am inclined to give but little credit to this tale which is given by Raymond, for Baguisian, though the Arabian writers themselves acknowledge that he was a tyrant, was not without those talents which might well become a grandson of Malek Shah; and this act, if it did take place, was certainly as stupid as it was base.



slain in multitudes, both by the fresh troops of Godfrey and his companions who had remained in the camp, while Boemond and Raymond had gone to the port, and by the followers of those two princes, many of whom had reached the vicinity of Antioch before those who had despoiled them, and now lined the banks of the river, precipitating the infidels that gained the bridge, into the rushing stream below. The carnage continued till sunset, and the Christians did not return to their camp till they had recovered the whole of the spoil which had been taken by the Turks in the morning.

The numbers of the slain were never ascertained ; for multitudes of the Mussulmans perished in the river, and multitudes had just strength to make their way to the city and die in the midst of familiar faces. About two thousand, however, fell on the field of battle, and the crusaders, with all the savage and implacable spirit of the age, dug up the dead bodies which the Turks had found means to bury during the night, and cast them into the Orontes, the rapid current of which carried them down to the port, announcing to the Genoese seamen the victory which the host of the cross had obtained.

This success, the spoil which had been acquired, and the provisions with which the Italian ships supplied the camp of the crusaders, raised their spirits and roused their energies, notwithstanding the earthquakes, thunderstorms, comets, and torrents of rain, which, in those ages, might well be considered as evil auguries, and many of which were, in truth, solid and troublesome realities.

The blockade of the town was at length, by measures upon which I cannot dwell, rendered very nearly complete, though not till the fifth month of the siege, and the miseries of famine which the crusaders had so long been feeling, now fell in turn upon the people of Antioch. Baguisian, however, had already made his situation known to all the neighbouring princes of the same faith, and they had not been inactive in preparing to send him assistance. A large body had been collected in the neighbourhood of Aleppo, and had marched towards Antioch, under several very distinguished leaders, while a sortie from that city was destined to co-operate with the twenty thousand horsemen who advanced from the side of the Euphrates. But the crusaders obtained intelligence of the purposes of their enemies ; Boemond and

Raymond of St. Giles were despatched with seven hundred lances to seize upon a pass in the mountains, and the position they chose more than compensated for the inferiority of their numbers. The Mussulmans were routed and slain, and the Christian detachment returned to the camp, carrying with them much booty of various kinds.

Shortly after the arrival of the Genoese and Pisans, however, and in the midst of their rejoicings for the two late victories, the crusaders were surprised and afflicted to hear that the representations which Baguisian had addressed to his kinsman, the Sultan of Persia, through that monarch's great minister Kerboga, Emir of Moussoul, had produced a more important effect than any of his applications to other princes. The first intelligence they received of the transaction seems to have shown them that the vizier was already moving forward for the deliverance of Antioch at the head of the largest army of Mussulmans which had yet taken the field; and as the scarcity was still but partially removed, as the epidemic sickness increased, as the city held out resolutely, and as not the slightest breach had been effected in any part of the walls, these tidings cooled and disheartened many. At this period the courage of Stephen, Count of Blois, which had never been very conspicuous throughout the crusade, failed him entirely; and declaring that his health was declining, and could only be restored by the better air of Alexandretta, he abandoned the army before Antioch, accompanied by four thousand men, giving a promise, it would appear, of returning, which he never intended to fulfil.

Though the soldiers viewed his retirement with contempt, the example was one of great danger, and the assembled chiefs enacted a law by which those who withdrew from the Christian camp without leave, were to be considered as guilty of murder and blasphemy. Boemond, however, was not restrained by this denunciation from hinting an intention of quitting his companions; and it might have been somewhat dangerous, considering his skill, courage, and the number of his troops, to have applied the newly-promulgated law to him. His valour, his perseverance, and his ambition, were too well known for any one to imagine that in his case, as in that of the Count of Blois, cowardice had any share in the views which he took such pains to announce. It was soon



suspected that he was actuated by some sinister motive, and this suspicion was confirmed shortly afterwards by an attempt which he made to gain a promise from the chiefs, that if Antioch were taken by his means, it should be given up to him in pure possession. At first this demand was scoffed at; but as rumours of the approach of Kerboga became more general and frequent, the great majority of the leaders, feeling probably convinced that Boemond had not proposed stipulations without being sure that he could take advantage of them, overruled the opposition of the Count of St. Giles, and declared that the city should become the property of the person who actually succeeded in capturing it, with a reservation in favour of the feudal superiority of the emperor.

Boemond then confided to Godfrey and the rest, that for some time he had entertained a secret communication with one of the inhabitants of the town, the name of whose family was Zerrad, or the Armourer, and whose private name seems to have been Firouz.\* The son of this man, we are told, acted the part of a Turkish spy in the Christian camp, and Baguisian, with the common fate of all who employ traitors, was by him betrayed in turn. What were the motives which influenced Firouz, is difficult to discover, but it would seem that he spontaneously offered to introduce the crusaders into Antioch. The Christians pretend that it was zeal for our own religion; but, of the Arabic historians who mention the facts, one declares that Firouz was moved by indignation at Baguisian for having plundered him of his wealth, and another lays the load of the treachery upon several inhabitants of Antioch, whom the emir had oppressed, and who sold the city to the conquerors for a sum of money. All agree, however, that Baguisian was a tyrant, and detested by his people, and in such circumstances it is not necessary to seek for the motives of an act which afforded ample vengeance for any past offences.

\* William of Tyre informs us that the name of the family was Benizerra, and calls the individual of whom we speak Emir Feir. He gives us to understand that the traitor was a Christian, and that it was from zeal for the Christian religion that he delivered up the city to Boemond. The good bishop, however, disfigures several of the names during the whole course of his narrative, and it is scarcely necessary to point out to the reader that both the names of this man were Arabic, and that it is impossible the jealous Baguisian should have left him in command of one of the principal towers of Antioch, if he had not been to all appearance a zealous and devoted Mussulman.

Notwithstanding the secrecy with which Boemond and his accomplice had conducted their intrigue, it would seem that vague suspicions of treachery were entertained by the rulers of Antioch, and redoubled vigilance was used in guarding the walls and gates of the city. No time was to be lost by the crusaders;\* Kerboga was already at Aleppo; their diminished and enfeebled forces had no reasonable hope of resisting him till fresh succour could arrive, but in the capture of Antioch, and every moment was invaluable. All was at length concerted with Firouz, who agreed to receive the troops of Boemond in the middle of the night into one of the towers of the city which was under his command; and at the hour appointed a chosen body approached the part of the wall where it was situated, by a circuitous path, while other corps were stationed opposite to the gates, so as instantly to take advantage of the success of the plot. These forces, however, were not brought into the position assigned to them without great care and caution; the suspicions of the people of Antioch were awake, additional watchfulness was used, an armed guard patrolled the walls during the night, and every movement in the Christian camp was noted with the greatest accuracy.

On the day preceding the fall of Antioch, the only thing that was perceived in the country around by the watchers on the walls of the city, was the departure of a body of about seven hundred men, who, towards evening, wound away into the mountains in the direction of Aleppo. The garrison of the place believed that it was a detachment sent to lay wait for the forces of Kerboga; but knowing the immense army the vizier brought with him, they might well view the movement with contempt, under the mistaken notion which they entertained of its purpose.

In the dead of the night, however, traversing the rocks and precipices which lay around the city, the force which

\* I am still unfortunate enough to differ with Mr. Mills through the whole of this account. He says, speaking of the operations of Boemond, "when it was *least* needed, stratagem was called in to the aid of valour." Now, it appears to me, that it could never be more needed than when the Christians, enfeebled by disease, want, and bloodshed, and dispirited by disappointment and desertion, saw Antioch still holding out without a stone shaken in its walls, and Kerboga, with his armed myriads, sweeping up from Aleppo. I reject the story of the proceedings which took place in Antioch the day before its fall, as many of the particulars are opposed to the statements of the Arabian authors.



they had seen returned towards Antioch;\* and as the wind blew in sharp gusts, its howling amongst the passes of the mountain prevented the near approach of an enemy from being heard in the town. The object of their expedition was then, but not till then, explained to the troops; a single interpreter was sent forward to confer with Firouz; and the tidings being soon brought back that all was ready, Boemond, Robert of Flanders, and Godfrey himself, instantly led the troops to the foot of the tower. A rope was let down from the battlements, and a ladder of hides was raised; but for a moment, the men who had encountered danger and death in all its varied shapes, hesitated when an enterprise which was new and strange was presented to them. At first no one could be found to mount; but at length a gentleman named Fulcher, of Chartres,† exclaimed, "In the name of Christ I will mount the first. I am ready to receive whatever God sends me, either the crown of martyrdom, or the palm of victory." He then began to ascend, and those below soon finding that he had effected his entrance in safety, rushed up in such numbers that the ladder broke. Several, however, had previously gained the top of the wall, more were aided

\* Such is the account of Robert the Monk, who was present at the siege of Antioch, and this detachment is undoubtedly the same which was commanded by Tancred, and which we find set out from the camp the day before the capture of the city. The testimony of Radulphus, or Raoul of Caen, who was not present at the siege of Antioch, is not to be received in opposition to that of eye-witnesses.

† In a former work, I expressed some doubt as to who was the person that mounted first on this occasion, and expressed myself as follows:—"There is some reason to believe that Boemond was the first who entered, as stated by William of Tyre; but as Albert of Aix makes no mention of the fact, and as Guibert of Nogent declares positively that Boemond, who is certainly his favourite hero, did not mount till sixty others preceded him, as Raymond de Agiles gives the honour of the feat to Fulcher de Chartres, and as Robert the Monk confirms that assertion, I have left the matter in doubt, as I found it." On further consideration, however, I have rejected the story of Boemond mounting first altogether, and have adopted the account of the two contemporary writers, who were present in the camp at the time, especially as three contemporaries who were not present confirm the account, and the opposite statement rests only on the authority of William of Tyre, which though excellent where confirmed by, or not opposed to contemporary writers, can never be put in competition with the account of eye-witnesses. I have taken the whole of the narrative of the capture of Antioch, from the accounts of those who were in the camp at the time, with the exception of one sentence from Fulcher, who was at the time with Baldwin at Edessa, and one sentence regarding the slaughter of several Franks by their companions, from the work of Albertus, also a contemporary. It will be remarked that the Fulcher of Chartres, who mounted first into the tower of Firouz, is not the same Fulcher to whom we owe an account of the first crusade.

up afterwards, either by ropes or by other ladders; and, while some of the numbers hastened to open a postern for the entrance of the rest, others attacked the three neighbouring towers, and slaughtered the Turks whom they found within them.

Amongst the victims of the first assault of the crusaders were the two brothers of Firouz; but the traitor was now in the hands of the Christians, and consequently, though he wept for the death of his relations, he had no power to avenge them. Many anecdotes are related in regard to the taking of Antioch, upon which we cannot pause; and it is sufficient to say that the rest of the forces which had been prepared, rushed into the gates which had been opened for them, and began the work of destruction in the town. The trumpets of the Christians soon roused the slumbering Turks; arms were seized up and battalions marshalled in haste; and, though no hope was left, the troops of Baguisian for some time opposed the Christian army with the most determined courage. They were slaughtered in every direction, however; the towers, the public buildings, the private houses, were entered; and during the whole night the crusaders continued to massacre all they found, with the brutality and virulence of long-defeated rage, and successful fanaticism. In the morning it was discovered that not only the Turks had fallen, but that a number of the Syrian and Armenian Christians had been slain in the indiscriminate slaughter of that night; and yet we are told that all the Christians had been previously drawn out of the city, and that many of the Franks themselves had been killed, not without a suspicion that they had been slain during the darkness, in the bloody and mistaken zeal of their countrymen.

The success of the army of the cross, however, was not complete; Antioch, indeed, was taken, but the citadel still remained in the hands of the Mussulmans, and we are informed by the Arabian writer, Abou-yali,\* that three thousand found refuge therein, and prepared to defend themselves to the last. Baguisian, however, was not so fortunate; at the first sound of the Christian trumpets, he was seized with panic, imagined that the citadel was in the hands of the Christians, as well as the town, mounted his horse with all

\* Cited by Ibngiouzi.



speed, and directed his course towards the mountains.\* What befel him afterwards is differently related, even by different Arabian writers. By some he is said to have fled alone, by some we are told that he was accompanied by one or more attendants. The account of Ibngiouzi is most probable, however; and by it we are led to believe that after having left Antioch and passed beyond the lines of the Christian camp in safety, the recollection of his mighty loss came suddenly upon Baguisian, and dismounting from his horse he threw himself down upon the ground in despair, and cast the dust upon his head. At that moment an Armenian woodcutter passed by, and recognising the tyrant of Antioch, killed him upon the spot.

Whatever was the manner of his death, certain it is that his head was struck off after he had quitted the city, and was brought in, together with his baldrick and dagger, and laid at the feet of the crusading princes.

Great riches of various kinds were found in Antioch; but where the necessaries of life are not to be procured by wealth, gold is in reality but as the dust of the ground. Scarcely any provisions remained in the city at the time of its fall; and after the first tumults of joy had subsided in the Christian army, reflection showed the chiefs that their situation had been but little improved by their victory. The army of Kerboga was approaching with rapid marches; and the first news that reached the place after its occupation by the forces of the crusade, was, that a detachment which had been left to guard the iron bridge had been attacked and cut to pieces, and that the millions of the Persian host were pouring on towards Antioch.

All hope of procuring a supply of provisions was now at an end; and while the most terrible degree of famine began to show itself in the captured town, the first measure of Kerboga was to establish a communication with the citadel and introduce supplies for the relief of the Turkish garrison therein. One of the officers of the emir also threw himself into that fortress, having arranged with his superior a certain code of

\* Some of the Christian writers say, that Baguisian took refuge for a time in the citadel, but at length, despairing, left it in disguise, and made his escape from the city. The Arabian historians, however, agree with the best contemporary authorities, in stating that he fled at once, without any delay, thinking that the citadel was in the hands of his enemies.

signals in order that he might communicate to him such of the movements of the crusaders as the lofty situation of the castle enabled him to discover.

Nothing seems to have been attempted on the part of the Christians to impede Kerboga in any of his first movements, and that general immediately invested the city on all sides, cutting off the crusaders from every channel by which supplies could be introduced. The famine now became dreadful in its intensity. The most noisome food was eaten with avidity, the flesh of horses, and all unsavory herbs became dainties at the tables of the great, and the noble chargers of the knights, which had hitherto escaped, were slaughtered day by day to supply a scanty portion of sustenance to the starving population. It would seem that Kerboga and his troops—though the awful tale of the misery which the Christians endured, gives terrible proof of the strictness with which all provisions were excluded—suffered his blockade of the town to be so far evaded, that tidings of what was passing without were frequently received by the crusaders, and that many of the unhappy men escaped over the walls and fled in different directions.

These fugitives carried intelligence of the state of Antioch to Stephen, Count of Blois, at Alexandretta, and that cowardly prince, instead of returning to the assistance of his brethren, retreated rapidly towards Constantinople, although he well knew that Alexius, reassured by the past successes of the Latin forces, and hoping to appropriate all that the host of the cross had won, was marching forward with a large and magnificent army, swelled by numerous reinforcements from the west of Europe. The Count of Blois met the emperor in Phrygia, and their united forces attacking Kerboga under the walls of Antioch in concert with the efforts of the crusaders within, might have obtained a victory which would have altered for ever the fate of Syria. But the dastardly conference of two such princes could have but one result. Alexius, as soon as he heard the tidings brought by the Count of Blois, retreated without a moment's delay, dragging back with him a considerable body of Italian and French pilgrims who had been hastening towards Antioch under the command of a brother of Boemond.

The news of the emperor's approach had filled the hearts of the besieged with joy and hope; the tidings of his retreat,



cast them into despair; and again that singular and terrible spectacle was presented which great masses of human beings, when utterly deprived of hope, have frequently offered to the curious inquiries of historical philosophy. Vice of the grossest and foulest description, seemed born of despair, and Christian men, who appeared to have no prospect but an immediate descent into the grave, loaded themselves with all that can make the grave terrible to believers. Listless apathy followed, the troops abandoned the walls, scarcely sufficient soldiers could be gathered together to defend the towers and gates, and to drive the troops forth from the places where they lingered in vice and sloth, Boemond set fire to the town in several places. Even this barbarous measure proved unsuccessful; a portion of the nobler and higher spirits returned to their duty, but still despair, with its wings of night, brooded over the greater part of the host and lulled them into a death-like slumber, which, had their enemies been energetically active, might have ended in utter extinction. Such, happily for the crusading camp, was not the case. The Frankish host, in looking from the walls of Antioch, beheld the cattle feeding in myriads on the rich pastures which carpeted the banks of the Orontes, and, while pining, wasting, and dying for want, imagined the choicest blessings of Heaven showered upon the heads of the infidels; but at that very time a spirit of disunion and discontent had arisen in the Mussulman camp, which paralysed the vast power of the enemy.

Kerboga, though wielding the whole force of the Persian empire, was still, in the eyes of his companions, but the Emir of Moussoul. In his own estimation, indeed, he was of a far higher grade; and it is very probable that he did, as some of the Arabian historians affirmed, display a degree of haughtiness and severity which greatly offended the emirs who accompanied him; but another cause of discontent also affected at this time a large body of the vizier's army. He had brought with him not only all those troops which he could muster in his own territories, but also all those that he could collect by the way. Amongst these were the forces of Deccac, Prince of Damascus, between whom and his brother, Redouand, Emir of Aleppo, there existed an inveterate quarrel. Redouand would not march with his brother, and he consequently remained at Aleppo, while the Mussul-

man army advanced. Redouand was thus in the rear of Kerboga; and that great prince maintained with the Emir of Aleppo a friendly and serviceable intercourse, which, as soon as it was known, raised the suspicions, and called forth the anger, of Deccac.

All these discontents had subsided, however, before the last grand effort of the Christians took place, and I have only mentioned them to show that the first movements of Kerboga's army were impeded, and his energies cramped, by divisions among his subordinates and allies. Nevertheless, very great neglect seems to have existed on his part, as it is clearly shown that, on various occasions, the walls of Antioch were not guarded in such a manner as to resist a vigorous attack; and yet none such was made.

The famine in the mean time became more and more severe within the town, and so strong was the inclination of the soldiery to desert, that it appeared necessary for all the great leaders to bind themselves by the most solemn vows not to abandon their undertaking as long as forty horsemen would follow them to Jerusalem. At length it struck some skilful person in the host, that superstition must be brought to combat despair. Visions were seen; prophets and apostles visited the priests and the monks, and in the end it was revealed, in a dream, to a clerk of Provence, by St. Andrew the Apostle, that if a search was made in a certain part of the church of St. Peter of Antioch, the Roman spear would be found which had pierced our Saviour's side at the crucifixion. Guided by this sacred relic, the forces of the cross were counselled by the spectre of the apostle to issue forth against the Turks and give battle, with the full assurance of obtaining a victory. Such a proceeding at that moment was certainly the resource of despair, and prudence as well as piety and sincerity induced many of the great leaders to discountenance the tale. The Bishop of Puy, and several other chiefs, declared that the vision was a pretence, and asserted that no such lance could be found in Antioch; but others saw that the hopes of the troops were renewed in a wonderful manner by the mere unsupported tale; and they encouraged the enthusiasm, arguing that no succour was near, that the men must obtain food, and that a battle must ultimately be risked. Raymond of Toulouse had already greatly benefited by a vision of a similar kind. St. Giles



having twice appeared during his illness near Antiochetta, with assurances that he would recover, which promises had been fulfilled, when he had seemed even at the point of death. He therefore gave the fullest support to the Provencal priest, and it was accordingly agreed that the lance should be sought for in form.

At first no such implement could be found in the place designated ; but when at length the priest who had seen the apostle descended into the pit which had been dug, the iron head was discovered in a moment, and brought forth to the eyes of the wondering people. The enthusiasm was now so great, and the visions were so dangerously multiplied, that it became necessary to seize the favourable moment for a great effort, and one of the most extraordinary proceedings of the crusade took place. It was determined to send Peter the Hermit, and a personage named Heloine with a threatening message to Kerboga, demanding that the quarrel between the Christians and the Turks should be settled by a combat between certain champions chosen on each side. The vizier received the message with contempt, and sent back an answer full of scorn and pride. His reply was related to Godfrey, who, it is said, prevented it from being made known to the rest of the army. Preparations for speedy battle were then commenced, and on the morning of the 28th of June, 1098, the host of the crusade began to issue forth from the gates of Antioch in order to attack the enemy. Wretched indeed was the sight presented by those gallant forces, which, not quite two years previous, had commenced their march towards the storied land of Palestine. Squalid famine sat upon their countenances, their worn arms and dimmed weapons told both of labour and of apathy ; and such had been the pressing curse of dearth, that of all the noble chivalry which but a short time before had spurred on their splendid steeds to the battle-field, not above two hundred had preserved their horses to go forth against the enemy. The Count of St. Giles remained to guard the town, and Godfrey himself borrowed the charger of that nobleman in order that he might appear mounted at the head of his troops.

At the beginning of the siege, the army of Kerboga, at the very lowest estimation, amounted to more than three hundred thousand men. The Arabs themselves admit a

hundred thousand horsemen completely armed; but every day during the vizier's stay this force had been increased by immense reinforcements, and we are assured, from very good authority, that it now amounted to nearly seven hundred thousand men. Kerboga had been joined by Soliman, or Kilig Arslan, with all the forces that he could muster, and by all the emirs of Syria, Armenia, Cappadocia, and Mesopotamia. The Franks, who now issued forth from Antioch, were but a handful in comparison, enfeebled by famine and disease, and worn with long toil and desperate contests; but they were animated with religious enthusiasm, with the chivalrous spirit of the land from which they came, and with the superstitious expectation of divine aid, so that confidence in their own power to win a victory was never more active among them.

The troops were divided into four bodies, or as the crusaders themselves call it, into eight, for in their account they separate the horse from the foot of each nation. Hugh of Vermandois, the Count of Flanders, and Robert of Normandy, led the first division; the foot preceding the small force of horsemen, and advancing steadily towards a point in the mountains at the distance of about two miles. Godfrey\*

\* I cannot pass over an extraordinary assertion which Mr. Mills makes in regard to the command of the army, as the opinion has consequently gained ground that Godfrey was never in any degree recognised as the leader of the crusade, and that Tasso violates the facts of history by so representing him. Mr. Mills says in a note: "This assertion of Baldwin, that his brother Godfrey was generalissimo, was an artifice in order to gain some consequence with the people of Tarsus. The whole tenor of the crusade shows, that whatever respect was paid to Godfrey, was not a tribute to power, but to superior virtues and talents. The Duke of Lorraine never attempted to convert that superiority, which was yielded to his merits, into a real dominion. The operations of the army were directed by a council of chiefs, of which the Count of Blois and Chartres was the president. (Archbishop of Tyre, p. 703.) *It was the celebrated Benedetto Accolti who furnished Tasso with the idea that Godfrey was supreme commander.*"

All this gives a completely false idea of the true state of the case; the assertion of Baldwin was certainly deceitful, for he himself was entrusted with no superior command; but the whole tenor of the history of the crusades shows, that Godfrey had been elected leader, as his brother stated; and, moreover, many of the contemporary writers and eye-witnesses point out, in distinct terms, that such was the case. Besides, the speech of Baldwin, recorded by Albert of Aix without comment, the same writer, in the beginning of the fourth book of his history, says, speaking of one of the battles with the Turks, in which all the Christian leaders were present: "Tandem à Duce Godefrido populoque fidelium triumphatis et obrutis in gurgitus flumine adversariis Christianæ plebis." He is continually called *Dux*, without any name following; but this is not all, for Robert the Monk, who accompanied the army repeatedly, mentions him as the general of



of Bouillon, the great leader and commander of the whole host, followed next at the head of his own troops. The Bishop of Puy, clothed in armour, sometimes bearing the sacred lance himself, sometimes entrusting it to the hands of his chaplain, Raymond de Agiles, led on the crusaders of Languedoc; and the rear of the whole was brought up by Boemond and Tancred, with the Norman and Italian forces from Apulia.

Early in the morning, a black flag hoisted on the towers of the citadel had announced to Kerboga that the Christians were in movement; but that general committed the great fault of despising his enemy, and he suffered the whole host of the crusade to issue forth, troop after troop, and man after man, without the slightest attempt to attack them, ere they could be put in array. By some we are told that he was playing at chess when the bands of his adversaries began to appear under the walls of Antioch, and that he contemptuously finished his game before he made any movement to impede their progress. One of the Arabian historians says, that he held a council in order to ascertain the opinion of his allies as to whether he should suffer the Franks to issue forth from the city or not; and Aboul Faradj declares that Kerboga allowed the besieged army to quit the sheltering walls of Antioch, in the proud expectation of destroying the whole at one blow.\*

Whatever might be the feelings of the vizier at first, he seems to have been seized with some degree of apprehension, as he saw the firm array of the Christian troops, and the force which they still mustered. Almost all the historians of the time aver that he now repented having refused the challenge at first made him, to determine the possession of Syria by a combat between certain champions, and that he despatched messengers to Godfrey, then on his march, offering to submit to that means of decision. This proposal was immediately rejected by the leaders of the crusade, who replied that they had come out to fight for the land of Christ, and were resolved to abide the issue of the battle. They

the leaders; thus, in the seventh book, he says: "Quod ut vidit Dux ducum Godefridus;" and again, "Quid Dux ducum Godefridus quid Boamondus, quid clara juvenus ibi egerint," &c.

\* Aboul Faradj had probably read some of the Frankish historians of the crusade, as we find the same assertion in several of their works. See *Robertus*, lib. vii.

still pursued their course towards the mountains, where the immense superiority of the Mussulman cavalry could not affect them. The priests and monks, mingled with the soldiery, sung hymns and psalms to God as they proceeded; and the warlike Bishop of Puy paused for a moment when his division had reached a secure position, and addressed a few words of soul-stirring exhortation to the crusaders assembled around him.

In the mean time, the vizier had not been remiss in endeavouring, as far as possible, to remedy the error he had committed in suffering the host of the cross to issue forth from the gates of Antioch unattacked. Dividing his forces into two parts, he sent an immense body of chosen horsemen under Soliman, Sultan of Rhoum, the first, the most persevering, and the most skilful enemy of the Franks, to fall upon the rear of Boemond, as he led forth the last division of the crusaders. At the same time, he himself stretched out the wings of his army, to outflank the troops of Hugh of Vermandois, so that for a moment the Christians were enclosed between the rocky steepes of Libanus and a crescent of nearly seven hundred thousand men. The battle immediately commenced by Godfrey and Hugh of Vermandois, with the forces of Lorraine attacking the main body of Kerboga's army; and with such vehemence, skill, and courage, did the duke make his onset, that the vizier himself was driven back nearly to his camp, and victory seemed hovering over the banners of the cross. At that instant, the dry grass and reeds, which had risen from the marshy land in the neighbourhood of the gates of Antioch, were fired by the orders of Soliman, to cover, under the smoke and blaze, the movements of the Seljukian horse; and then took place that tremendous charge of cavalry, which, casting the troops of Boemond into disarray and confusion, had well-nigh extinguished the flame of the crusade in the heart's blood of the Christian soldiery. Tancred, however, flew to the assistance of his cousin, Hugh of Vermandois hastened to aid the forces of Apulia; Godfrey, leaving a large part of his troops to carry on the combat with Kerboga, hurried to the spot where the greatest danger existed; and the Bishop of Puy, advancing with his division, supplied the vacancy which this movement on the part of Godfrey had produced in the army of the crusaders.

Thus stood the battle, when superstition came to the aid



of valour and skill. Whether it was the force of imagination, or some happy accident, or one of the skilful combinations of priestly craft, can hardly now be told, but a body of men were seen coming over the mountains to the aid of the Christians. Fancy or art had arrayed them in garments of resplendent white; angels were said to be fighting in the ranks of the cross, and the redoubted battle-cry of "God wills it! God wills it!" once more thundered over the field. Soliman and his multitudes were driven back; the troops of the centre were thrown into disorder; the vizier's left wing wavered; and at the same moment the terrible news spread far and wide that the Franks had forced their way into the Mussulman camp.

Terror and confusion, and disgraceful flight succeeded; the vizier himself hurried from the field of battle; Soliman once more fled; the Christians, mounting the horses of the slain or captured Turks, urged the pursuit under the command of Tancred for many miles, and drove the enemy across the Orontes. The stream flowed with the blood of the infidel, and the number of slain must have been tremendous. Robert the Monk, who was present, assures us that a hundred thousand of the horsemen fell upon the part of the Turks, between the city of Antioch and the iron bridge; and that the foot who were killed were not counted. Others reduce the number to sixty-nine or seventy thousand men, both horse and foot; and the Arabian, Kemaleddin, would fain persuade his readers that few besides the rabble and the foot soldiers were slain by the crusaders. He admits, however, that the slaughter was terrible; and Abou-yali and Ibngiouzi are too much surprised and astounded by the unexpected victory of the enemy to attempt to diminish the marvellous success of the Christian host.

As usual, on this occasion took place many of those acts which leave a dark and horrible blemish on the heroes of the crusade. An indiscriminate massacre took place in the camp of Kerboga; women and children were put to the sword; and fierce wrath and savage vengeance, for a time, even superseded the cravings of hunger and the thirst of plunder. Immense spoil, however, was taken upon the field. The tent of Kerboga, itself one of the marvels of eastern magnificence, formed in the shape of a city, and capable of lodging two thousand men, fell to the share of Boemond; but, besides this,

the quantity of gold and silver, and rich arms and splendid clothing, and camels, and other beasts of burden, was immense; while the store of provisions of all kinds which the vizier was forced to leave behind in his flight, was of still greater value to the half-famished host of the crusade.

The Count of Toulouse, or of St. Giles, had, as we have shown, remained within the walls of Antioch, to protect the city from the infidel garrison of the citadel; but the commander of the castle seeing the rout of Kerboga, and his flight from the field of battle, sought safety in a negotiation with the deputies of Raymond, who was at the time too ill to receive in person the surrender of that fortress. Raymond, however, whose craft never lost sight of his own personal advantage, saw in the proposal of the governor a prospect of obtaining possession of the citadel of Antioch for himself; and he speedily concluded a treaty with the lieutenant of Kerboga, by which it was stipulated that such of the Turkish soldiers as chose to remain and embrace the Christian religion might do so, and that the rest should be safely conducted to a certain distance beyond the limits of the conquered territory. This having been settled, he spread his banner over the gates of the castle, and waited the return of the victorious host.

His convention with the garrison was most faithfully executed; but the unfortunate Turkish soldiery did not find security, for the inhabitants of the greater part of the country round were Armenian or Syrian Christians, who had borne impatiently the Turkish yoke, and who, as soon as the utter defeat of the vizier was known, fell upon any scattered bands of Mussulmans that they met with and massacred them without mercy. Thus were slain many of the garrison after the Frankish guard had left them, and thus also fell a multitude of the troops of Kerboga while flying from the terrible battle of Antioch.

Hymns, and psalms, and acts of gratitude to God, accompanied the crusading army back into the city. The cleansing, and purifying, and consecrating the Turkish mosques for the offices of a holier faith, were the first occupations of the crusaders, as well as the restoration of the many Christian churches which had been desecrated by the ceremonies of Mahommedanism. With wise moderation, however, the Latins, though they held the faith of the Greeks to be heretical, did not interfere with the rights of the patriarch, but



allowed those churches which had been originally devoted to the Greek form of Christianity to be restored to their former uses.

The battle of Antioch, though certainly one of the most important events of the crusade, did not produce such immediate benefits as might have been anticipated. The first question for the crusaders, after the magnitude of their victory was ascertained, became, whether the army of the cross should advance to Jerusalem at once, or should pause for a certain time to refresh the wearied and exhausted soldiery. Almost all the lower orders were eager to press forward, and it has been urged, not without reason, that had the march been commenced at once, so great was the panic caused amongst the infidels by the overthrow of Kerboga, all the cities on the road, as well as Jerusalem itself, would have thrown open their gates at once to the victorious army. Other motives, however, and those of very great weight, induced Godfrey and the rest of the leaders to resolve upon halting at Antioch for a time. They were now in the midst of summer; the troops were exhausted by disease as well as famine; the Count of Toulouse and many of the principal knights were ill; the way to Jerusalem was arid and barren; and at all times, but especially at that season of the year, a great want of water was known to exist upon the road. It seemed then absolutely necessary to give the troops some repose, and the time for marching was delayed to the month of October.

In the mean while it was determined to send messengers to Alexius, demanding the immediate fulfilment of his promises; and in order to give more dignity to the embassy, two of the crusading princes, Hugh of Vermandois, and Baldwin of Mons, Count of Hainault, were entrusted with the mission. The embassy proved unfortunate; Baldwin of Mons was betrayed into the hands of the Turks, not without suspicion of treachery on the part of the emperor, and to the remonstrances of Hugh of Vermandois, who reached Constantinople, Alexius returned such answers as clearly showed that he had not the slightest intention of ever joining the crusade. The threats which Hugh was charged to thunder at the head of that monarch came from too remote a quarter to create any alarm in the mind of the deceitful Greek; and although he was glad to hear that his enemies, the Turks,

were defeated and slaughtered, he was not at all sorry to find that his Christian friends were melting away under the united effects of famine, pestilence, and the sword.

Hugh of Vermandois was conciliated with all the pleasures of Constantinople, and the comforts of a Christian land brought to mind the sweets of France too forcibly to be resisted. He was now near home; he had no good news to carry back to the crusaders; he was wearied with the discomfort, and the toil, and the strife he had undergone; and yielding to his versatile character, he returned to France, abandoning his companions without ever attempting to excuse and palliate his conduct.

The princes whom he deserted had soon other causes for regretting that they had halted at Antioch. The fever which had been raging in the army for some time, assumed the character of a plague very soon after the defeat of Kerboga. The Count of Toulouse recovered; but a very great number of the noblest knights and warriors in the host fell a prey to the contagious malady which now spread amongst them. The chief of these was the noble and true-hearted Adhemar, Bishop of Puy, the first who had received the cross at the council of Clermont. At the same time the moral pestilence which had before affected the crusaders, returned after the victory, and vices of all kinds reigned within the walls of Antioch. It became evident that to separate the forces of the cross was absolutely necessary, as well as to provide occupation for mind and body. Various towns and districts in the neighbourhood were still in the hands of the infidel, and Boemond led forth his troops on one side, while Godfrey, at the head of the men of Lorraine, proceeded to the somewhat anomalous task of assisting a Turkish emir against the Mussulman Prince of Aleppo.

Redouan, emir of the latter city, had laid siege to the capital of the Prince of Ezaz, who, it would appear, was his tributary, and an application was made to Godfrey to give assistance to the besieged. The Christian leader immediately marched to the assistance of Ezaz, and succeeded, after having been joined by Baldwin, in delivering the town from the forces of Redouan. Godfrey exacted, it would seem, somewhat hard conditions from his infidel ally, and then turned his steps towards Antioch; but, finding that the plague was still raging there, he led his troops in the direction of Edessa,



and contributed greatly to fix his brother in the dignity which Baldwin had, I am inclined to believe,\* usurped.

It would be endless to notice all the petty wars that now took place around Antioch; for nothing would appear upon the face of the history but the siege of various cities, of no great interest to any one. Although in some instances the garrison held out after all hope of relief was at an end, the whole of Cilicia was, in the end, conquered by Boemond; the principality of Edessa, and a number of towns and strong places surrounding it, were secured to the Christian cause, and the country in the rear was cleared of enemies; while nothing but timid and ill-judging foes occupied the chief fortresses on the way to Jerusalem. Tripoli, indeed, was well garrisoned, and possessed a large tract of rich and fertile soil, but the disunion of the Mahommedan princes rendered the advantages of any individual emir of little or no avail to the general body. The Emir of Tripoli, as well as his fellows, entertained great jealousy of some of the neighbouring states, and only waited for the advance of the crusaders, to enter into negotiations with the enemies of his faith. Godfrey was very willing to receive any of the Syrian rulers into a certain degree of favour, to render himself a sort of arbitrator in their quarrels, and to gain a pretext for judging between them; but many circumstances combined to delay his advance, arising more from the difficult situation of the allies than the efforts of their adversaries.

During Godfrey's absence the other princes had been carrying on the same desultory warfare; and all those private individuals who could gather together any large band of companions, had set out upon separate expeditions, in one or two instances conquering some of the neighbouring cities.†

At the time that Godfrey returned to Antioch, the crusading leaders were still scattered over the country, and the Count of Toulouse had made himself master of Albar, and some other places. Having chosen a priest from his host, he created him Bishop of Albar, which strange proceeding was afterwards confirmed and sanctioned by the Church.

On the news that the other princes were collected in Antioch, the count marched back to that city, and found the people clamouring loudly to be led on to Jerusalem. The

\* See the history of Baldwin, *ante*.

† See the excursion of Raymond Pelet, in Robert the Monk.

long-smothered quarrel, however, between Boemond and Raymond burst forth, on the first proposal to quit the city, and advance. The citadel, it is true, had been given up by the Count of St. Giles to the united body of the crusaders; but he still held possession of one of the gates of the town, and the palace of Baguisian, and positively refused to surrender them to the Prince of Tarentum, notwithstanding the agreement which had been made previous to the capture of Antioch. He used as a pretence the oath he had taken to Alexius; but no one can doubt, that at the bottom of the dispute were jealous rivalry and personal ambition. At length the murmurs of the people, who threatened to throw down the walls of Antioch, to abandon their leaders, and to march on to Jerusalem without them, brought about a temporary accommodation of the quarrel. The Count of Toulouse agreed to march, if Boemond marched too; and it was determined that each should fortify the part of the town that he possessed, and leave it to the protection of some of his own soldiery. In this arrangement, however, the crafty Provençal was outwitted by the still more crafty Italian; for Boemond, possessing by much the larger portion of Antioch, took care that his adversary should not remain long in custody of any part of it, after the main body of the troops of Provence was actually withdrawn.

The Count of Toulouse and Robert of Flanders, after this dissension was appeased, marched out before the rest of the leaders, and laid siege to the large and populous town of Marrah; the inhabitants of which, confiding in their numbers, and in the strength of the city, scoffed at the crusading army, and performed every antic that they could devise, to show their contempt for the cross, and those who bore that symbol. For some time the two counts made little or no progress in the siege; but at length Boemond also arrived. The attack was renewed with greater vigour; the Provençals and the Italians forced their way in; and the unfortunate inhabitants of Marrah were given up to the sword. The Provençals had always shown themselves bloodthirsty, and at Albar they had killed all the inhabitants as soon as the city was taken; but here they found rivals in the Italians, who led them on even to more horrible wickedness. Not able to slay the inhabitants quick enough one by one, they fell upon the expedient of hanging two or three in one cord.



Men and women, the aged and children, were put to death without mercy, and night itself did not stop the effusion of blood, for guards were placed at all the gates, to prevent the escape of the unhappy citizens into the fields; and for three days the slaughter continued unremittingly.

With the cruelty of Boemond there was a mixture of cold thoughtfulness, which rendered it more detestable than the mere savage ferocity of his fellow-crusaders. He got possession of the strongest tower of Marrah on the first assault after his arrival, and caused a rumour to be spread among the richest citizens, that if they took refuge there they would be protected, and permitted to ransom themselves; but on the second or third day after the capture of the city, he commanded the whole of the unfortunate wretches to be brought forth, and gave an order for slaying all the sickly, the children, the old men and women, and for sending the strong and the young to be sold as slaves at Antioch.\*

No sooner had the savages finished the work of butchery at Marrah, than they naturally quarrelled amongst themselves; the Count of St. Giles declared that the city was his, but Boemond had got possession of several towers and strong points in the place and refused to give them up, unless Raymond would in turn yield the palace and the gate at Antioch, which were still in his hands. This the count would not do, and the other crusading leaders, who by this time had arrived, found it impossible to calm the dispute. Godfrey and several others withdrew in disgust; and the Duke of Lorraine proceeded once more to visit his brother Baldwin at Edessa.

Various conferences were now held between the different

\* The excuse which the crusaders made for their brutality when they thought it necessary to offer any, was, that the Turks had committed the same cruelties upon the Christians when they took these very towns. I have followed, in my account of the capture of Marrah, the statements of Robert the Monk and Raymond de Agiles, both of whom were present at the crusade, and one of whom was certainly present at Marrah. The narrative of William of Tyre is very different, but his authority in regard to these points cannot be put in competition with that of eye-witnesses, as he was not himself living at the time, and took a great part of his account from Albert of Aix, who was not present. It is worthy of remark that both Robert and Raymond, who call all those bodies of the enemy that they met with before reaching Antioch, and, indeed, all on the northern and eastern sides of Syria, by the name of *Turks*, use the word *Saracens* for the people between Antioch and Jerusalem.

leaders, both at Marrah and Edessa; and many weeks were spent in endeavouring to reconcile Boemond and the count; but every attempt proved vain. The provisions which Marrah afforded were soon exhausted; a terrible famine succeeded, and multitudes of the lower orders of crusaders were reduced to the necessity of feeding on the putrid bodies of the Saracens whom they themselves had slain several weeks before. At length, indignation at the conduct of the two princes overcame every other feeling; the people rose, rushed to the walls which caused this new dissension, and with their own hands destroyed the fortifications of Marrah, and levelled the towers with the dust.

Shame seemed now to regain some influence with the chiefs, and serious preparations were made for pursuing the journey to Jerusalem, although no reconciliation took place between Boemond and the Count of St. Giles. The former returned to Antioch; and it would seem, though there is no positive assertion of the fact in the historians of the time, that Godfrey greatly condemned the Count of St. Giles, though he did not choose to support the Prince of Tarentum against him. Nearly at the same time that Raymond set out from Marrah, accompanied by Tancred and the Duke of Normandy, Godfrey, with the Count of Flanders, and Boemond, commenced their march from Antioch on a parallel line with the Count of St. Giles, but taking the road by the sea till they reached Laodicea. Before the Duke of Lorraine quitted Antioch, a reinforcement of Germans had disembarked in the port of St. Simeon, but immediately on their landing they had become food for the pestilence, which still raged in the captured city. At Laodicea, however, the great leader of the crusade gained an accession to his forces of no slight importance. In that port, he found the ships of a number of Flemish pirates, which had been detained by the inhabitants of Laodicea. Their crews had some time before been engaged in the service of Baldwin; and, though their religious feelings, as well as their moral qualities, were somewhat of a doubtful nature, they now willingly joined themselves to the host of the cross, and coasted along by the side of Godfrey's army, while it advanced from Laodicea to Ghibel, formerly Gabala. The Saracen emir of that city took fright at the approach of the crusaders, and endeavoured to enter



into a composition with Godfrey for the safety of his territories ; but the Duke of Lorraine sternly refused his request, and marching on, laid siege to Ghibel.

In the mean while, the Count of Toulouse, or St. Giles, had proceeded on his way with great success, receiving the submission of many cities on the road, as well as large sums for his tender treatment of those that yielded without resistance ; and thus he had acquired for himself a reputation of being readily brought to feel the softening power of gold. The Emir of Ghibel, finding Godfrey inexorable, determined to apply to that leader of whose heart he possessed the key ; and sent messengers, with large presents and generous promises, to the Count of Toulouse, who was at that time besieging the strong city of Archas, without making any great progress in the attack. The Provençal was somewhat puzzled how to afford the suppliant deliverance, and to obtain the promised reward. His wit, however, was rarely at fault where money was to be obtained, and as the only means of accomplishing the purpose desired, he despatched messengers to Godfrey, informing that prince that an immense Saracen force was coming down upon the army under the walls of Archas, and that he feared every moment to be overwhelmed.

Godfrey was completely deceived ; his chivalrous spirit was roused to the aid of his brother crusader ; and, raising the siege of Ghibel, he marched at once to join Raymond at Archas. On his arrival before that place, however, the noble Tancred, and several other knights and gentlemen in the camp of Raymond, explained to the Duke of Lorraine the deceit which had been put upon him ; and Godfrey, indignant, instantly withdrew his troops from those of the count, and declared that he would not aid him in the siege he had undertaken. About the same time, the base love of gold, which was one of Raymond's conspicuous faults, induced him to refuse to pay Tancred the sums which he had promised for the support of that leader and his troops. A violent quarrel ensued ; and the Prince of Otranto, withdrawing from his camp, joined himself to Godfrey, and followed that great commander through the rest of the crusade. Dissensions now spread through the whole of the host, and the only thing that could at length be agreed upon, was to raise the siege of Archas and march on towards Jerusalem.

At Laodicea, Boemond had quitted the camp of Godfrey,

and had returned to Antioch ; but to show his confidence and good feeling towards the Duke of Lorraine, he left the greater part of his troops on his departure ; and the deficiency which absence of those who followed him back to the Orontes had occasioned in the ranks of the cross, was supplied by the arrival of a body of English crusaders, the maritime habits of whose nation had been displayed by their sailing round the Spanish peninsula, passing the straits of Gibraltar, and making their way to Laodicea by sea ; a voyage which in those days was considered little less than miraculous.

Before the army set out for its march to Jerusalem, however, the animosities which had arisen in the camp displayed themselves in an affair that combined somewhat of the ludicrous with much of the tragic. The unfortunate clerk of Provence, who had discovered at Antioch the head of the lance which led the crusaders on to their victory over Kerboga, had, since the success of that invention, drawn so largely upon the credulity of his companions, that the matter had become a jest. Thus, when factions sprang up in the host, and the Count of St. Giles rendered himself obnoxious by his intrigues, the business of the lance itself was called in question, and an investigation was instituted which left little doubt that the whole affair was a piece of gross deception. The Count of Toulouse, who, as the Custos of the Holy Lance, assumed great authority amongst his brethren, maintained the veracity of the clerk with great vehemence, and his chaplain—our worthy chronicler, Raymond de Agiles—was equally zealous in the defence of Peter Bartelmy, the finder, but unfortunately, not equally prudent. Confident in the reality of the visions of his friend, and certain that St. Andrew and all the rest of the saints who had appeared to him would not abandon him at a moment of need, Raymond de Agiles proposed that the unfortunate Provençal should prove his honesty by the fiery ordeal. This was a suggestion which in that age could not be rejected ; the unhappy man was compelled to submit ; the fire was lighted, he commenced his march through it, and what between consciousness of his knavery, and superstitious dread of the mode of trial which he had brought upon himself, he faltered, halted in the middle of the flame, and was consequently burnt. His partisans in the camp, indeed, were not persons to be convinced even by this proof ; they declared that he had been pressed to death by



the crowd, and they manufactured out of his history a very good case of martyrdom. The reputation of the Count of St. Giles, however, suffered greatly, and though he marched on towards Jerusalem with the rest, he evidently was looked upon with coldness or animosity by almost all his companions.

Envoys about this time reached the camp of Godfrey from three very different quarters of the globe. The Emperor Alexius, who had probably heard that the Count of St. Giles made his claims the pretence for resisting Boemond, despatched messengers to the princes of the crusade, impudently remonstrating against the cession of Antioch, and demanding the resignation of all their conquests in Syria. Godfrey's wrath was now roused, and he replied with indignant firmness, that Alexius had failed in his part of the contract between them; that he had given them neither assistance nor support, and that, having conquered by their own swords, by their own swords they would maintain their conquests. About the same time, the deputation which had been sent to the Khalif of Egypt, in return for his first embassy, rejoined the camp of the pilgrims with several of that monarch's officers: but his proposals were as arrogant and as unpalatable to Godfrey and his companions as those of Alexius, and the crusading leaders returned as fierce and proud an answer to the infidel khalif as to the Christian emperor. The third body of envoys came from the Emir of Tripoli, who besought Godfrey, in humble but not degrading terms, to pass through his land in peace, promising to supply him with all that was necessary by the way, to deal with his forces with liberality and good faith, and to give him guides to conduct him through the land.\* What motives induced Godfrey to show more lenity to him than to other infidels, we do not know, but he agreed to the proposals made to him, and immediately commenced his march for Jerusalem, leaving the Count of St. Giles to continue the siege of Archas if he thought fit. A great part of that prince's troops left him and followed Godfrey, however, so that he himself was soon obliged to pursue the same course. In passing through the states of Tripoli, the army of the crusade displayed the remarkable moderation, honour, and good faith which it had shown at

\* Some writers have affirmed that he promised to become a Christian if they succeeded.

the first outset. No plunder took place, no outrages were committed: to prevent all risk and danger, the forces were encamped at some distance from the walls of every town that they passed; but such was the extraordinary degree of discipline suddenly and unaccountably restored to them, that perfect confidence was established between them and the Tripolitans. The inhabitants of the country came in crowds to the Christian camp, and the crusaders were freely admitted to the towns and markets of Tripoli.\* On the part of the Mussulmans also, the same good faith was observed; the emir himself visited Godfrey;† his people kept the camp abundantly supplied, his guides conducted the army by safe and pleasant roads; and, passing by Sidon, Acre, and Ramula, the host of the crusade at length reached Emaus.

During their march from Archas, all the associations of the land had been crowding upon the imaginations of the pilgrims of the cross. The names of Ramula, Sidon, Emaus, had all awakened the memories of what had passed in those places in earlier days; and at the latter town, when they encamped for the evening, the host was joined by envoys from the Christians of Bethlehem, beseeching the leaders to send forward a body of men to protect that town from the threatened vengeance of the Saracens. Tancred was accordingly despatched with a hundred lances to give the assistance required, but during the whole of that night the host of the crusade knew no repose. The name of Bethlehem, Bethlehem! passed from mouth to mouth, recollections were awakened that banished sleep, all the enthusiasms of their nature were aroused, zeal and tenderness, and love, and hope, and indignation, for that sweet religion which they all professed, scared away slumber from every eye, and some hours before darkness disappeared the excitement became so great, that the army arrayed itself spontaneously, and began to move towards Jerusalem.

It was a beautiful summer morning, we are told, in the month of June, and ere the great body of the crusade had proceeded many miles, the day broke in all the majesty of

\* It was in the neighbourhood of that city that the crusaders for the first time saw the sugar-cane, and learned the means of preparing that sweet condiment which has since become almost a necessary in Europe.

† This visit is said to have taken place before the march of the army from Archas.



eastern light. They had just reached the summit of a gentle hill, when starting up with the rapidity which characterises the dawn of Syria, the sun rushed forth, and they beheld in the distance a rocky steep, crowned with towers, and walls, and domes, and minarets. "Jerusalem! Jerusalem!" became the cry throughout the army, as the object of all their toil, and labour, and strife, and suffering appeared before their eyes. All that they had endured up to that moment, weariness, thirst, famine, pestilence, and the sword, were forgotten in exceeding great joy, or only remembered to render that joy more ecstatic and overpowering. The effect could scarcely be borne: some laughed, some wept, some shouted "Hierosolyma!" some cast themselves on the ground, some fainted, and some died upon the spot.

The more devout of the pilgrims pulled off their shoes, and approached the scene of our redemption barefoot; but the general feeling which succeeded to the emotions produced by the first sight of the city, was wrath at seeing it in the hands of the infidel. The soldiery advanced with the strong determination of spending the last drop of their blood to free the Redeemer's tomb from the power of the Mussulmans; and after a skirmish, in which some Saracens, who had come forth to reconnoitre, were driven in, the barbicans were carried by Godfrey, Tancred, and others, the wall itself was reached; and the assault commenced with mattocks, axes, and whatever other instruments could be procured. Some short ladders enabled the crusaders to climb up the wall, so as to urge the strife with the enemy upon the battlements, but those machines were not sufficiently tall or numerous to afford any prospect of success. The Saracens assailed the Christians as they approached with stones, arrows, and Greek fire, and as night advanced, it was found necessary to withdraw the troops of the crusade, and to delay any further attack till catapults, mangonels, and the usual implements of war had been provided. Wood for the construction of these machines was procured from Sichon; some Genoese seamen, who had landed at Jaffa, and who were famous for their skill in mechanics, aided greatly in preparing the artillery afterwards used; but still much time was occupied in this task;\* and in

\* Mills says, that a few days only were occupied in the preparations of the machines, and yet, he himself fixes the investment of the city on the 9th of June, and its capture on the 15th of July, being rather more than five weeks, during

the mean while, a precaution taken by the commander of the Egyptians, named Iftikhur-eddaule, or, the Glory of the Empire, operated terribly against the Christians. In the hottest and most arid part of the year, he had filled up all the wells, and the streams had been dried by the sun; such was the drought in the Christian camp, that a drop of liquid was not to be procured for a piece of gold. Springs, however, were at length discovered at a considerable distance from the city, but the service of procuring water was a very dangerous one, as the Mussulman forces infested the whole of the surrounding country, and cut off any small bodies which strayed from the Christian camp.

It is scarcely possible to arrive with any degree of certainty at the number of men with which the crusading leaders now besieged Jerusalem. It has been estimated at every different amount, from forty thousand to nearly a million. The former is the lowest number given by the crusaders themselves;\* the latter, we need hardly say, is the highest estimate of the Arabs. Kemaleddin would lead us to a more reasonable calculation, by telling us that the forces which attacked Marrah numbered a hundred thousand men.

Of the forces within the city of Jerusalem itself, we have better information, the regular garrison consisting of forty thousand men, besides both a vast number of Mussulman peasantry, who had taken refuge in the city, and the population which it contained at other times. It would certainly appear that Jerusalem presented in its defence as many men in a condition to bear arms as those which sat down before its walls. It was strongly fortified also, and its inhabitants were fresh, vigorous, and well supplied, while the crusaders

which time the crusaders suffered all the horrors of intense drought. The actual assault by which the city was taken, it must be remembered, only lasted two days. In regard to the exact day of the investment of Jerusalem, the statements of contemporaries are very various. Robert the Monk says, that it took place on the 10th of June; William of Tyre places it on the 7th; Fulcher agrees with William of Tyre, that it was the 7th of June: but they all agree, that the capture of the city was on the 15th of July. William of Tyre, it is to be remarked, speaks of the first combat between the Saracen and Christian troops, as having occurred on the fifth day, after the commencement of the siege; Raymond places it on the first, and Robert the Monk on the second.

\* William of Tyre, indeed, declares, that there were only twenty-one thousand infantry and fifteen hundred cavalry fit to bear arms in the crusading force when it sat down before Jerusalem. I cannot help supposing that here has been some error of transcription.



were wearied, wasted, and without provisions. This, therefore, was in every respect the greatest and most difficult enterprise, as well as the crowning object of the whole crusade.

The modern city comprised within its fortifications four of the mountains, or rather hills, on which the capital of the Hebrews was anciently seated. These were Moria, Golgotha, Bezetha, and Acra; Mount Sion had been left out in the circuit of the walls, though it would appear that they extended some way up the rise of that hill. On three sides the place was defended by deep valleys, the valley of Josaphat on the east, that of Ennom on the south, and a lateral branch of the same valley on the west; on the north the approach was open. A narrow valley also divided the old town into two parts, the largest of which was Mount Moria, a great portion of Sion being, as we said, left out.

The camp of the crusaders, as at first marked out, extended from the north-eastern angle to the most western gate of the city; Godfrey himself with his troops ending the line towards the east, and the Count of St. Giles towards the west. But shortly after the various posts had been assigned, the Provençal leader finding that the deep valley between him and the walls must prove a continual obstacle to his operations, removed with a part of his troops to the rise of Mount Sion, notwithstanding the strenuous opposition of the other leaders, who were greatly offended by this proceeding, and refused to give him any assistance in defending his new camp. He contrived, nevertheless, to seduce a number of the soldiery from the quarters of his neighbours; and thus the dissensions, as well as the vices of the crusaders, were renewed under the walls of Jerusalem, and seem not to have been less than at Antioch or Marrah.

The construction of the machines, however, went on from day to day, and a period was fixed for the recommencement of the attack. The importance of the undertaking, the probable death of many there present, the revival of hopes and expectations, caused by preparations for the last grand effort, at length reawakened in the bosoms of the crusaders the finer and higher feelings which had at one time entirely possessed them. The princes met together and consulted; the clergy interposed, and represented how unfit were men, soiled with vices, and heated with contention amongst them-

selves, to fight for the deliverance of the sepulchre of Christ, and attempt the recovery of the city of God. The hearts of the hearers were melted, and setting an example to the whole host, Tancred offered to be reconciled to his enemy the Count of Toulouse, and embraced him in the face of the army. All the other quarrels and dissensions ceased at the same time. The princes and the soldiery were exhorted to repent by Peter the Hermit, who had now recovered a considerable portion of his influence; and a solemn procession round the walls took place to the sounds of psalms and hymns, while the priests bore the symbols of salvation barefooted, and the warriors followed, repeating aloud, "God wills it! God wills it!" Various acts of devotion and penance were performed; and the excitement of men's minds caused the enthusiastic to see visions and hear prophecies, and the credulous to believe them. But as the hour approached, hope and expectation were raised as well as superstition, and one of the military proceedings of Godfrey which had something marvellous in its character, increased the confidence of the people.

Various warlike machines, of great power and immense bulk, had been constructed opposite those points in the fortifications which the leaders intended to attack; but the Duke of Lorraine had remarked that where he, the Count of Flanders, and Robert of Normandy had sat down, the Saracens had never ceased to strengthen their defences. The walls, also, were there extremely high, the ditch deep, and the valley rugged, and, not long before the assault took place, Godfrey formed the sudden determination of moving the immense tower, and all the other large engines which he had constructed, as well as his camp itself, to a spot between the gate of St. Stephen and the valley of Josaphat, nearly a mile from his former position. The ground there was more even, and the Saracens, not expecting attack upon that side, had made no addition to the defences, so that a fairer prospect of success was to be found in that quarter. In the course of one night the whole of this operation was completed, the engines were taken down, carried piece by piece to the spot selected, and then reconstructed; and when day dawned on the following morning, the Christians and the Saracens were both astonished to behold the camp of Godfrey pitched opposite the weakest point of the city. Some time



was still occupied in filling up a part of the ditch so as to enable the machines to be brought close to the walls,\* but at length all was completed, and on the morning of Thursday, the 14th of July, 1099, the attack commenced.

The soldiers of the crusade took their places in the moveable towers, which were raised to such a height as to overtop the walls; the catapults were pushed forward to batter the defences, and the sow was dragged along to sap the foundations, while the mangonels and balista were brought as near as possible, to cast masses of stone and darts with the greatest possible effect.

As soon as the Saracens beheld the Christian army in motion, showers of arrows and javelins were poured forth from the battlements, and when the towers and the instruments for the sap came nearer, immense pieces of rock, beams of wood, balls of flame, and torrents of the unextinguishable Greek fire, were cast down upon the heads of the crusaders. Still, however, they rushed on, undaunted and unchecked; the knights of the highest reputation occupying the upper stories of the towers, while Godfrey himself was seen armed with a bow, and exposed to all the shafts of the enemy, sending death around him with an unerring hand.

In the mean while, a great number of the soldiers were busily employed in working the machines, while others covered the operations of those who had approached close to the wall, by incessant flights of arrows. The Saracens, however, opposed them with the energy of men fighting for their hearths and homes, and the valour of the crusaders themselves was only equal to the determined courage of the defenders of Jerusalem. From morning till nightfall the combat continued, but at length darkness fell over the earth, and the city was not yet taken. The walls of Jerusalem were much injured, as were also the military engines of the besiegers; but during the night both hosts laboured diligently, and the damage done was repaired before the morning.

The fifteenth of the month dawned at length, and found the crusaders in no degree discouraged by their previous want of success. On the contrary, the strife of the preceding day seemed but to have added fierceness and vehemence to their

\* William of Tyre says that the removal of the tower and camp of Godfrey took place on the night immediately preceding the assault; but there is every reason to believe that on this point he is not quite accurate.

valour, and the assault recommenced with the same activity as on the first day. All the strong and active men in the army were engaged in the attack. Those whom the military machines could not contain were occupied in plying the mangonels and battering-rams. The old and the feeble, too, busied themselves in bringing up missiles and assisting the wounded; and the women mingled with the soldiers, bearing to them needful supplies of water and provisions. Thus lasted the fight through the greater part of Friday, and victory seemed as far off as ever. A great deal of confusion and disarray existed in the ranks of the crusaders; many were slain, many more were wounded, and scarcely any progress had been made in battering the walls, or breaking down the gates. The shower of arrows and other missiles from the battlements was as fierce as ever; and several of the Christian soldiery were seen withdrawing from the ranks, when suddenly, on a conspicuous part of Mount Olivet, a knight in shining armour was beheld waving on the dismayed crusaders to return to the attack.

A cry spread through the army that St. George had come down from heaven to help them. All eyes beheld the figure of him on whom this designation was bestowed; and with renewed courage they rushed again to the assault.

As usually happens on such occasions, two or three advantages were gained at different points, nearly at the same moment. The gate of St. Stephen shook under the blows of Tancred, Robert of Normandy, and the Count of Flanders. An immense gabion of straw and cotton, which had been let down to protect the wall from the blows of a battering-ram placed near Godfrey of Bouillon himself, was set on fire and destroyed. The flames, which for a moment were very violent, drove the defenders from that part of the battlements; the moveable tower of the duke was pushed up close to the wall,\* and one side of the highest stage being, as usual, constructed so as to let down and form a sort of bridge, was suffered to descend. A knight of Tournay, called Lutold, at

\* Mr. Mills says, "In the space of an hour the barbican was broken down, and Godfrey's tower rested against the inner wall." When writing this passage, he was surely ignorant of what a barbican was. It was the outmost defence of a gate; and had Godfrey been attacking one of the gates, he might have met a barbican to interrupt his progress; but the wall was the object of his assault, and the ditch itself, which was far within the barbican, had been previously filled up by the crusaders.



that moment set the example to the whole host, and sprang from the platform upon the rampart of the besieged city. Another followed, and then Godfrey, Baldwin de Bourg, and Eustace, the brother of the duke, one after another, leaped down to the support of Lutold.

Who carried the standard of the cross, we are not told; but at that moment it was seen floating over the walls of Jerusalem, and with loud shouts the whole crusading army pressed forward to assail the city with furious energy. An instant after the gate of St. Stephen gave way, and Tancred and the two Roberts rushed in, followed by the troops of Normandy, Flanders, and Otranto. By this time a breach had been effected in another part of the wall; and there, too, the German soldiers were entering in crowds, while numbers of the most resolute and gallant soldiers in the army poured down from the tower, to support Godfrey and his companions in possession of the wall.

The news soon reached the Count of Toulouse on the other side of the city that his companions were within the gates; and emulous of their achievement, he abandoned the efforts he was making from his moveable tower,\* caused scaling ladders to be brought, and effected an entrance by escalade.

Despair took possession of the Mahommedan population; but it was not a cowardly despair, and they protracted the struggle in the streets for a considerable time. Some of the crusaders gave themselves up to plunder; but Godfrey and the great mass of the Christian force thought of nothing but slaughter. They recollected all the barbarous cruelties which had been exercised during several centuries upon the faithful; they recollected that but a few days before they had seen the men with whom they now fought hand to hand, raising the symbol of Christ's sufferings upon the walls of the very city where he suffered, and casting filth and ordure upon the sign of our salvation. They drove them through the streets, they followed them into the houses, they slaughtered them in the

\* The Mahommedans in general declare that this tower had been totally destroyed; and Robert the Monk, though occasionally praising Raymond to the skies, says that he entered into a parley with one of the commanders of the gates, and obtained entrance on a promise of securing the lives of the Mussulman and his family. The authority of Raymond de Agiles, however, is to be preferred, notwithstanding his credulity, as he was at this time with the count, and saw all that took place.

temples. For many hours no mercy was shown ; and in one day, the fierce sword of enthusiastic intolerance did more than avenge the wrongs of four hundred years.

The most terrible slaughter that took place was in the mosque of Omar, where an immense body of the Mussulman population had taken refuge, and in which they made a furious and determined resistance.\* It was some time before the crusaders could force their way in, but when they had done so, the massacre was awful. The blood poured from the temple in streams, and we are assured, that in the court, the flood of gore, before it could escape, rose to the knees of the mounted knights, and the bridles of the horses.† Ten thousand men were slain therein, and several thousand took refuge on the roof of the temple, and prepared to defend themselves to the last.

The day was now too far spent for the crusaders to attack them in this last stronghold, and as the fierceness of strife was now beginning to subside, the thirst for infidel blood was well-nigh sated. Even on that first day a great number were spared ; and on the second, the only further slaughter that took place, occurred at the fatal mosque of Omar. It would appear from the account of Robert, that the conquerors offered their lives to the Saracen soldiery, if they would sur-

\* It has been generally represented that the massacre in the temple was the mere slaughter of an unresisting population. Mills says, that "they fled to their temples, and submitted themselves to slaughter;" and I cannot but say that this is a very wrong and very unjust way of writing history. Nobody from such expressions would imagine that the Mussulmans had defended the temple as if it had been a fortress. But let us hear the precise words of Robert the Monk, who was an eye-witness of what he relates, and who, as he thought the slaughter of the Saracens the most meritorious work the crusaders could perform, was not at all inclined to diminish the amount of butchery:—"Qui tamen de tantæ cladis maceratione elabi potuerunt, templum Salomonis intraverunt, et se ibi longo diei spatio defenderunt. Sed cùm jam dies inclinari videretur, nostri timentes solis occasum, animositate conceptâ, abdita templi irrumpunt, eosque miserâ morte pessundarunt. Tantùm ibi humani sanguinis effusum est, ut cesorum corpora, unda sanguinis impellente volverentur per pavementum, et brachia sive truncatæ manus super cruorem fluitabant; et extraneo corpori jungebantur, ita ut nemo valeret discernere cujus erat corporis brachium, quod truncato corpori erat adiunctum. Ipse etiam milites qui hoc carnificium operabantur, exhalantes calidæ fervoris nebulas vix patiebantur. Hac itaque inenarrabili cæde peracta, aliquantulum naturæ indulserunt; et plures ex juvenibus tam viros quàm mulieres vitæ reservaverunt, et suo famulatui mancipaverunt."

† Such is the account of the slaughter given by Raymond de Agiles, but the particulars which he tells are still more horrible and revolting of some of the sights presented by Jerusalem at this moment. "Videbantur per viscos et plateas civitatis aggeres capitum, et manuum atque pedum. Per cadavera verò publicè, hominum et equitum discursus erat."



render: but the Mussulmans, well knowing that slavery was to be their destiny if they submitted, made up their minds to death. The passage to the top of the temple was forced by the Christians, and many of the Saracens were slaughtered on the roof, many cast themselves down and were dashed to pieces.

Such was the close of this horrible scene; which in itself possesses too many painful and distressing points, to need those efforts which have been liberally bestowed in the present age, to make it appear more lamentable and shocking than it really was. Everything has been done to create an impression that the slaughter was indiscriminate and universal, and that it was generally renewed on the second day, for the purpose of exterminating the whole of the Mahomedan population of Jerusalem. We have the testimony of eye-witnesses to prove, that even on the very day of the storming, great numbers were spared;\* and there is not the slightest reason to believe that any massacre at all took place on the second day, except in the temple, where the determined resistance of the Mussulmans left the crusaders no choice. The most convincing testimony, however, is that of the Arab writer Ibngiouzi, who tells us that one-half of the population was spared. He computes the amount of the slain at a hundred thousand, which was very nearly the number of fighting men supposed to be within the city.†

As soon as the capture of Jerusalem was complete, and the great work for which they had come so many miles, and endured so many evils, was accomplished, the leaders of the crusade threw off the panoply of war, and putting on the vestments of penitents, proceeded from one holy place to

*Nec tamen omnes occiderunt, sed servituti suæ plurimos reservaverunt.* The story of the second massacre rests entirely on Albert of Aix, who never visited the Holy Land at all. None of the eye-witnesses make such a statement; and as Albert couples it with the assertion, which I have distinctly proved to be false, that all the Saracens were slain in this second massacre; and as the Archbishop of Tyre, who did not fail to copy Albert wherever he was accurate, differs from him here, I have no scruple at all in saying that the whole story is without foundation.

† The only Arabian authority that I find which states the massacre to have continued beyond the first day, is that of the Aiman Jalal addin el Siuti, who says that it lasted seven. But as he did not flourish until very many years after, his statement is not to be put in competition with that of all the contemporary historians. It is evident that the statement of Albert of Aix, in regard to a second massacre, was founded upon a vague report of the attack upon the mosque of Omar.

another, to offer up their adorations with prayers and tears. The places of peculiar sanctity were purified and washed from the blood with which they were stained, and the grand consideration then became, how the Christian dominion, which it had cost so much to re-establish in the east, could be best maintained, surrounded as it was on every side by infidel enemies, whom every principle of policy should have taught to unite for the purpose of crushing the small body of inveterate foes which had succeeded in planting the banner of the cross where the standard of Islam had so long stood unassailed.\*

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## BOOK VIII.

SOME time before the capture of the city of Jerusalem, the difficulties and dangers which surrounded the crusaders had called forth a proposal, which no one had dreamed of at the commencement of the crusade. A part of the troops clamoured loudly for the election of a king;† and the dissensions which had taken place amongst the leaders, with the general want of unity in object and in action, which had been conspicuous in all their proceedings since the siege of Antioch, certainly showed, in a manner likely to convince the blindest, that a leader was wanting, endowed with greater powers than those which the princes of the crusade had conferred upon Godfrey. So general was this feeling, that, at the end of eight days, the principal chiefs met together to elect a king of Jerusalem.

It might well be supposed that intrigues and dissensions would mark the choice of the princes; but no such events

\* The feelings which influenced the crusaders in the slaughter of the Saracens, and the full conviction which they entertained that they were doing God good service in slaying the enemies of the Christian faith, are so clearly expressed by the Abbot Guibert, that I cannot resist quoting his words:—"Tantas Gentilium usquam cædes accidisse rarò legimus, nunquam videmus; Deo eis referente vicem, qui tot, pro se peregrinantium pœnas et mortes, quas tanto fuerant tempore ibidem passi, dignâ nequissimis retributione restituit. Non enim est quisquam sub Deo intellectus, cui æstemabile habeatur, quanta illic cunctis sancta loca petentibus, à Gentilium insolentia tormenta, labores, atque neces inlata constant: quæ magis Deum certa est fide doluisse credendum, quàm manu profanâ captivatam crucem atque sepulchrum."—*Guibertus*.

† Raymond de Agiles.



occurred, and there seems to have been very little doubt or hesitation in the mind of any one. The various writers of different nations have declared, indeed, that the great honour of being selected from so many, to fill such a post, was conferred upon the leader to whom their prejudices particularly attached them, and Raymond de Agiles, the bigoted follower of the Count St. Giles, asserts that, in the first instance, the crown of Jerusalem was held out to him. Any one who has remarked the conduct of that prince during the whole of the first crusade, and the enmity that his avarice and deceit won from his fellow-crusaders; and who remembers that he took no share in the battle with Kerboga—was one of the last in Antioch, and the last in Jerusalem, will easily judge that the great improbability of such a statement renders it worthy of very little attention; although De Agiles was in Jerusalem at the time, and generally sincere when his prejudices and partialities permitted him to be so.

Robert the Monk, however, who was also present, and Fulcher of Chartres, who was in the neighbourhood, give a different account, and declare the election to have been, as in all probability it was, perfectly unanimous. "By the common decree of all," says the first writer, "by universal wish, and general assent, the Duke Godfrey was elected on the eighth day after the capture of the city; and well did they all concur in such a choice, for he showed himself such in his government, that he did more honour to the royal dignity than that dignity conferred on him. This honour did not make him illustrious, but the glory of the honour was multiplied by him. . . . He showed himself so superior and excellent in royal majesty, that if it had been possible to bring all the kings of the earth around him, he would have been judged by all, the first in chivalrous qualities, in beauty of face and body, and noble regularity of life." Nor is Fulcher less laudatory; after describing the conquest of Jerusalem, he says, "Godfrey was the first prince made, who, from the excellence of his nobility, his valour as a knight, his gentleness of manners, modest patience, and admirable morals, the whole people of the army of God elected as chief of the kingdom of the Holy City, to reign therein, and to preserve it."

Godfrey was probably one of the few who did not seek the honour imposed upon him, but, on the contrary, notwith-

standing the pressing entreaties of his fellow-princes, he declined to receive the title of king, declaring that he would never wear a crown of gold in a city where his Saviour had worn a crown of thorns ; and that he was contented with the title of Defender of the Holy Sepulchre.

The life of this great and good prince was short, but it was active and important. The conquest of Jerusalem itself, a place regarded with nearly as much veneration by the Mussulmans as by the Christians, was calculated to rouse the whole Mahommedan world to arms, and the necessity of proving to the enemies of the cross that the Christians were able to defend, as well as recover, the Holy Land, was soon shown by the assembling of a large Saracen army in the neighbourhood of Ascalon, within a very short distance of the capital. This force was commanded by Afdal, the vizier of the Khalif of Egypt. "He was accompanied," the Arabian historian Ibngiouzi says, "by twenty thousand men;" but the Christians raise the numbers very greatly, and it is certain that he was joined by considerable reinforcements on his march.

Godfrey and his companions immediately marched from Jerusalem to attack the vizier, and both armies prepared for a decisive battle. The king and the Christian host advanced with such great rapidity, that the enemy was not aware of their approach till the vanguard of the crusading force had charged a large body of Arab herdsmen, who were feeding their flocks in some pastures on the banks of a river ; when the shepherds were immediately put to flight, and an immense quantity of cattle of all kinds fell into the hands of the crusaders.

On his march, Godfrey had been joined by a number of detachments from cities which he had caused to be occupied, but still his force was very far inferior to that which now presented itself in the neighbourhood of Ascalon. There was no hesitation, however, in regard to giving battle. Godfrey himself commanded the left wing of his army, and Raymond of St. Giles the right, which stretched down to the sea ; while Robert of Normandy, Tancred, and the Count of Flanders, appeared in the centre. The enemy remained waiting the attack, but the charge of the crusaders was so impetuous that the Mussulmans do not seem to have resisted for a moment. Amongst the various accounts of this battle,



that given by Raymond de Agiles is, perhaps, as fair as any, though he hardly mentions the name of Godfrey. "Robert of Normandy," he says, "recognising the vizier by his standard, which stood near him, galloped forward with such fury that he reached him in the midst of his attendants, and wounded him mortally.\* The Count of Flanders brought up his troops with the same eagerness, and Tancred at once cut his way through into the midst of the enemy's tents. At the same time, the Count of St. Giles drove the Saracens before him, along the sea-shore;† and the flight of the Mahommedans became general. Their numbers were so great, that they embarrassed each other in the flight, and the slaughter which took place was tremendous.

The series of victories which had attended the arms of the crusaders, thus crowned by such a splendid triumph, drove the Mahommedan population of Syria to despair; and multitudes, both of the Turks and Egyptians, now fled from the country which had been conquered by warriors of their own faith more than three centuries before, and took refuge in Persia, Arabia, and Egypt. Several of the Mussulman towns, however, were suffered to remain under their own princes, upon condition of paying tribute, and indeed for a considerable time after the conquest of Jerusalem, the forces of the newly-established Christian kingdom were too small for the subjection of the whole territory. The power of the Christian princes was afterwards greatly increased by the influx of crusaders from Europe; but before any such accession of strength was received by the infant kingdom, Godfrey himself was taken ill, on his return from a distant expedition, and died in July, 1100, at the age of forty, having reigned not quite one year.

Before proceeding to notice briefly the fate of his companions and successors, it may be necessary to mention two events of importance which took place during his short reign. We are told that every one on gaining possession of a house or an estate, planted his banner, or hung up his shield upon it, and thenceforth considered it as his own property, and

\* In this Raymond was mistaken; Afdal, whose courage and activity rendered him a sort of mayor of the palace to the Khalif of Egypt, served his master, or rather reigned in his stead for many years after that period.

† It is but fair to the memory of the Count of St. Giles to state that the Arabs themselves attribute the success of the Christians on this day entirely to him.

hence we may easily conceive that the mixture of claims and rights produced very heterogeneous and extraordinary notions regarding law and justice. France, England, Italy, Germany, and Flanders, had sent forth swarms, who in early life had been governed by laws, and had recognised rules, all, perhaps, having the same tendency, but all differing, and sometimes opposing each other, in the details. One of the first acts of Godfrey, then, was to appoint certain persons to inquire into the nature of those laws by which the various nations composing the crusade had been governed, and to draw up from the whole mass such a code as might be applicable to the situation of his new kingdom. This was accordingly done, and the result was the compilation of that famous book of feudal law, known as the *Assizes de Jerusalem*. At what period this was first reduced to writing is a question, perhaps, of some doubt, but that the code owed its origin to Godfrey is perfectly ascertained.

The second event which took place under the reign of that prince of sufficient importance to require notice here, was the institution of the Knights Hospitallers, or Knights of St. John of Jerusalem. An hospital for poor pilgrims had long existed in that city, indeed, from the days of the Emperor Charlemagne; but it would appear that the charitable establishment to which the Knights of St. John owed the foundation of their order was distinct from that of Charles the Great, and had been instituted many years before the commencement of the crusades, by a body of good Christians from the wealthy trading city of Amalfi, whose commercial intercourse with the Saracens gave them sufficient influence to obtain sanction and protection in their humane enterprise. The persons who devoted themselves to the service of this hospital assumed the garb, and conformed to the rules of St. Benedict. A piece of ground was bought for them in the supposed neighbourhood of the Holy Sepulchre, and a chapel was erected, and dedicated to the Virgin Mary. The worthy brethren carried their charity so far, that they received under their care the sick poor of the Mussulman population; but after the capture of Jerusalem by Godfrey, the walls of their hospital were filled with the wounded crusaders. One of these, a knight named Raymond Dupuy, attached himself to the hospital, and on the death of the abbot of the Benedictine monastery attached to it, was elected,



under the designation of grand master. This change of title shows that some change in the institution itself had taken place, which occurrence is ascribed with much probability to the period immediately after the battle of Ascalon, when Godfrey showed himself greatly interested in the hospital, and bestowed upon it a large estate in his hereditary dominions in Europe. For many years after, the poor brethren of St. John the Almoner, as they were called, continued to devote themselves solely to the care of the sick, increasing daily in riches, by the donations of those who benefited by the institution, or admired its object. At what time they assumed the sword is not very clearly proved, but it would seem certain that they first appeared in arms during the reign of the second Baldwin.

It is necessary here to enter briefly into the history of the monarchs who succeeded upon the death of Godfrey. He himself was childless, and his sudden demise left the new kingdom without any acknowledged head. Tancred, who had ever remained attached to the Duke of Lorraine, since his quarrel with Raymond at Archas, might be said to be in possession of Jerusalem, but he was, personally, without ambition. The desire of glory and a high sense of chivalrous honour were with him passions which superseded all selfish feelings, and without striving for a crown himself, he sent messengers to offer it to his cousin Boemond. That prince, however, was not in a condition to accept it; for before Tancred's messengers could reach him, he had been captured by the Turks in an unfortunate expedition, and was actually a prisoner in their hands.

Intrigues of various kinds succeeded, in which the clergy took a very active part, and in the end, much to the discontent of Tancred, the partisans of Baldwin, Prince of Edessa, obtained his election, though it would seem not in the most regular manner. The state of Edessa was, in various respects, more desirable than the kingdom of Jerusalem; but the magic name of a crown, and the glory of ruling the holy city, overcame all other considerations, and Baldwin gladly resigned his rich principality to Baldwin de Bourg, and hastened to take possession of his new dominions.

Having reached the height of his ambition, the brother of Godfrey displayed, in addition to those high military talents which had always been conspicuous in his character, many

virtues which he was not known to possess, while the vices which had disgraced him disappeared altogether. His reign was that of a vigilant and active warrior; he was not indeed always successful, but he was never dismayed; and he added greatly to the territories of Jerusalem by the vigour and energy he evinced. During his reign, the two great leaders who had somewhat tarnished their reputation by quitting the host of the crusade while it halted at Antioch, made an effort to return to Syria in company with an immense body of princes and nobles, whose names it would be tedious to recapitulate. Amongst others, however, were the Dukes of Bavaria and Burgundy, the Prince of Parma, the Count of Poitiers, the Count of Nevers, and Ida, Marchioness of Austria. With these were, as I have said, Hugh of Vermandois, and Stephen, Count of Blois. At Constantinople, the leaders of this great reinforcement were met by Raymond of St. Giles, who, having determined to make himself master of Tripoli, had returned to Europe some short time before, with a view of obtaining assistance. The fame he had acquired as one of the conquerors of Jerusalem, led all the others to put themselves, nominally, under his command and direction; but their very first act was to disregard his counsels, and to take the road which he advised them to avoid.

The leading division of the army was met by Kilig Arslan, who, since the fall of Nicea, had established the seat of government at Iconium, and over this new force of crusaders he obtained as signal a victory as their predecessors had gained over him at Dorylœum. Hugh of Vermandois, severely wounded, reached Tarsus, where he died; the Marchioness Ida was either trampled to death by the horses or carried away into captivity, whence she never returned. Several of the other princes were slain, and only one or two made their way on, and reached Jerusalem. Amongst these was Stephen, Count of Blois. All who thus joined the King of Jerusalem were expected to effect something for the preservation or extension of his dominions; and Baldwin, who was now upon the throne, called upon his former comrade to aid him in an expedition which he was about to undertake against a party of Egyptians who menaced his throne. Baldwin, however, was deceived by false intelligence; and believing the Mussulman force before him to be very small, he advanced with only seven hundred knights.



Suddenly, not far from the town of Ramula, he found himself opposed by the whole Egyptian army; and, under these disadvantageous circumstances, a battle ensued, in which the Christian monarch and his troops were totally defeated. He himself, with such of his knights as could escape from the tremendous force by which they were nearly surrounded, fled to the castle of Ramula, and there prepared to defend himself to the last.

The son of the Vizier Afdal, who commanded the Saracen force, caused his principal prisoners to be brought before him, and amongst these was the unfortunate Stephen, Count of Blois. That prince had lost his reputation by flying from Syria, and he now lost his life by returning; for the son of Afdal, in revenge for his father's defeat at Ascalon, commanded four hundred of the prisoners to be put to death, of whom the Count of Blois was one. The Mussulman general then immediately invested Ramula on both sides; but an act of humanity which Baldwin had performed, now delivered him from the imminent peril in which he was placed. Some time previous, while marching in advance of his army, the King of Jerusalem had come suddenly upon an unfortunate Arab woman, who, in flying before his troops, had been taken in labour by the way. Her husband had left her, it would seem, to seek for assistance, and she lay in all the pangs of childbirth, exposed to the heat of a Syrian sun. Baldwin was moved at the sight, and dismounting from his horse, he cast his cloak over her, gave her water with his own hand, and leaving her two female camels, and two skins of water, he proceeded on his way, never dreaming of any return. One night, however, while shut up in the castle of Ramula, with an overpowering force of enemies around him, and nothing but death or captivity before his eyes, he was told that an Arab had approached the gate alone, and demanded importunately to see him. The man being admitted, informed him that he was the husband of her whom he had befriended in the hour of need; and that if he would trust to him, he would guide him safely through the enemy's camp. Baldwin did trust to him, and made his escape to Jerusalem, where he soon raised an army for the relief of his friends, some large reinforcements having arrived from Europe. In the mean time, dissensions had spread in the Mahommedan camp, and the siege was raised without a second battle. Thus fre-

quently the quarrels of the various Syrian princes did more for the Christian kingdom of Jerusalem than even the gallantry and determination of the King of Jerusalem and his supporters. The armies from Egypt effected nothing against the crusaders, and those which were sent from Persia, had generally in view as much to punish some of the rebel emirs, who owned a nominal dependence upon that country, as to expel the Christians from Palestine; and, in consequence, before the end of 1103, the whole country, from Antioch to the frontiers of Arabia, was in possession of the crusaders, with the exception of Ascalon, Tyre, Tripoli, and Aleppo; while the emir of the latter city paid tribute to Baldwin, and Tripoli and Ascalon, we are assured by some writers, did the same.

The Count of St. Giles resumed his designs against Tripoli as soon as he reached the Holy Land, on his return from Constantinople; and being aided by several other princes, he had made great progress in the siege of that city, when he was suddenly seized with illness and died. Aboul-feda declares that his lodging having been burnt during a sortie of the Mussulman troops from Tripoli, he received an injury by a fall in the midst of the flames, from which he died some short time after. It is probable that this statement is erroneous; the siege, nevertheless, was continued after the death of Raymond, and the city being attacked both by sea and land, was captured, and placed under the government of the son of the Count of St. Giles.

In the mean while, the new state of Antioch had remained for some time under the command of Tancred, who had assumed the regency during the captivity of Boemond. When the latter prince, however, was liberated on ransom, Tancred, whose probity never failed, resigned the city immediately to his relation, with the dependent territories, greatly increased by his own exertions. Boemond returned to Europe some time after, and remained there, detained by various occupations, till his death in 1109.

He left a son in Europe, by his wife, Constantia; and Tancred, who had married Constantia's sister, Cecilia, both being daughters of the King of France, maintained for three years the city and territory of Antioch against all the efforts of the enemy. The effects of a wound, however, which at first seemed to be slight, proved fatal, and, in the prime of



his days, Tancred closed his eyes in reality sovereign of Antioch, though he only considered himself the representative of Boemond's child. In delivering over the government to his cousin Roger, the regent exacted from his successor a promise, that in case the son of Boemond should ever return to the Holy Land, and claim the territory of Antioch, it should be yielded without resistance. Another generous trait of the dying soldier appears in one of his last acts. Aware of the necessity of union on the part of the crusaders, he sent for Pons, now Prince of Tripoli, the grandson of Raymond of St. Giles, and recommended, that when the tie between himself and St. Cecilia should be dissolved by death, she should unite her fate with that of the Tripolitan prince, and thus maintain unsevered the bond between France and the Holy Land.

The successes of Baldwin continued. During his reign, frequent bodies of armed pilgrims appeared in Syria, and served to people the deserted lands which had so long been occupied by the Saracens. English, Danes, and Flemings, Norwegians and Venetians, made their way one by one to the coasts of Palestine; each fresh corps aided the monarch of Jerusalem in extending his territories, and Assur, Cesarea, Acre, Beritus, Sidon, and one or two other places, were speedily added to the dominions of Baldwin. In revenge, however, for the continual hostility of the Egyptian khalif, Baldwin determined to lead his troops into the dominions of the Fatimite prince, but he was here stopped in his career of success by the hand of death. A sickness fell upon him, which he felt to be mortal, and he died, with three injunctions to his followers on his lips;—to defend the Holy Land—to choose Baldwin de Bourg for his successor—and not to suffer his body to lie in Egypt, where it might be spurned by the scorn of the Mussulmans. Those who surrounded him doubted the possibility of transporting a corpse from one country to another, in a hot and unwholesome season of the year; but Baldwin gave minute orders for embalming his own body, and died with the utmost firmness and tranquillity.

Of all the princes who had led the army of the first crusade, Baldwin de Bourg now alone remained alive, in Syria; and the crown was offered to him, after some slight hesitation, as to whether it was not by right the inheritance of Eustace, the brother of Godfrey, and the first Baldwin. Eustace,

however, was not in the Holy Land; one of the most brave and gallant of the crusading leaders, named Joscelyn de Courtenay, strongly urged the claims of Baldwin de Bourg, and that prince, accepting the crown of Jerusalem, transferred the sovereignty of Edessa to his friend. The new king emulated the virtues of his predecessor, and was one of the most successful princes that ever reigned over the young kingdom of Jerusalem. He was harassed continually, it is true, by attacks from the Turks and the Saracens, and also very frequently by dissensions between the Christian nobles, who held their possessions as feudal parts of the empire; but happily for the infant kingdom, the quarrels between the Turkish princes in the neighbourhood were not less common, and the crusaders gained many advantages by taking part with one Mahommedan emir against another. A part of his reign, indeed, was passed by Baldwin de Bourg in a Saracen prison, but he was liberated at length, upon paying a ransom; and, about the same time, Tyre was conquered by the Christians. The Arabian authors, in speaking of the manifold wars and contentions of those times, claim a number of advantages, and certainly did obtain many; but there can be no doubt that the greater portion was on the side of the cross, and that the invaders were daily making greater and greater progress in the reduction of the whole of Syria.

In the reign of Baldwin de Bourg sprang up the famous order of the Knights Templars. The Mahommedans, seldom able to keep the field in large armies, scoured the country in detached parties, plundered the pilgrim and the traveller, and rendered the road to Jerusalem little less difficult than during their actual occupation of the territory. At the same time, the influx of pilgrims into Palestine was greater than ever, and enthusiasm, generally more pure, high, and devoted, in the bosom of women than in the bosom of men, brought a number of those who most required protection upon the perilous road to the Holy City. To clear the country of the bands which infested it, to defend the weak and the young, two French gentlemen, named Hugh de Paganis and Geoffrey de St. Aldemar (or according to some, de St. Omer), conceived the design of instituting an order, which should combine the religious severity of the monk with the military functions of the knight errant. They took the vows of celibacy and poverty, adopted the rule of St. Augustin, and,



moreover, individually pledged themselves never to turn back before a less number than four adversaries. Their number at first amounted only to nine, and for the first nine years after the institution of the order, they wore the common dress of the day, receiving their garments from the charity of others; no plan, however, has yet been devised for keeping any body of men collectively poor, and enormous riches speedily flowed in upon these monastic knights. A palace was given to them, in the first instance, near the Temple of Jerusalem, and a large piece of ground which lay between the two buildings was also bestowed upon them, for the purpose of practising their military exercises. As they had yet adopted no title, the circumstances of their habitation furnished them with a name, and they speedily were generally called Knights of the Temple, or Knights Templars. The signal services they performed, their daring courage, long suffering, and unshakeable determination of purpose, soon gained them great fame throughout the world. Their wealth and their numbers rapidly increased, and in the year 1128, just nine years after the foundation of the order, they had become of so much importance, that in a council held at Troyes, their rules and regulations were investigated and confirmed, and a peculiar dress was assigned to them, in order to distinguish them at once from all other persons. This dress was a robe of white, to which they added a large red cross. They also raised a banner of their own, on which was likewise displayed a red cross on a white ground. On this, as was very frequently the case in that day, they bestowed a name, calling it Beauseant, and when they went to battle, they bore a smaller banner, of white and black stripes.

The colours in the dress and standard of the Templars were supposed to be symbolical; the red and the white, representing purity of life, and courage even to death; and the black and the white of implacability towards their enemies, and tenderness towards their friends. In a very short time, however, though they retained the emblems, they lost part of the virtues whereof these colours were the symbols, and the only two which remained appropriate were the red and the black.

On entering the order, the labours, the dangers, and the privations, which were before the candidate, were clearly and

distinctly notified to him, and he was also admonished, that on taking the vows, he must, in a manner, resign his individuality. Not only his property and his actions thenceforth were to belong to the society, but his very thoughts and his feelings. He was then asked three times whether, after this full warning and explanation, he still continued desirous of binding himself by such strict engagements; and on his replying in the affirmative, he was admitted. Their valour soon acquired so much notoriety as to afford the strongest stimulus to acts of daring courage, and, we are told, that on hearing the call to arms, no Templar ever asked the number of the enemy, he only demanded, "Where are they?"

Having mentioned this singular institution, I must notice, though very briefly, a body of men even more extraordinary than the Templars, which had previously risen amongst the Mussulmans. Those weaknesses of the human understanding and judgment, which produce difference of opinion upon even the plainest and most demonstrable facts, have prevented even the simplest and purest of religions from existing in complete harmony, without sects or dissensions. It was not to be expected, then, that a doctrine which, like that of Mahommed, appealed solely to the senses and the imagination, should long remain undivided by differences regarding the many obscure, doubtful, and irrational points, which he proposed to the faith of his followers. As his own family monopolised the religious as well as the political authority of the Mahommedan world, we may very well comprehend how struggles soon took place between his descendants for doctrine, as well as for power. The Fatamite Khalifs of Egypt, and those who adhered to their creed, were considered as heretics by the great bulk of the Mussulman world, and at the outset their partisans, excepting in those countries where their immediate sway extended, were obliged to hide their opinions with the utmost care. This necessity of concealment probably gave rise to the famous sect of Ismalians or Batenians; at least we are assured that such was the case, and the name itself implies secrecy or concealment. These persons soon joined to their Mahommedan doctrines others, which they probably derived from the ancient Persian worship of the sun, or from the Pythagorean tenets still scattered throughout India. To inoffensive dogmata, however, they added, in the course of time, the most pernicious and diabolical practices



which the world had then seen. The dark and horrible system which they pursued has indeed been since rivalled by some societies of Europe ; and I have many doubts whether the famous German tribunal, known by the name of *Velme*, whose secret slaughters even invaded the courts of princes, did not directly descend from the Batenians or Ismailians.

In the course of time these men took possession of various mountainous tracts in the north of Persia, which seemed inaccessible to the foot of ordinary mortals ; and, electing for themselves an iman, or prince, they obeyed his authority with the most devoted and unswerving zeal. It would seem that their manners were characterised by all the luxury of eastern courts, carried to its utmost excess ; and as they were firmly persuaded that an after state of existence, in which the pleasure they enjoyed upon earth were to be increased both in extent and intensity to an inconceivable degree, might be obtained by the unscrupulous performance of any act that their iman thought fit to command ; they not only committed the most horrible crimes without remorse at his dictation, but met death and torture as the punishment thereof, without fear or hesitation. They acquired very soon a third name, which has become familiar to ourselves as characterising the blackest of human crimes, and by the time of the capture of Jerusalem were generally known as Assassins, or, more properly, Hachacins, from the name of an inebriating drink in which they used to indulge. This liquor was particularly employed in stupifying the neophytes, who were afterwards conveyed, it is said, during the sleep that it produced, to the top of a high mountain, where palaces and gardens had been formed, and filled with every allurement to sensual gratification. This, the deluded beings were told, was the foretaste of heaven, and before the delights provided for them could produce satiety or disease, another draught of the intoxicating liquor lulled them to repose, and they were carried back to the lower earth again. The followers of the iman diffused themselves over the whole of Syria and Persia ; there was not a city which had not several of his devoted disciples within the walls ; and as the sect was peculiarly encouraged in the former country, some of the highest parts of Mount Libanus were taken possession of by the Batenians, as a sort of second capital, where a lieutenant of the iman

made his residence, and acquired amongst the Christians the name of the "old man of the mountains."

It would seem to have been the universal interests of the Mahommedan world to crush the serpent which had thus arisen in its bosom; but the degenerate state and fierce contentions of the Seljuks rendered the assistance of the Ismailians of frequent advantage to the Turkish emirs, and we find many a quarrel terminated by the dagger of the Assassin, with a result quite different from that which might have been produced had the decision thereof been left either to arms or negotiations. The Ismailians, however, contrived to sow dissensions as well as to terminate quarrels, and the protection which they received from some of the princes very often roused the indignation of the neighbouring sovereigns, and increased that state of confusion and disunion which favoured the rise of the Christian monarchy in Palestine.

The life of a sovereign of Jerusalem was not usually very long; but the reign of Baldwin II. was protracted from 1118 to 1131. In the course of these thirteen years, Jerusalem had been visited by a number of princes from Europe, and amongst the rest, by Fulk, Count of Anjou, a distinguished soldier, whom we have already had occasion to mention as the head of the house of Plantagenet, and grandfather of Henry II., King of England. This prince attracted particularly the attention of Baldwin de Bourg at a period when that monarch, feeling his health declining, and seeing no male heir, turned his eyes to the various nobles whose character and situation he knew, in order to select a worthy person to whom he could give the hand of his daughter Melesinda, and transmit the crown of Jerusalem. His choice ultimately fixed upon Fulk of Anjou, and although the beautiful and extensive territories which the count possessed in Europe had no equivalent in a kingdom whose riches were strife, and its harvests death and contention, Fulk gladly accepted the offer, returned to Palestine, united his fate to Melesinda, and ascended the throne of Jerusalem on the death of Baldwin II.

The European territories of Fulk descended in the manner I have stated in another part of this work. His latter years were spent in Jerusalem; where, indeed, he did not display any great portion of that active energy which was probably expected from him. His reign, which, like that of his prede-



cessor, lasted thirteen years, was that of an amiable prince and a gallant knight, but was in no degree conspicuous for any improvement in society, or any great military success. The extent of the kingdom of Jerusalem remained very nearly the same as when he had received the crown; and on his death it descended to his son, by Melesinda, who reigned under the title of Baldwin III. Fulk was killed from a fall from his horse, in imprudently pursuing a hare which started before his horse's feet, while on a party of pleasure; and the deep grief of Melesinda showed that he had been a kind and a tender husband, as well as a generous and affable prince.

The death of Fulk had scarcely taken place, when the greatest loss which had yet befallen the kingdom of Jerusalem occurred, in the fall of Edessa; but in order to explain how this disastrous event was brought about, we must pause for a moment, to sketch the history of one of the most extraordinary men of his time, and to notice the rise of a new dynasty in the east, which eclipsed the house of Seljuk, and is known under the name of the Attabecs. The first man of this family whom we find distinguished in history, is the well-known Emad-Eddin Zengui, called by the Christian historians Sanguin. His father, Acsancer, it would seem, had been the sovereign of Aleppo previous to the period of the first crusade, but having lost his territories and life in some of the civil dissensions of the Turks, the young prince, then ten years old, was protected by the Emir of Moussoul. The early life of Zengui it is not necessary to dwell upon here, further than to remark that the state of depression in which his family was kept might naturally teach him that consummate cunning which he displayed throughout the whole course of his life; while his daring courage and military talents were fostered in all the strifes and contentions which at that time desolated the Turkish empire. We know that in his youth he fought with distinction in Syria, under Kerboga, and several other emirs of Moussoul; but was then removed to the southern parts of the empire, and to a post of some importance. His next appointment was to a high office in Bagdad itself, where he remained till 1127, when his services were rewarded with the government of Moussoul; and no sooner had he taken possession of his new territories, than he sought to augment them by every means, honest and

dishonest alike. Before trying his arms against the Franks, he endeavoured to extend his dominion over the Turkish inhabitants of Syria and Mesopotamia, and for that purpose proposed and obtained from Joscelyn, Prince of Edessa, a short truce, which, nevertheless, was long enough to enable him to seize upon Haran, and several other towns and districts in the neighbourhood of Moussoul. Amongst these was the important city of Aleppo, which threw open its gates to him in January, 1128. His treacherous conduct, however, towards the Emir of Damascus, whose son he kidnapped, and kept as a prisoner, called upon him the enmity of all the neighbouring sovereigns, who gave him sufficient warlike occupation till the year 1130, when, in a battle with Boemond II., Prince of Antioch, he completely defeated the Christians, and had nearly captured Antioch itself after the death of the prince, who was killed upon the field. The city, however, was relieved by Baldwin de Bourg, and for some time afterwards Zengui met with a quick series of misfortunes, in the end seeing himself besieged in Moussoul by the Khalif Mostarsched. But his cunning and military skill triumphed over all obstacles, and he forced the Commander of the Faithful to raise the siege, and conclude a treaty of peace.

Zengui was subsequently engaged for some years in contests with the Greek emperor, the Emir of Damascus, and several other princes, and greatly increased his territories on all sides; till at length, remarking the weakness, debaucheries, and idleness of Joscelyn II., sovereign of Edessa, he watched his opportunity, when that prince had set out upon an expedition to Antioch,\* and then invested the city of Edessa with all his forces. Before any relief could arrive, numerous breaches had been effected in the walls, the Mussulman soldiery rushed in, and a butchery took place of the same sanguinary character as that which had occurred at Jerusalem. Men, women, and children, were all slaughtered alike; but with the Christians of Edessa, as had been the case with the Mussulmans of the Holy City, the most determined resistance was made throughout the town; the fight being pro-

\* It is very generally stated that he was indulging in dissolute pleasures at Turbessel. Ibn-Alatir, however, only says that he had gone to his territories to the west of the Euphrates. The Arabian authors also speak of his talents in war as very superior to those of the other Christian princes.



longed in the streets till the whole place flowed with blood. The inhabitants were driven onward towards the citadel, the gates of which being closed against them, the unfortunate Christians were shut up in a narrow space, and slain in such multitudes, that the approach to the castle was blocked up by the pile of corpses. At length, however, Zengui ordered the carnage to cease; a number of women and children were reserved as slaves, the Armenian and Syrian Christians were spared, but all the male Franks that were found were put to the sword, and Edessa and all its territory was completely brought under the Turkish domination.

The Euphrates now became the boundary of the Christian dominions on that side, and the rejoicing of the Mussulmans was only surpassed by the lamentations of the Christians. The Attabec, however, was not destined long to enjoy his success; his character was naturally fierce and despotic, and while besieging the small town of Giabar in 1146,\* two years after the fall of Edessa, he was murdered in his sleep by some of his Mamelukes, whom he had threatened on the preceding day, and who saw no prospect of their own safety but in the death of their master. Thus died, before he had reached old age, the famous Zengui, who may be considered as the first restorer of the Mussulman superiority in Syria. He had many of the qualities of a great man, but he had all the cunning† of a barbarian; and the mean and treacherous arts by which he arrived at several of the objects of his am-

\* By others his death is placed on the 25th of September, 1145. The Arabic historians, however, give the date as in 1146, or 541 of the Hegira.

† All feeling of truth or honesty seems to have been absent from the bosom of Zengui, and he had occasionally recourse to even laughable expedients to deceive the Persian sultan. On one occasion, when war seemed inevitable between that monarch and himself, he sent orders to his son, Saifeddin, who had remained as a sort of hostage at the imperial court, and was a great favourite, to run away and instantly join him. The young man obeyed his father's commands, expecting to be received with open arms, but instead of that, the gates of the city were shut against him, and Zengui wrote to the sultan, expressing much indignation at his son's conduct, and telling him that he had sent the youth back in disgrace. Zengui also had an insatiable thirst for news of all kinds, and kept paid spies in the courts of all the neighbouring princes, who furnished him with that intelligence by which he gained many of his principal successes. Although the actual sovereign of Moussoul, Aleppo, and all the country round, Zengui did not take the title of king or emir, at least so we are told by his historians; on the contrary, in order to shelter himself from the jealousy of neighbouring sovereigns, he affected to be nothing but the lieutenant of one of the descendants of the Seljukian princes of Moussoul (named, like his progenitor, Alp Arslan), who was but a mere puppet in the hands of the crafty prince.

bition, form a strange contrast to his impetuous valour in the field. He had, however, four qualities, mental and corporeal, which were calculated to raise him in the opinion of the Mussulmans around him, and to found his power upon the basis of popular love and admiration. His courage was of the most brilliant kind, displaying itself continually, without effort, in the eyes of his troops. He was remarkably handsome in person, with the peculiarity of having blue eyes, in the midst of a nation where the complexion is almost uniformly dark. He was also noted for charity towards the poor of his own creed, and was distinguished by his hatred of the Christians, and his strong attachment to the doctrines of Mahommed.

The course of succession in the east has always been uncertain, and the situation of the natural heir one of the most dangerous in which a man can be placed. Zengui, it would appear, left numerous children, but only two of the number were, at the time of his death, qualified by age and talent to aspire to dominion. These two were Saifeddin, his eldest son, and Nouredin, who afterwards became one of the most renowned monarchs of the Mussulman world. The moment that their father's decease was known, each availing himself of the circumstances in which he was placed, seized forcibly upon a part of Zengui's territories. Saifeddin took possession of Moussoul and its dependencies, and Nouredin established himself in Aleppo. The two brothers viewed each other with distrust and suspicion, and the Christians rejoicing in the death of Zengui, saw in the ambitious rivalry of Saifeddin and Nouredin a prospect of deliverance from their most dangerous neighbours. Joscelyn de Courtenay, the ejected Prince of Edessa, seized the propitious moment, opened a communication with the Armenians and Syrians of the city he had lost, and once more took possession of it with a small force. But by this time the necessity of union had become apparent to the sons of Zengui. Nouredin, who, though the younger, had seized upon a portion of his elder brother's inheritance, naturally entertained greater apprehensions than Saifeddin himself; but it was at length agreed that each should retain what he possessed, and a meeting took place between the two Attabecs. They proceeded to the place of rendezvous on horseback, and the interview was touching, from the conduct of both. Nouredin, who, it would seem,



was still apprehensive, dismounted from his horse as soon as he saw his brother, and kissed the ground before him. Saifeddin, alighting likewise, instantly embraced his brother, and the two stern warriors melted into tears. "Why didst thou not come at once, my brother?" said Saifeddin; "wert thou afraid of me? No, my brother, that which thou didst fear never once crossed my thoughts. What were life to me, what were the whole world, if I could seek the destruction of my brother?"

The reconciliation of the two sons of Zengui again struck the Franks of Jerusalem with alarm, and the terrible fate of Edessa soon showed that alarm to be not unfounded. The Mussulman troops in the citadel held out against the power of Joscelyn, and before he could reduce them, intelligence arrived that Nouredin, at the head of an immense army, was advancing rapidly to succour the besieged.\* Before any plans could be formed, or any aid arrive from the Christian princes of Palestine, the forces of Nouredin invested Edessa on all sides, and Joscelyn and his unhappy supporters were attacked on the one side by the garrison of the citadel, and on the other by the besieging force. The place was not provided with means of resistance, and it soon became evident that the inhabitants of Edessa must either surrender, or endeavour to cut their way through the Mahomedan forces. The latter alternative was chosen, and indeed, if the account of William of Tyre be correct, Joscelyn was driven to that decision; for the soldiers of the Attabec had already forced the walls, or by some other means had obtained a partial possession of the town. None of the citizens would remain behind and risk the vengeance of the Mussulmans. Men, women, children, the old and the young alike, the sick and the infirm, trooped out of the gates of Edessa in the midst of the night; and their leader, it is but fair to say, did the best that he could to defend them from the superior army of the Turks.

Nouredin, however, had obtained intelligence of the plan of the Edessenes. They were attacked in the rear, and on both flanks, as they issued from the gates, and a terrible slaughter took place. Nevertheless, Joscelyn succeeded in forcing a way, and marched on towards the Euphrates, fight-

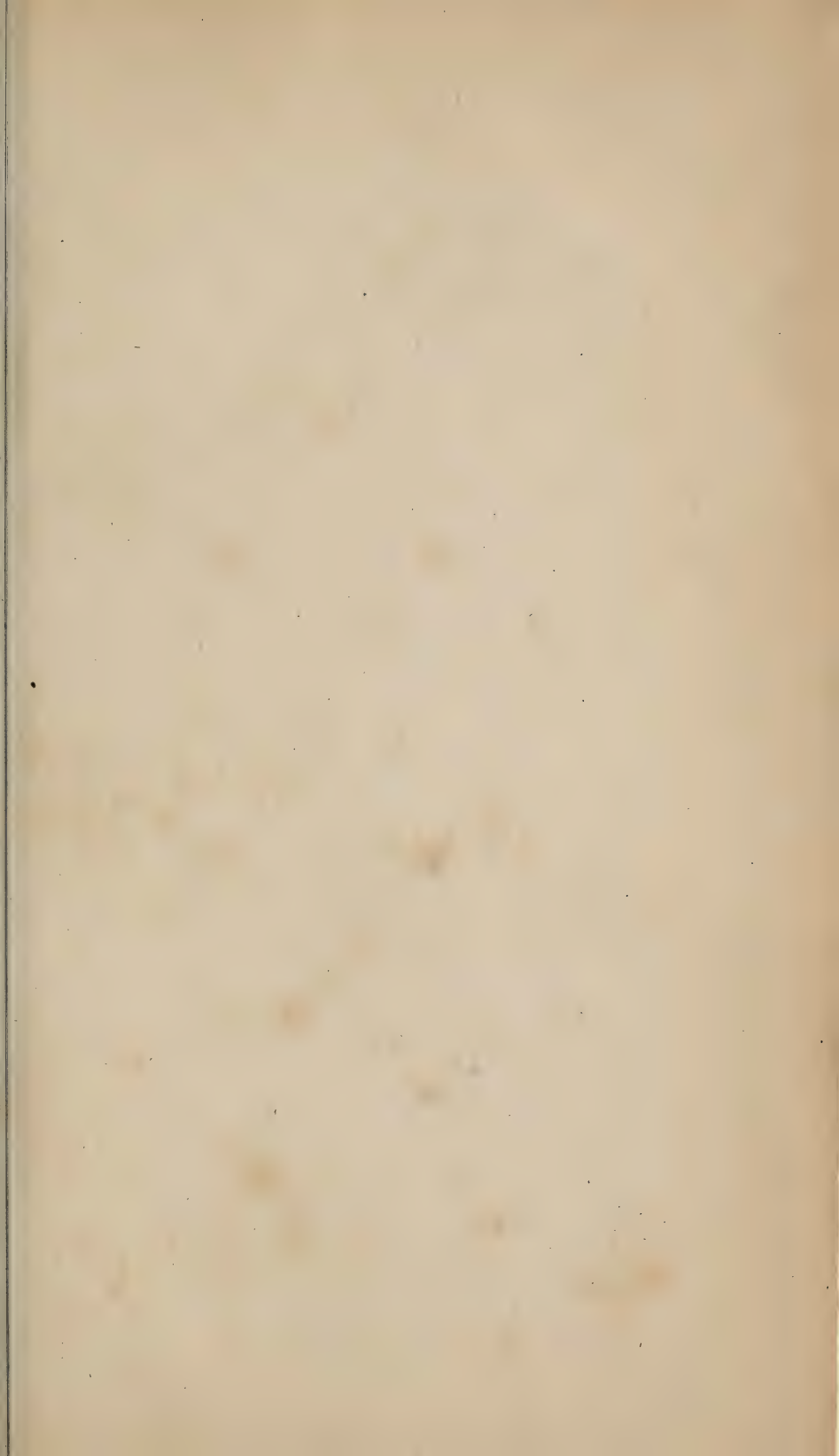
\* It is from William of Tyre that we learn that Nouredin was still at the conference with his brother, when Joscelyn regained possession of Edessa.

ing at every step with a degree of gallantry and determination which redeemed in some degree the errors of his previous life. For several miles this running fight was kept up, and every moment thousands on thousands of the Christian population fell, till at length the rout became complete. Each then consulted his own safety as far as possible, and Joscelyn found refuge in one of the Christian cities. Few, however, of the Syrians and Armenians who had quitted Edessa on that terrible night, escaped the sword of the enemy. No mercy was shown; and if the women were reserved from death, it was but to become objects of Mahomedan lust.

The views of Nouredin and his father, in their pertinacious efforts to obtain Edessa, were fully displayed by the first act he performed after his conquest. He repaired not the fortifications, he placed no strong garrison in the city; but he at once levelled the walls to the ground, in order that Edessa might no longer be the bulwark of the Christian frontier in that quarter: thus announcing to the princes of Palestine, that his life was to be devoted to continual attacks upon the territory which they had gained.

END OF VOL. I.













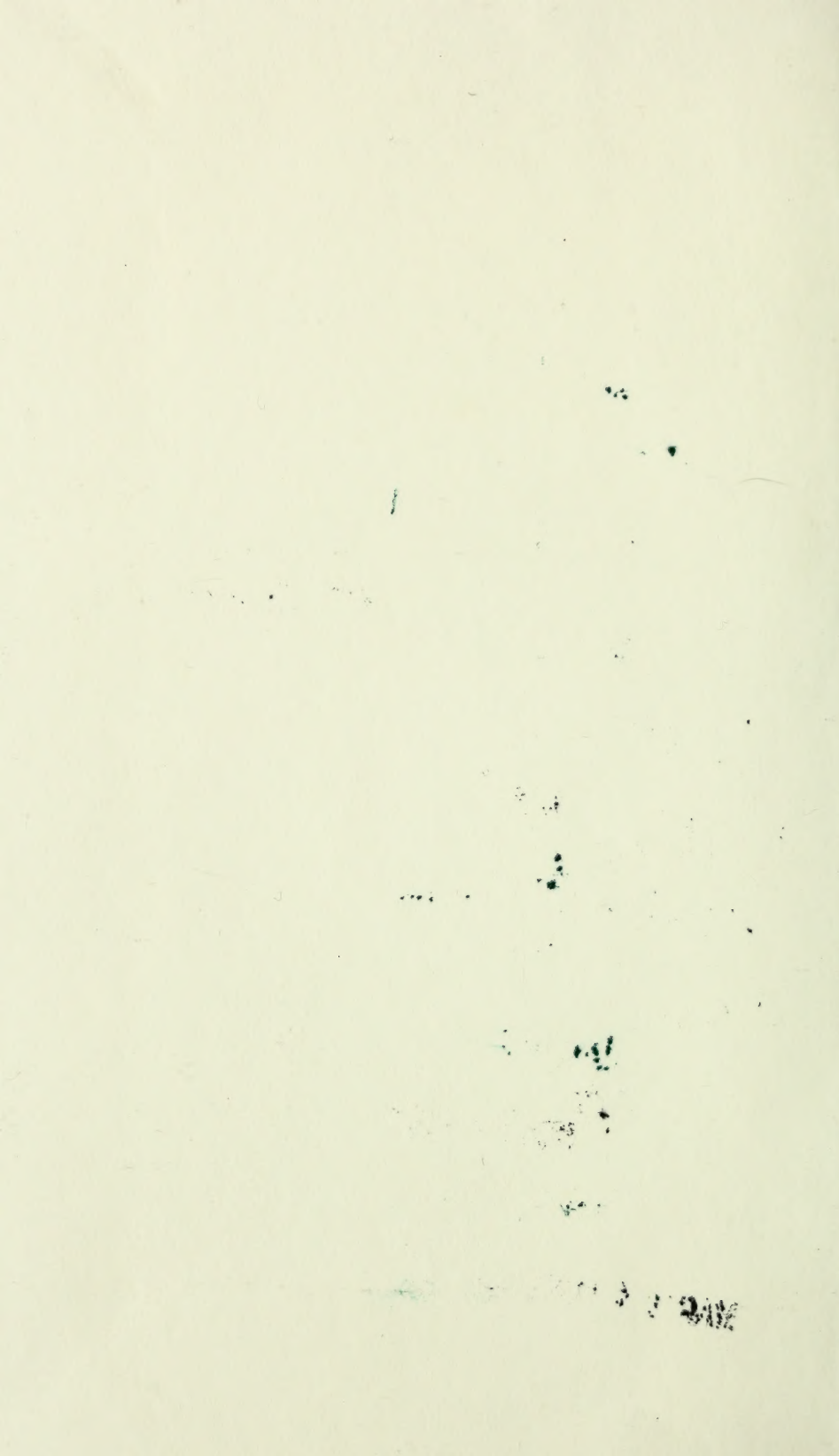
















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